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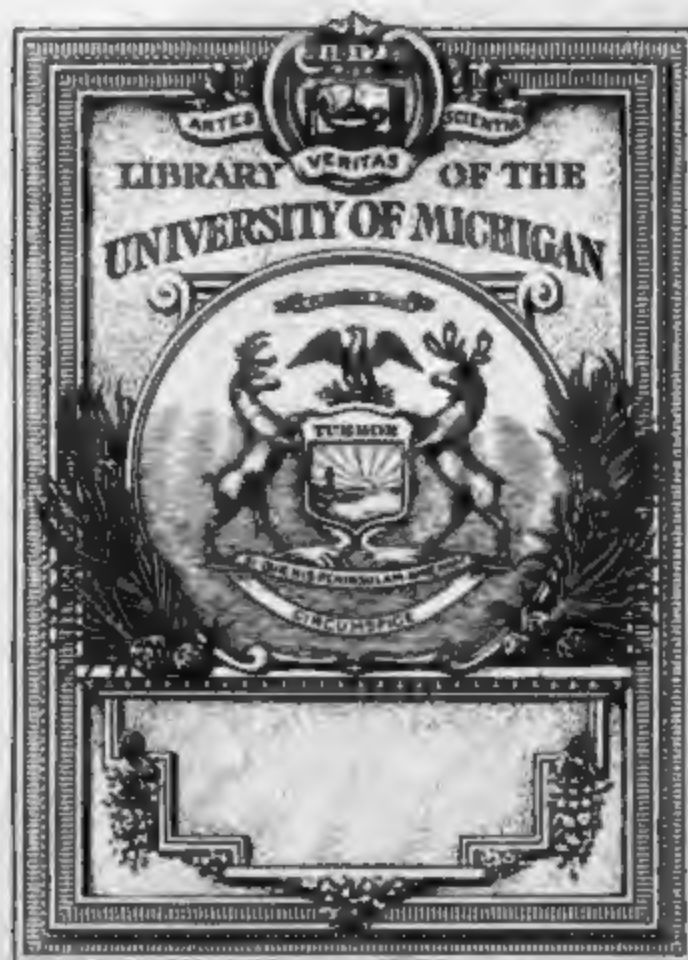
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THE  
**Eclectic Review,**

MDCCCXXIII.

**JULY—DECEMBER.**

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NEW SERIES.

VOL. XX.

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Φιλοσοφίαν δὲ οὐ τὴν Στωικὴν λέγω, οὐδὲ τὴν Πλάτωνικην, ἢ τὴν Εἰλικουρίαν τι καὶ Ἀριστοτελικὴν· ἀλλ' ὅσα ἱερῆται παρ' ἑκάστη τῶν αἰρέσεων τούτων καλῶς, δικαιοσύνη μετὰ νοτίβους ἐπιστήμης ἐκδιδασκοῖα, τούτο συμπαντὸ ΕΚΛΕΚΤΙΚΟΝ φιλοσοφίαν φημι.

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# THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR JULY, 1823.

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Art. I. *History of the Peninsular War.* By Robert Southey, Esq. LL.D. In three Volumes. Vol. I. 4to. pp. 806. Price 2l. 10s. London. 1823.

**W**ITH the exception of Italy, Spain is the most interesting region in Christendom, the most fertile in romantic associations, and the most remarkable in national character. Were there no other distinguishing circumstance in its records than the fact, that it has been twice, perhaps we should say thrice, in nearly complete military possession of its enemies, and yet not only remained unconquered, but ultimately proved triumphant, this would give to its annals a peculiar attraction. But the events of Spanish history are even more extraordinary in their connexion than in themselves. Twice has Spain been the debateable ground between Europe and Africa. Rome and Carthage contended for empire within its limits; and when the Saracens made their desperate effort for the possession of Christendom, Spain was one of the advanced positions on which they seized. The claim of succession to its crown, arrayed armies from England, Germany, and France, on its soil at one and the same moment; and its recent revolutions have exhibited and occasioned the most striking vicissitudes of a period marked by changes and occurrences of the most uncommon kind.

Dr. Southey is certainly happy in his choice of subjects. In his dramatic, epic, romantic, biographical, and historical compositions, we never find him taking up an insignificant name, an obscure theatre, or an uninteresting story. Nor has he, in the present instance, been unmindful of his former discretion. He has chosen a part of history, not only in the highest degree

important, but for the illustration of which he is excellently furnished by local knowledge, ample materials, skill in the requisite languages, and indefatigable industry. With all these advantages on his side, we must nevertheless confess that he has somewhat disappointed us. There is altogether a want of effect about the narrative. We seldom find that dexterity in detecting the secret motives and springs of action, which is so indispensable a faculty in the historian. There is but little profound or vigorous political discussion. The characters concerned in the respective transactions, do not appear to us very happily discriminated; nor is the composition distinguished by vivacity. In one of the most important features of his undertaking, the distinct description of military movements and manœuvres, he has, in our apprehension, entirely failed. We entertain, however, sanguine expectations, that he will gain strength as he proceeds. The details of the Guerilla system will call forth his peculiar powers; and the heroic perseverance of the Spanish nation against the most fearful disparity of means and numbers, will rouse him into more vigorous narrative.

It is most painful to compare the later periods of Spanish history, with the times of its power and grandeur; and it is among the most impressive illustrations of the disastrous effects of misgovernment, to contrast the complete nullity into which the nation had sunk, with the state of intense activity into which it was thrown by a strong appeal to the energies of the people. In the days of Gonsalvo, de Leyva, Spinola, and Farnese, the armies of Spain were eminent in valour, discipline, and success: under the Bourbon dynasty, they became a mere mockery of military force. Nothing, in short, can exceed the state of debility into which that once powerful nation had been gradually falling, and which had reached its extreme point of depression at the epoch of the French Revolution. Dr. Southey has described this state of moral and political degradation with great accuracy.

‘ In other countries where absolute monarchy has been established, and the Romish superstition has triumphed, both have been in some degree modified by the remains of old institutions, the vicinity of free states, and the influence of literature and manners. But in Spain and Portugal, almost all traces of the ancient constitution had been effaced; and as there existed nothing to qualify the spirit of popery, a memorable example was given of its unmitigated effects. The experiment of intolerance was tried with as little compunction as in Japan, and upon a larger scale. Like the Japanese government, the Inquisition went through with what it began; and though it could not in like manner secure its victory, by closing the ports and barring the passes of the Peninsula, it cut off, as much as possible, all intel-

lectual communication with the rest of the world. The courts of Madrid and Lisbon were as despotic as those of Constantinople and Ispahan. They did not, indeed, manifest their power by acts of blood, because the reigning families were not cruel, and cruelty had ceased to be a characteristic of the times; but with that cold, callous insensibility to which men are liable, in proportion as they are removed from the common sympathies of humankind, they permitted their ministers to dispense at pleasure exile and hopeless imprisonment, to the rigour and inhumanity of which death itself would have been mercy. The laws afforded no protection, for the will of the minister was above the laws; and every man who possessed influence at court, violated them with impunity, and procured impunity for all whom he chose to protect. Scarcely did there exist even an appearance of criminal justice. Quarrels among the populace were commonly decided by the knife: he who stabbed an antagonist or an enemy in the street, wiped the instrument in his cloak, and passed on unmolested by the spectators, who never interfered farther than to call a priest to the dying man. When it happened that a criminal was thrown into prison, there he remained till it became necessary to make room for a new set of tenants: the former were then turned adrift; or, if their crimes had been notorious and frequent, they were shipped off to some foreign settlement.

After the triumph of the monarchical power, the Cortes had fallen first into insignificance, then into disuse. There was no legislative body; the principle of the government being, that all laws and public measures of every kind were to proceed from the will and pleasure of the sovereign. Men of rank, therefore, if they were not in office, had no share in public business; and their deplorable education rendered them little fit either to improve or enjoy a life of perfect leisure. It is said also to have been the system of both governments, while they yet retained some remains of perverted policy, to keep the nobles in attendance about the court, where they might be led into habits of emulous extravagance, which would render them hungry for emoluments, and thereby dependent upon the crown. The long continued moral deterioration of the privileged classes had produced in many instances a visible physical degeneracy; and this tendency was increased by those incestuous marriages, common in both countries, which pride and avarice had introduced, and for which the sanction of an immoral church was to be purchased.

The armies partook of the general degradation. The forms of military power existed like the forms of justice: but they resembled the trunk of a tree, of which the termites have eaten out the timber, and only the bark remains. There appeared in the yearly almanacks a respectable list of regiments, and a redundant establishment of officers: but brave and capable of endurance as the Portuguese and Spaniards are, never were there such officers or such armies in any country which has ranked among civilized nations. Subalterns might be seen waiting behind a chair in their uniforms, or asking alms in the streets; and the men were what soldiers necessarily become when, without acquiring any one virtue of their profession, its sense



of character and honour, its regularity, or its habits of restraint, they possess all its license, and have free scope for the vices which spring up in idleness. Drawn by lot into a compulsory service, ill-disciplined, and ill-paid, they were burdensome to the people, without affording any security to the nation.' pp. 4—7.

Religion, taking the word in its emphatic sense, was in a most miserable condition; but it presented, in some respects, a less gloomy aspect. Although the people at large were under the absolute dominion of superstitious feeling, and the parochial clergy, as well as the monastic orders, were nearly on the same level with the laity in point of mental enlargement, yet there were signs of the approach of a better state of things. The dignitaries of the church were men of respectable characters. The spirit of intolerance was mitigated; much had been done, by commercial intercourse and other circumstances, to diminish the horror in which heretics had been formerly held; and some progress had been made towards the introduction of liberal opinions. The morals of the lower classes were deeply depraved, and the influence of 'what may be called their vulgar, rather than their popular literature,' must have greatly tended to the increase of their licentiousness. The robber or the assassin was usually the hero of the ballad; nor was the Spanish drama free from this gross perversion of right feeling and taste. Even the higher orders were infected by this corruption of manners. Noblemen delighted to ape the ruffian and the bravo, and 'women were found among those of distinguished rank, who affected the dress and the manners of the vilest of their sex.' Such was the state of things in Spain, when the Revolution involved France in the calamities of civil commotion, and ultimately placed the sceptre of that country in the hands of a military adventurer, gifted with faculties of the highest order, but deficient in the judgement and moderation necessary for the retention and consolidation of power. The outline of the great transactions of that era is sketched, but not with a master hand. There appears to be too much of party feeling, on a contracted scale, in the mind of the present Historian, for either a candid or an enlarged view of events which require an unusual absence of prejudice in the individual who undertakes to trace out their course, and to analyse their precise qualities. He writes, in this portion of his work at least, too much in the character of a regularly drilled politician and pamphleteer, and with too little of the calm and impartial tone of an independent chronicler, to admit of our adopting his representations as our own, and, and at the same time, without enough of detail and definition to render it expedient to discuss with him the merits of the case. Dr.

Southey has made no secret of his sentiments; but they are no further before us at the present moment, than as they call for the observation, that a man of such decided party spirit has at least one disqualification for becoming a dispassionate historian. After a strong, and probably accurate statement of the evils arising from the absurd experiments tried on education by the Revolutionary governments, preparatory to an analysis of the scheme devised by Napoleon for training up the youth of France in entire subserviency to his views, Dr. Southey intimates that the Consul was then probably

‘hesitating whether to take the right-hand way or the left; whether to build up again the ruined institutions of France, strengthen the throne on which he had resolved to take his seat, by an alliance with the altar; and in restoring to the kingdom all that it was possible to restore, while he retained the sovereignty to himself, engraft upon the new dynasty those principles which had given to the old its surest strength when it was strongest, and a splendour of which no change of fortune could deprive it. Two parties would be equally opposed to this, the Jacobins and the Royalists. The latter it was impossible to conciliate: they would have stood by the crown even if it were hanging upon a bush; but their allegiance being founded upon principle and feeling,...upon the sense of honour and of duty, ...would not follow the crown when it was transferred by violence and injustice from one head to another. He found the Jacobins more practicable. They indeed had many sympathies with Bonaparte: he favoured that irreligion to which they were fanatically attached, because it at once flattered their vanity and indulged their vices; his schemes of conquest offered a wide field for their ambition and their avarice: and what fitter agents could he desire than men who were troubled with no scruples of conscience or of honour; whom no turpitude could make ashamed; who shrunk from no crimes, and were shocked by no atrocities? Thus Bonaparte judged concerning them, and he reasoned rightly. The Jacobins both at home and abroad became his most devoted and obsequious adherents: they served him in England as partizans and advocates, denying or extenuating his crimes, justifying his measures, magnifying his powers, and reviling his opponents; on the continent they co-operated with him by secret or open treason, as occasion offered; in France they laid aside in his behalf that hatred to monarchy which they had not only professed but sworn, and swearing allegiance to a military despotism, gave that despotism their willing and zealous support.’ pp. 34—36.

We have as little partiality for Jacobinism as even Dr. Southey can desire; but if the alternative be the ascription of ‘principle and feeling, honour and duty,’ to the Bourbon Royalists, who ‘would have stood by the crown,’ *quand même* ‘it were hanging upon a bush,’ we must submit to his anathema. The whole passage is a manifesto issued against those who shall presume to ‘extenuate’ what Dr. S. may be pleased to

consider as the 'crimes' of Napoleon, or to judge that extraordinary man by any other code than the opinions of the Laureate. A subsequent attack on the 'Foxites' is distinguished by the coarseness of its invective; and even the Grenville party, though their well known aristocratical feeling obtains for them high eulogy, are punished for their opposition to the specific measures of Administration, by a rebuke for their 'factious animosity.' We have thought it right to mention these particulars, since the feelings and views which they indicate, must be taken into the account in every fair estimate of the value of Dr. Southey's historical labours. But, that we may not be suspected of ascribing too much importance to his sentiments, we shall, without further delay, pass on to the immediate subject of his book.

When Napoleon, in the plenitude and very wantonness of power, determined on taking entire possession of Spain and Portugal, the administration of the former state was in the hands of Don Manuel de Godoy, Prince of the Peace; a man ignorant and selfish, of depraved morals and notorious incapacity. His influence and conduct corrupted the nobility; and the character of the Royal Family is sufficiently known, to render unnecessary any attempt to prove that neither talent, virtue, nor patriotic feeling was to be looked for in that quarter. From such a court and ministry, and from a nation sunk as were the Spanish people, Napoleon could anticipate no effectual opposition to his plans; and the whole of his career has sufficiently proved his practical ignorance of the disinterested qualities of human nature, and the moral force of human passion. He began with a series of intrigues, artfully devised, and skilfully arranged. The imbecility of the King, and the worthless character of Ferdinand, supplied him with his machinery; and he played father against son, and son against father, with as little remorse as he would have employed the different pieces on a chess-board. The general detail of these manœuvres is distinctly, and no doubt accurately given by Dr. Southey; but we cannot say that he displays any extraordinary sagacity in exploring the secrets of cabinets, or in tracing up events to their obscure causes. The conspiracy of the Escorial, the tumult at Aranjuez, and the abdication of the King, were all subservient to the grand design of Napoleon, and were made use of by him in furtherance of his ends; but how far he might be concerned in them, or whether they did not take place entirely without his interference, are questions by no means, as it appears to us, sufficiently cleared up. Without, however, entering into the discussion of these points,

we shall confine ourselves to overt acts and specific circumstances.

The first step towards proceedings, was the appointment of an Army of Observation, under the command of Junot; while the Treaty of Fontainebleau stipulated for the joint occupancy of Portugal by a French and Spanish force. Junot's advanced guard crossed the frontier on the 19th of November, 1807, and by the close of the month, after an unresisted, but destructive march, reached Lisbon. His entry of the capital was unopposed, though the army and populace were in excellent temper for fighting, and the English sailors and marines in Sir Sidney Smith's fleet, were eager 'to be let loose against the enemy.' The Regent, however, most wisely forbade a resistance, which, under actual circumstances, could have been attended only by partial and temporary success, followed by far heavier calamities than those which might be expected to result from quiet submission.

'The morning of the 27th had been fixed for the embarkation; and at an early hour, numbers of both sexes and of all ages were assembled in the streets and upon the shore at Belem, where the wide space between the river and the fine Jeronymite convent was filled with carts and packages of every kind. From the restlessness and well-founded alarm of the people, it was feared that they would proceed to some excess of violence against those who were the objects of general suspicion. The crowd however was not yet very great when the Prince appeared, both because of the distance from Lisbon, and that the hour of the embarkation was not known. He came from the Ajuda, and the Spanish Infante D. Pedro in the carriage with him; the troops who were to be on duty at the spot had not yet arrived, and when the Prince alighted upon the quay, there was a pressure round him, so that as he went down the steps to the water-edge, he was obliged to make way with his hand. He was pale and trembling, and his face was bathed in tears. The multitude forgot for a moment their own condition in commiseration for his; they wept also, and followed him, as the boat pushed off, with their blessings. There may have been some among the spectators who remembered, that from this very spot Vasco de Gama had embarked for that discovery which opened the way to all their conquests in the East; and Cabral for that expedition which gave to Portugal an empire in the West, and prepared for her Prince an asylum now when the mother country itself was lost.' p. 88.

Early in 1808, the French army began the projected occupation of Spain, by the treacherous seizure of the strongest fortresses in the northern provinces. The division of Murat entered Madrid in March. All these transactions were under friendly pretexts, but their real object was sufficiently apparent. Murat refused to acknowledge Ferdinand, and after a dis-

gusting farce of finesse and manœuvre, the catastrophe of Bayonne took place, and Joseph Bonaparte assumed the title of King of Spain. The miserable Junta, whose most efficient members were Azanza and O'Farrill, to which the government had been confided by Ferdinand when he left his capital for the frontier, truckled to the conquerors; but the people flew to arms, and their premature insurrection in Madrid, occasioned severe loss to the French, though it fell far heavier upon themselves.

At the commencement of the conflict, Murat ordered a detachment of 200 men to take possession of the arsenal. Two officers happened to be upon guard there, by name Daviz and Velarde; the former about thirty years of age; the latter, some five years younger, was the person who had been sent to compliment Murat on his arrival in Spain. Little could they have foreseen, when they went that morning to their post, the fate which awaited them, and the renown which was to be its reward! Having got together about twenty soldiers of their corps, and a few countrymen who were willing to stand by them, they brought out a twenty-four pounder in front of the arsenal, to bear upon the straight and narrow street by which the enemy must approach, and planted two others in like manner to command two avenues which led into the street of the arsenal. They had received no instructions, they had no authority for acting thus; and if they escaped in the action, their own government would without doubt either pass or sanction a sentence of death against them for their conduct; never therefore did any men act with more perfect self-devotion. Having loaded with grape, they waited till the discharge would take full effect; and such havoc did it make, that the French instantly turned back. The possession of the arsenal was of so much importance at this time, that two columns were presently ordered to secure it: they attempted it at the cost of many lives; and the Spaniards fired above twenty times before the enemy could break into the neighbouring houses, and fire upon them from the windows. Velarde was killed by a musket-ball. Daviz had his thigh broken; he continued to give orders sitting, till he received three other wounds, the last of which put an end to his life. Then the person to whom he left the command offered to surrender: while they were making terms, a messenger arrived bearing a white flag, and crying out that the tumult was appeased. About two o'clock, the firing had ceased every where, through the personal interference of the junta, the council of Castille, and other tribunals, who paraded the streets with many of the nobles, and with an escort of Spanish soldiers and imperial guards intermixed. It might then have been hoped that the carnage of this dreadful day was ended; the slaughter among the Spaniards had been very great. This, however, did not satisfy Murat. Conformably to the system of his master, the work of death was to be continued in cool-blood. A military tribunal under General Gronchy was formed, and the Spaniards who were brought before it were sent away to be slaughtered, with little inquiry



whether they had taken part in the struggle or not. Three groupes of forty each were successively shot in the Prado, the great public walk of Madrid. Others in like manner were put to death near the Puerta del Sol, and the Puerta del S. Vicente, and by the church of N. Senora de la Soledad, one of the most sacred places in the city. In this manner was that second of May employed by the French at Madrid. The inhabitants were ordered to illuminate their houses, — a necessary means of safety for their invaders, in a city not otherwise lighted; and through the whole night, the dead and the dying might be seen distinctly as in broad noon-day, lying upon the bloody pavement. When morning came, the same mockery of justice was continued, and fresh murders were committed deliberately with the forms of military execution during several succeeding days.'

pp. 247—250.

This conflict, which took place May the 2nd, 1808, gave fire to the train which had been gradually preparing, and which, in its explosion, set all Spain in a blaze, and flung the originator of her calamities from his throne. The firing having been heard at Mostoles, a small town south of Madrid, the Alcalde immediately despatched the following bulletin to the southern provinces.

'The country is in danger. Madrid is perishing through the perfidy of the French. All Spaniards, come to deliver it!'

The massacre at Madrid was a signal which called the Spanish nation to arms. Asturias elected a representative Junta, which assembled at Oviedo; and the same system was adopted in the other provinces, though the Junta of Seville was considered as the central and presiding body. The revolution was retarded at Cadiz by the indecision (putting on it the most favourable construction) of Solano; but the determination of the people prevailed, and in the ferocity of awakened suspicion, they murdered the commandant. The French fleet in the harbour was compelled to surrender; though Don Thomas de Morla, who succeeded Solano, seems to have protracted that event as long as possible by his ineffective measures of attack. At Gibraltar, a different scene was taking place. Castaños, an honourable and enlightened man, who commanded the Spanish camp of observation at San Roque, communicated at once with Sir Hugh Dalrymple, and they jointly arranged a system of mutual counsel and aid. At Valencia, the people, or rather the rabble, murdered the governor, Miguel de Saavedra; and, instigated by the sanguinary Calvo, a canon of St. Isidro, massacred the French resident. The provincial Junta, with a view to arrest the progress of slaughter, called on the religious orders to interfere; and a

procession of monks visited, by torch-light, the scene of blood, but, intimidated by the threats of Calvo, withdrew without effectual mediation. When the morning dawned, it was discovered that in some of the victims, life was not yet extinct; and the mob shewed their better feeling, by concealing the circumstance from the merciless Canon, and conveying them to the hospital. The populace exhibited another proof of their accessibility to humane considerations, in their determination to spare the lives of a hundred and fifty of the French who had taken refuge in the citadel. But Calvo was not to be disappointed of his prey: he exhibited a letter, said to have been found on the person of one of them, containing a plot for giving up the city to an army of their countrymen. This horrible device was successful, and not a Frenchman of that division escaped the butchery.

‘ One circumstance alone occurred, which may relieve the horror of this dreadful narrative. M. Pierre Bergiere had acquired a large fortune in Valencia, and was remarkable for his singular charity. It was not enough for him to assist the poor and the sick and the prisoner with continual alms; he visited them, and ministered to their wants himself in the sick room and in the dungeon. Yet, his well-known virtues did not exempt him from the general proscription of his countrymen; and he too, having been confessed and absolved, was thrust out to the murderers. The wretch who was about to strike him, was one whom he had frequently relieved in prison, and upon recognizing him, withheld his arm. Calling, however, to mind that Bergiere was a Frenchman, he raised it again; but his heart again smote him, and saying, “ Art thou a Devil or a Saint, that I cannot kill thee?” he pulled him through the crowd, and made way for his escape.’

‘ During these atrocities, the Junta seem to have been panic-stricken, making no effort to exert an authority which never was so much needed. The Canon was not satisfied with this timid and unwilling acquiescence; he wished to involve them in the responsibility for these wholesale murders, or to bring them into discredit and danger by making them act in opposition to the wishes of the multitude whom he guided. With these views, he commanded five Frenchmen to be led to the door of the hall wherein they held their sittings, and sent in a messenger to ask in his name for a written order to put them to death. The intention was readily understood, but the moment was not yet come for acting decisively against this merciless demagogue; and the Conde de Cervellon replied: “ You have killed many Frenchmen without an order, and none can be wanted now.” Mr. Tupper went out to the assassins, and addressed them on behalf of the prisoners; he was struck at with a knife by one who called him a Frenchman himself; the blow was parried, voices were heard crying that he was an Englishman, and one man declared he would put to death, the first person who should offer violence to the English

Consul. But any interposition for the miserable French was in vain ; they were knocked down and stabbed, and their bodies were left upon the steps of the hall. There were still several Frenchmen concealed in the city, who were in danger every moment of being discovered and massacred. Mr. Tupper, when he found that all appeals to the humanity of the mob were unavailing, had recourse to a different method, and proposed to an assembly of ruffians, armed with the knives which they had already used in murder, and were eager to use again in the same service, that the survivors should be given up to him, that he might send them prisoners to England, promising in exchange for them a supply of arms and ammunition from Gibraltar. By this means their lives were preserved.

‘ The Canon Calvo was now in that state of insanity which is sometimes produced by the possession of unlimited authority. He declared himself the supreme and only representative of King Ferdinand, and was about to issue orders for dismissing the Conde de Cervellon from his rank as Captain-general, dissolving the Junta, and putting the Archbishop to death. A sense of their own imminent danger then roused the Junta. They invited him to join them, and assist at their deliberations. He came, followed by a crowd of ruffians, who filled the avenues when he entered the hall: he demeaned himself insolently, and threatened the assembly, till P. Rico, a Franciscan, one of the most active and intrepid in the national cause, rose and called their attention to a matter upon which the safety of the city depended ; and then denounced the Canon as a traitor, and called upon the members immediately to arrest him. Calvo was confounded at this attack. When he recovered himself, he proposed to retire while the Junta were investigating his conduct ; they well understood his intention, and voted that he should immediately be sent in irons to Majorca ; and before the mob, who at his bidding would have massacred the Junta, knew that he had been accused, he was conducted secretly under a strong guard to the mole, put in chains, and embarked for that island. The Junta then acted with vigour and severity : they seized about two hundred of the assassins, had them strangled in prison, and exposed their bodies upon a scaffold. The Canon was afterwards brought back, and suffered the same deserved fate. What confession he made was not known ; he would not permit the priest to reveal it, farther than an acknowledgement that God and his crimes had brought him to that end.’ pp. 286—289.

At Zaragoza, the citizens flew to arms, deposed their Captain-general, and elected the celebrated Palafox in his stead. Measures of general armament were ordered by the Supreme Junta ; and, from one end of Spain to the other, all was activity and ardour. Happily for the cause of patriotism, the French armies in the Peninsula were at this time inadequate to the emergency ; and the necessity for exertion was counteracted by the impossibility of meeting the organized insurrections which demanded suppression in every quarter. Strong divisions

were, however, despatched to the most important points. Moncey advanced on Valencia, Lefebvre Desnouettes marched against Zaragoza, Bessieres manœuvred upon Segovia and Valladolid, and Duhesme commenced active operations against the Catalans.

‘ Murat meantime had left Spain. Before he had well recovered from a severe attack of the Madrid colic, an intermittent fever supervened ; and when that was removed, he was ordered by his physicians to the warm baths of Bareges. The Duc de Rovigo, General Savary, who had acted so considerable a part in decoying Ferdinand to Bayonne, succeeded in the command. It happened at this time, that several French soldiers, after drinking wine in the public houses at Madrid, died, some almost immediately, others after a short illness, under unequivocal symptoms of poison. Baron Larrey, who was at the head of the medical staff, acted with great prudence on this occasion. He sent for wine from different *Ventas*, analyzed it, and detected narcotic ingredients in all ; and he ascertained, upon full inquiry, that these substances, of which laurel-water was one, were as commonly used to flavour and strengthen the Spanish wines, as litharge is to correct acidity in the lighter wines of France. The natives were accustomed to it from their youth ; they frequently mixed their wine with water ; and moreover the practice of smoking over their liquor tended to counteract its narcotic effects, by stimulating the stomach and the intestines : it was, therefore, not surprising that they could drink it with safety, though it proved fatal to a few strangers. M. Larrey, therefore, justly concluded that there had been no intention of poisoning the French. If such a suspicion had been intimated, execrated as they knew themselves to be, the troops would readily have believed it, and a bloodier massacre than that of the 2nd of May must have ensued.

‘ This opinion of M. Larrey,’ adds Dr. Southey, ‘ is confirmed by some cases of death produced by cordial waters, which occurred, I think, at Dublin a few years ago. An account was published in some journal, but I cannot refer to it, having met with it in the course of chance-reading, and not thinking at the time that I should ever have occasion to notice it. Except that the dose was stronger, the cases are precisely in point : and they shew also, which is equally in point, that poisons of this kind which prove fatal in some instances, are taken with perfect impunity in many others.’ pp. 310, 11.

The first efforts of the French were successful. Valladolid, Segovia, Santander, were occupied ; Cuesta and his undisciplined volunteers were defeated at Cabezon ; the passage of the Ebro was forced at Tudela ; and the Aragonese were defeated at Mallen and Alagon. But, in Catalonia, the well-combined schemes of Duhesme were completely foiled : the Somatenes, or armed population, defended the passes, and made successive stands at every strong position, until General Schwartz, who

commanded a division which was advancing on Manresa, began to hesitate.

‘ An odd accident deceived the French. There was among the Somatenes, a drummer, who had escaped from Barcelona. Little as the knowledge was which this lad possessed of military manœuvres, it enabled him to assume authority among these armed peasants, and he performed the double duties of drummer and commander with singular good fortune. For the enemy inferred from the sound of the drum, which was regularly beaten, that the peasantry were supported by regular troops: there were Swiss in Lerida, and the regiment of Extremadura was at Tarrega; the apprehension, therefore, was not unreasonable; and after a short stand against a brisk fire, Schwartz determined upon retreating. The Somatenes, encouraged by success, and now increasing in number, pressed upon him; and the news of his defeat raised the country behind him, to his greater danger. He had to pass through the little town Esparraguera, consisting of one narrow street nearly a mile in length. The inhabitants cut down trees, and brought out tables and benches to obstruct the way, and they stored the flat roofs of their houses with beams and stones. The head of the French column, ignorant of these preparations, entered the street at twilight; but having experienced the danger, Schwartz divided them into two bodies, one of which made its way on the outside of the town by the right, the other by the left. From this time, the retreat became disorderly; the enemy lost part of their artillery in crossing the Abrera; and had the people of Martorell acted upon the alert like those of Esparraguera, and broken down the bridge over the Noya, the fugitives, for such they were now become, might probably all have been cut off. They entered Barcelona in great confusion and dismay.’ pp. 358, 59.

This check was sustained at Bruch, and General Chabran, in a subsequent attempt to penetrate in the same direction, failed at the same point. Nor was Duhesme himself more successful when he endeavoured to possess himself of Gerona, while he confirmed the Catalans in their desperate hostility by the ravages which he encouraged his troops to commit. The Valencians gallantly disputed the ground with Marshal Moncey on his advance against their city; and, though he forced his way through the obstacles which they opposed to him in the field, he failed before the ‘ old brick wall’ of that ancient capital. The heroism of its defenders supplied their deficiency of means; and he retired disappointed of his expected prey. The most urgent object with the French was, to secure the possession of Andalusia, and to place the French squadron at Cadiz in safety, by occupying that important fortress and arsenal with a commanding military force. Moncey advanced as far as Andujar, but there he was stopped by the army of Castaños; and the well-contested battle of Baylen, gained by the Spaniards



under the immediate command of the Swiss general Reding, led to the famous convention which provided for the surrender of the French troops. The terms granted were highly favourable to the defeated party; but the Junta violated the capitulation, contrary to the remonstrances of General Castaños, Lord Collingwood, and Sir Hugh Dalrymple. The victory of Baylen was won July 19th 1808, and occurred most opportunely to counteract the disastrous effects of the hard-fought conflict of Rio Seco, hazarded by the rashness of Cuesta, in opposition to the opinion of Blake, and gained, after a bloody struggle, by Marshal Bessieres.

The effects of the Spanish success in Andalusia were decisive. The Intrusive Government, which had been previously embarrassed by the refusal of the Council of Castile to take the oath of fidelity, quitted Madrid; and the French armies began to concentrate at Vittoria. But the event which exhibited the heroism and endurance of the Spanish character in the most brilliant light, was the memorable siege of Zaragoza. In June 1808, Lefebvre Desnouettes, after defeating the raw levies which had opposed him in three successive actions, took up his position before the walls of the city; if, indeed, in the details of military manœuvres, that deserve the name of a wall, which was constructed of brick, ten or twelve feet high and three feet thick. Animated with their love of national independence, and with their strong faith in our Lady of the Pillar, the Zaragozans prepared for defence under the command of the illustrious Palafox. Their successful resistance to a fierce assault on the 15th, taught the French general the necessity of more cautious measures. He retired to a short distance for the purpose of calling up reinforcements; and, after defeating at Epila, Palafox, who was manœuvring in his rear, renewed on the 27th the siege. After some unsuccessful efforts to break into the city, he forced his way into the Torrero, whence he poured an incessant fire of shells and balls. Repeated failures having satisfied him of the impossibility of carrying the place by a *coup de main*, he felt himself under the necessity of undertaking a more regular investment, and on the 4th of August, opened the batteries before the gate of St. Engracia.

‘ The mud walls were levelled at the first discharge; and the besiegers rushing through the opening, took the batteries before the adjacent gates in reverse. Here General Mori, who had distinguished himself on many former occasions, was made prisoner. The street of St. Engracia, which they had thus entered, leads into the Cozo; and the corner buildings where it thus terminated, were, on the one hand, the convent of St. Francisco, and, on the other, the General Hospital. Both were stormed and set on fire; the sick and

the wounded threw themselves from the windows to escape the flames, and the horror of the scene was aggravated by the maniacs, whose voices raving or singing in paroxysms of milder madness, or crying in vain to be set free, were heard amid the confusion of dreadful sounds. Many fell victims to the fire, and some to the indiscriminating fury of the assailants. Those who escaped were conducted as prisoners to the Torrero; but when their condition had been discovered, they were sent back on the morrow, to take their chance in the siege. After a severe contest and dreadful carnage, the French forced their way into the Cozo, in the very centre of the city, and, before the day closed, were in possession of one half of Zaragoza. Lefebvre now believed that he had effected his purpose, and required Palafox to surrender, in a note containing only these words:—"Head-quarters, St. Engracia. Capitulation!" The heroic Spaniard immediately returned this reply:—"Head-quarters, Zaragoza. War at the knife's point!"

'The contest which was now carried on, is unexampled in history. One side of the Cozo, a street about as wide as Pall-Mall, was possessed by the French; and in the centre of it, their general, Verdier, gave his orders from the Franciscan convent. The opposite side was maintained by the Aragonese, who threw up batteries at the openings of the cross streets, within a few paces of those which the French erected against them. The intervening space was presently heaped with dead, either slain upon the spot, or thrown out from the windows. Next day the ammunition of the citizens began to fail;... the Frenchmen were expected every moment to renew their efforts for completing the conquest, and even this circumstance occasioned no dismay, nor did any one think of capitulation. One cry was heard from the people whenever Palafox rode among them, that, if powder failed, they were ready to attack the enemy with their knives,... formidable weapons in the hands of desperate men. Just before the day closed, Don Francisco Palafox, the general's brother, entered the city with a convoy of arms and ammunition, and a reinforcement of three thousand men, composed of Spanish guards, Swiss, and volunteers of Aragon,... a succour as little expected by the Zaragozans, as it had been provided against by the enemy.

'The war was now continued from street to street, from house to house, and from room to room; pride and indignation having wrought up the French to a pitch of obstinate fury, little inferior to the devoted courage of the patriots. During the whole siege, no one distinguished himself more remarkably than the curate of one of the parishes within the walls, by name P. Santiago Sass. He was always to be seen in the streets, sometimes fighting with the most determined bravery against the enemies not of his country alone, but of freedom, and of all virtuous principles, wherever they were to be found; at other times administering the sacrament to the dying, and confirming with the authority of faith, that hope, which gives to death, under such circumstances, the joy, the exultation, the triumph, and the spirit of martyrdom. Palafox reposed the utmost confidence in this brave priest, and selected him whenever any thing peculiarly difficult

or hazardous was to be done. At the head of forty chosen men, he succeeded in introducing a supply of powder into the town, so essentially necessary for its defence.

‘ This most obstinate and murderous contest was continued for eleven successive days and nights; more indeed by night than by day; for it was almost certain death to appear by day-light within reach of those houses which were occupied by the other party. But under cover of the darkness, the combatants frequently dashed across the street to attack each other’s batteries; and the battles which began there, were often carried on into the houses beyond, where they fought from room to room, and from floor to floor. The hostile batteries were so near each other, that a Spaniard, in one place, made way under cover of the dead bodies, which completely filled the space between them, and fastened a rope to one of the French cannons; in the struggle which ensued, the rope broke, and the Zaragozans lost their prize at the very moment when they thought themselves sure of it.’ pp. 416—419.

A council of war held by the Spaniards on the 8th of August, came to the resolution of defending the city to the last street, and, if expelled from that, to retire across the Ebro, break down the bridge, and hold the suburbs to the last. But there was no necessity for this brave resolve; the citizens were regaining their lost ground: they had become skilful in their gallant business. The French were driven from post to post till they held, instead of the half, scarcely the eighth part of the city; and in the morning of the 14th, their retreating columns were seen by the Spaniards, far off on the plain, in the direction of Pamplona. The last disgraceful acts of the assailants were, the firing of the houses which they held, and the blowing up of the magnificent church of St. Engracia. In connexion with this glorious event, we have some curious comments by the Historian. After the observation, that the heroic efforts of the Aragonese were ‘ the effects of patriotism, aided and ‘ strengthened by religion,’ he exclaims :

‘ Let not the faith which animated the Aragonese be called superstition, because our Lady of the Pillar, Santiago, and St. Engracia, were its symbols. It was virtually and essentially religion in its inward life and spirit; it was the sense of what they owed equally to their forefathers and their children; the knowledge that their cause was as righteous as any for which an injured and insulted people ever rose in arms; the hope that, by the blessing of God on that cause, they might succeed; the certain faith that if they fell, it was with the feeling, the motive, and the merit of martyrdom. Life or death, therefore, became to the Zaragozans only not indifferent because life was useful to the cause for which they held it in trust; and were ready to lay it down: they who fell, expired in triumph, and the survivors rather envied than regretted them. The living had no fears for themselves, and for the same reason they could have no sorrow.

for the dead. The whole greatness of our nature was called forth,... a power which had lain dormant, and of which the possessors themselves had not suspected the existence, till it manifested itself in the hour of trial.' p. 423.

If that 'faith,' of which 'our Lady of the Pillar, Santiago, and St. Engracia,' are the symbols, be not 'superstition,' we would fain know in what the latter can be said to consist. If this false confidence be 'religion in its inward life and spirit,' what name is to be reserved for *faith in our Lord Jesus Christ*? We dare say that this tinsel passage appeared to Dr. Southey fraught with wisdom and eloquence: in our view, its philosophy is as spurious, as its 'religion' is opposite to the true nature of Christianity. The spirit which animated the Zaragozans, as far as religion is concerned, was neither better nor worse than that which, in a bad cause, actuated the followers of Mohammed or Moseilama. The latter, as well as the former, had 'the hope that, by the blessing of God, they might succeed; the certain faith that, if they fell, it was with the feeling, the motive, and the merit of martyrdom.' We sympathize, as intensely as Mr. Southey, with the sufferings and the triumphs of the patriotic defenders of the capital of Aragon; but we enter our protest against the obliquity of understanding which would claim for the excitement of fanaticism the eternal crown of the Christian martyr's devotion.

In June, the insurrection began in Portugal, and speedily became so general as, in addition to the daily expectation of an English force, to compel Junot to concentrate his troops in the neighbourhood of Lisbon. The description given, in the present volume, of the various proceedings of the insurgents, as the spirit of loyalty and patriotism flamed forth in the towns and provinces of Lusitania, is exceedingly well executed; it is, however, too complicated, and contains too much of detail and of individual adventure, to admit of satisfactory compression. The most skilfully conducted part of the rising, and that which bore most of a decidedly military character, was the manœuvring, in the northern provinces, between Loison and Silveira, afterwards created Conde d'Amarante for his able generalship in the actions near that place. We must not, however, omit to notice the horrible butchery of the inhabitants of Leiria, by the orders of General Margaron, and the infernal atrocities committed by the army of Loison, on its march from Almeida to Abrantes. The same officer authorized similar excesses at Evora, and 'has left,' says Dr. Southey, 'a name in Portugal which will be execrated to the latest generations.'

All these horrors were arrested by the appearance of an English army on the field of battle. In the beginning of August, Sir Arthur Wellesley landed in Mondego Bay, and on the 9th and 10th, advanced by Leiria towards Lisbon. Earlier in the year, the Sebastianists, a sect of which Dr. Southey gives a curious account, had been very busy with their prophetic anticipations.

‘ There exists in Portugal, a strange superstition concerning King Sebastian, whose re-appearance is as confidently expected by many of the Portuguese, as the coming of the Messiah by the Jews. The rise and progress of this belief forms a curious part of their history: it began in hope, when the return of that unhappy prince was not only possible, but might have been considered likely; it was fostered by the policy of the Braganzan party after all reasonable hope had ceased; and length of time served only to ripen it into a confirmed and rooted superstition, which even the intolerance of the Inquisition spared, for the sake of the loyal and patriotic feelings in which it had its birth. The Holy Office never interfered further with the sect than to prohibit the publication of its numerous prophecies, which were suffered to circulate in private. For many years, the persons who held this strange opinion had been content to enjoy their dream in private, shrinking from observation and from ridicule; but, as the belief had begun in a time of deep calamity, so now, when a heavier evil had overwhelmed the kingdom, it spread beyond all former example. Their prophecies were triumphantly brought to light; for only in the promises which were then held out, could the Portuguese find consolation; and proselytes increased so rapidly that half Lisbon became Sebastianists. The delusion was not confined to the lower orders, it reached the educated classes; and men who had graduated in theology, became professors of a faith which announced that Portugal was soon to be the head of the fifth and universal monarchy. Sebastian was speedily to come from the Secret Island; the Queen would resign the sceptre into his hands; he would give Bonaparte battle near Evora on the field of Sertorius, slay the tyrant, and become monarch of the world. These events had long been predicted; and it had long since been shewn, that the very year in which they must occur was mystically prefigured in the arms of Portugal. Those arms had been miraculously given to the founder of the Portuguese monarchy, and the five wounds were represented in the shield by as many round marks or ciphers, two on each side and one in the middle. Bandarra the shoemaker, who was one of the greatest of their old prophets, had taught them the mystery therein. Place two O's one upon the other, said he, place another on the right hand, then make a second figure like the first, and you have the date given. The year being thus designated, the time of his appearance was fixed for the holy week: on Holy Thursday, they affirmed the storm would gather, and from that time till the Sunday, there would be the most tremendous din of battle that had ever been heard in the world; for this April was the month of lightning which

arra had foretold. In pledge of all this, some of the bolder  
ers declared that there would be a full moon on the 19th of  
2, when she was in the wane! It was a prevalent opinion that  
'incoberto, or the hidden one, as they called Sebastian, was  
ly on board the Russian squadron.' pp. 134—7.

the strength of this delusion, prophecies and prodigies  
been rife; but Junot had treated them with contempt,  
the agitation of the public mind was carried to its height  
e arrival of the English armament. He now exerted him-  
with the utmost energy to meet the approaching danger.  
n was recalled from Alem-Tejo, and Laborde, with a  
g division, advanced on Leiria for the purpose of effecting  
ction with him there, and giving battle to the English.  
design was, however, frustrated by the march of Sir  
ir Wellesley, who occupied Leiria, and thus interposed  
my between the divisions of Loison and Laborde. The  
took up a strong position at Roliça, whence he was  
1, with the loss of his cannon, on the 17th of August.  
rthur was preparing to follow up his victory, when an  
us, in the shape of Sir Harry Burrard, made its appearance  
alize his operations. It was thought expedient that the  
should wait for the arrival of Sir John Moore's division,  
h nothing whatever was known respecting its actual  
ion; and the troops were, consequently, halted in the  
bourhood of Vimeiro. Happily, Junot did not find it  
nient to wait for the completion of Sir Harry's cautious  
gements, and determined to attack the English in their  
at position. Happily, too, as Sir. H. had not yet landed,  
my was still under the efficient command of Sir Arthur  
esley. The result is so well known to our readers as to  
r detail inexpedient. The bayonet decided the battle,  
ir Harry, with his prudent counsellors, General Clinton  
olonel Murray, again adopted the sagacious system of  
ig victory as ineffective as possible. When Sir Hew  
mple landed, though he so far agreed with his second  
mmand as to deem the plan of Sir Arthur extremely  
lous, he felt the necessity for advancing without waiting  
ir John Moore. Into the subsequent transactions we  
decline entering. The negotiations relating to the Con-  
on of Cintra, and the proceedings connected with the  
ture of the French, are fully and distinctly narrated by  
outhey; and his views of the policy and the consequences  
at famous capitulation, are, on the whole, fair and ju-  
is.

the 26th of September, the Central Junta was installed



at Aranjuez; but the intrigues which attended the formation, and impeded the proceedings of that body, rendered its appointment, to a considerable extent, inefficacious. The war, in the mean time, was actively carried on in Catalonia. The efforts of Duhesme to obtain possession of Gerona, were defeated with great loss, and the Catalans even threatened Barcelona itself. But the most remarkable event of this period was, the admirably conducted enterprise which terminated in the liberation of the fine Spanish division under Romana. On its embarkation, the following singular circumstance is said to have occurred.

‘ Two of the regiments which had been quartered in Fumen, were cavalry, mounted on the fine, black, long-tailed Andalusian horses. It was impracticable to bring off these horses, about 1100 in number; and Romana was not a man who could order them to be destroyed lest they should fall into the hands of the French: he was fond of horses himself, and knew that every man was attached to the beast which had carried him so far and so faithfully. Their bridles, therefore, were taken off, and they were turned loose upon the beach. As they moved off, they passed some of the country horses and mares which were feeding at a little distance. A scene ensued, such as, probably, never before was witnessed. The Spanish horses are not mutilated, and these were sensible they were no longer under any restraint of human power. A general conflict ensued, in which retaining the discipline that they had learnt, they charged each other in squadrons of ten or twenty together; then closely engaged, striking with their fore-feet, and biting and tearing each other with the most ferocious rage, and trampling over those which were beaten down, till the shore, in the course of a quarter of an hour, was strewn with the dead and disabled. Part of them had been set free on a rising ground at some distance; they no sooner heard the roar of the battle, than they came thundering down over the intermediate hedges, and catching the contagious madness, plunged into the fight with equal fury. Sublime as the scene was, it was too horrible to be long contemplated; and Romana in mercy gave orders for destroying them; but it was found too dangerous to attempt this; and after the last boats quitted the beach, the few horses that remained, were seen still engaged in the dreadful work of mutual destruction.’

pp. 663, 4.

In the midst of all these reverses, Napoleon was not idle. He felt that, however impolitic, as well as nefarious, his conduct towards Spain had been, to retract would be absolute ruin; and he displayed his usual energy, and his habitual disregard of public right and private comfort, in the adoption of vigorous measures to counteract the evils which he had wantonly provoked. He not only called out the standing conscription, but recurred to former lists which had been considered as can-

celled; and by the close of October, 100,000 of old troops and new levies had passed the Pyrenees to reinforce their countrymen. The Spanish armies were inferior alike in numbers, in discipline, and in equipment. They were posted along a line of injudicious extent, and instead of being placed under the direction of one able commander, they were under the separate commands of Castaños, Blake, and Palafox. The first army attacked was that of Blake, who seems to have displayed many qualities of an able general, but sustained a fatal defeat at Espinosa. Castaños, compelled by the commissioners of the Junta, against his own better judgement, to fight, lost the destructive battle of Tudela; and the Conde de Belveder, with the Estremaduran army, was irrecoverably routed at Burgos. Notwithstanding these disasters, the soldiers and the people were eager to defend Madrid; but their governor, the notorious Morla, counteracted their ardour, and on the 5th of December, General Belliard, with his division, entered the city. The army of Castaños, in its retreat from Catalayud, preserved its artillery; and its rear-guard, under Venegas, at the pass of Buvierca, gallantly repulsed the advancing French. At Sigüenza, Castaños resigned the command to Lapeña, and, in obedience to a summons from the Central Junta, repaired to the place where its members were assembled. A scene of incurable confusion now ensued. The Spanish armies were completely broken up, and, though many instances of skill and courage in the different officers might be cited, yet, the flight of the principal divisions was accelerated by fear and insubordination. The South of Spain was, however, saved for the present, by the diversion which was made by the English army, under Sir John Moore. That accomplished but unfortunate officer had succeeded to the command, after the recall of Sir Hew Dalrymple and the generals who had united with him in signing the Convention of Cintra. Into the history of the disastrous and well-known campaign which followed, we have no room or inclination to enter. Dr. Southey, as might have been expected, takes the side of Mr. Frere, who was clamorous for the advance, at all hazards, of the English army upon Madrid. We differ altogether from Dr. S. in his view of these transactions; and we can perceive in his statements much of that kind of misrepresentation which arises from a strong though unconscious bias in the mind. When he says of the lamented Moore, that 'he wanted faith in British courage,' he states that which is palpably incorrect; and when he gravely tells his readers, that 'it is faith by which miracles are wrought in war as well as in religion,' he lays down a principle on which it is to be hoped that no British general will ever act.



The anonymous Author of a spirited volume now on our table, has seemed to anticipate, though without distinct reference to any particular work, one leading deficiency in the present history, to which we adverted at the commencement of this article. 'It is a great misfortune,' he remarks, 'for the British army which served in the Peninsula, and for the Duke of Wellington himself, that no man possessed of the necessary information, and of the ability to work upon his materials, has been found to give a correct and valuable history of their campaigns. It is quite idle to send the official documents and papers required for such a work, to the most able writer and acknowledged historian of the day. Such a man, however great his talents, however nervous and rich his language, is, and must be, ill-qualified to write a military work, if he be a civilian, unacquainted with armies, and has never served. He may, indeed, succeed in painting the noble struggles of a patriotic population; he may describe in a glowing strain of manly eloquence such a defence as that of Saragossa, or the courageous exploits of mountain guerillas; but he can never impart to an account of the operations of regular armies, that charm and interest it is certainly capable of receiving. A man must, like a Xenophon or a Polybius, march with an army before he ventures to become the historian of its exploits. Would that some division-general with the pen of a Burgoyne or a Hutchinson, had marched and fought with the British troops in the Peninsula.\* This is spoken in the spirit and with the enthusiasm of a soldier. Without participating in the warmth of the Writer's regret, we must allow the truth of his observation.

The volume closes with the battle of Corunna.

**Art. II. *Institutes of Theology*; or a concise System of Divinity.**

With a Reference under each Article to some of the principal Authors who have treated of the Subjects particularly and fully.

By Alexander Ranken, D. D. One of the Ministers of Glasgow. 8vo. pp. xviii. 700. Price 14s. Glasgow. 1822.

**T**HERE is certainly room for a good work of this description. Dr. Ranken runs over the list of the Latin systems, and those of Ridgeley, Burnet, Pearson, Doddridge, Dwight, and Hill; and after finding some fault or other with every one of them, he adds:

'There still seemed wanting an abridged system of divinity, with

\* "Recollections of the Peninsula." p. 92.

particular references under every article to larger treatises on it, and so arranged as to enable the student to observe and compass the whole in its relative order.'

It does not, however, appear to us to have been necessary to produce any apology for undertaking such a work, at the expense of preceding writers. Dr. Ranken had simply to compose a better work, in point either of arrangement, compression, or bibliographical information, and the public would have been greatly indebted to him. The mere circumstance of his comprising within a single volume the substance of more bulky systems, would have sufficiently recommended his publication as one of obvious utility. It is the age of abridgements and compendiums, and a cheap article will always have the preference in the market. Had the execution of the work, therefore, been in all respects satisfactory, no one would have complained of it as an unnecessary addition to the theological library. We regret that we cannot award it such unqualified praise.

The Author claims for his arrangement, the merit of being 'simple, comprehensive, and philosophical.' Arrangement is an important feature of a divinity system. Our readers shall judge from the table of Contents, how far the present Writer has improved on the schemes of his predecessors.

'Introduction. § 1. The superior Importance of Theology. 2. The right Disposition for studying Theology. 3. Use and Limits of Reason in Matters of Revelation. 4. Of Systems of Theology. Chapter I. Of Religion—Atheism—Superstition. II. Of Natural Religion—the Being and Perfections of God, the Immortality of the Soul, and Moral Obligation. III. Of the Necessity of a Divine Revelation. IV. Of the History of Revelation, or the Canon of Scripture. V. Of Inspiration. VI. Of the Evidences of Inspiration. VII. Of the Doctrines of Scripture. VIII. Of Redemption. IX. Of the Doctrines of Grace. X. Of the Ordinances of the Gospel.'

The distinguishing feature of this arrangement is, its remarkable deficiency of analytical clearness and order. Chapter I. would more properly have been included in the Introductory matter; but if not, it seems strange to separate from the subject of Atheism, the proof of the Divine Existence. The necessity of a Divine Revelation is with no propriety made to follow the discussion of doctrines resting chiefly, if not entirely, on the discoveries of Revelation; such, for instance, as the Decrees of God, the Creation of the World, and the Immortality of the Soul. The history of Revelation, that is, of the progressive discoveries made under the Patriarchal, Mosaic, and Prophetical economies, is strangely mixed up with

a critical notice of Versions and Targums, in Chapter IV which occupies a hundred pages ; while Chapter V. consists of only twelve pages broken off from the subject of the following chapter, to which they properly belong. Under the head of 'the doctrines of Scripture,' Chap. VII., we have given us, 'Angels and Original Sin ;' as if these two were the leading topics of Revelation. Lastly, Justification by Faith, the cardinal article of the doctrines of Grace, is not found under that head, but in a preceding chapter ; while among doctrines of grace, we find Repentance and the Holy Ghost. We must confess that we are at a loss to perceive the philosophical simplicity of this arrangement. And yet it is evident, that Dr. Ranken piques himself not a little on his systematic order. He has devoted a whole section to the subject of theological systems, zealously contending for their necessity, and condemning the methods of his predecessors. 'Order,' he gravely tells us, 'is the offspring of wisdom and power ;' and in the original creation and the ordinary state and operations of nature, he finds the most perfect model of that order which a sound divine will not fail to observe in his systematic arrangement. Wisdom and power would seem, however, to be, in Dr. Ranken's mind, very nearly identical ; for immediately after making these two the father and mother of order, he adds :

'Wisdom devises the plan ; but power is requisite to subject the materials under the proposed arrangement. Even in things of an intellectual nature, mental power is necessary to compass the whole, to view it in all its parts, to discern their agreements and discrepancies, their subserviency and counteraction, with all their other relations, in order to construct or to describe the system or science.'

This 'mental power' which is necessary to the viewing of a thing in all its parts, we must suppose to be what is sometimes familiarly styled clear-headedness ; the very description of wisdom which is most requisite to the constructor of a system. A further measure of this mental power would have led the Author to perceive, that 'moral order' is something very different from scholastic arrangement. 'To restore moral order,' he remarks, 'is the great design of the Gospel of Christ.' *Ergo*, 'it must be of importance to observe and maintain order *and method* in all things, especially in the study of religion.' From which it may be clearly inferred, that one great design of Christ's coming was, to make divinity students methodical. And if the great example of the Creation, and the design of Redemption, be not sufficient to outweigh all the objections against the good old Scotch divinity, advanced by Dr. Campbell and 'the Independents,' it is added, that

the love of order 'seems a law of our nature,' though 'we often violate it:' for instance, 'we have no confidence in undisciplined or mutinous troops.' Who does not perceive that we could have, in like manner, no confidence in the doctrines or evidences of Revelation, unless they were marshalled and disciplined in systematic array, by a Divinity professor? After this triumphant demonstration of the necessity of order, fortified as it is by the consideration of the disorderly and unmethodical character of Revelation itself, we little expected to find Dr. Ranken forgetting himself so far as to admit that, 'in some respects, it is perhaps of little importance what method we follow, provided we omit nothing material, and give every thing its due weight on the heart and practice.' But this dangerous concession is speedily retracted, and he proceeds to argue that it is of great importance what method we follow. 'The method of Independents,' he says, 'and of those who reprobate all systems, seems a mere conceit.' The method of those who reprobate all method, we should have been led to suspect, was meant to describe the *Methodists*. But the worthy Dr. adds, to prevent such misconstruction of his words: 'It has been chiefly recommended by Mr. Glass and Dr. Campbell.' Those two eminent individuals were assuredly not Methodists in the usual acceptation of the phrase; and as little would they have known themselves under the designation of Independents. But Dr. Ranken chooses to call the method of study recommended by Dr. Campbell, 'the independent method of studying theology.' His readers are therefore to understand in future by Independents, the admirers of Dr. Campbell's plan of theological study. What name shall be found for the followers of Dr. Ranken?

But our readers may like to see, by what potent arguments this zealous advocate of system demolishes the objections of the acute and learned Author of the *Lectures on Systematic Theology*. The latter, it is well known, was far from wishing to lay aside systems altogether as useless or even dangerous. 'But I am not,' he says, 'for *beginning* with them.' Dr. Ranken contends that, in the first place, Dr. Campbell's method involves an inconsistency, because, while he admits the excellency and necessity of method in general, he does not approve of the dry systematic method which he, Dr. Ranken, approves of. Because he was not overfond of creeds and systems, therefore it was inconsistent in him to admit the utility of method! Admirable reasoner! Dr. C. remarks, that there is no such a thing as a methodical digest of doctrines in the Scripture, nor was there in the Church in the earliest and purest times. That is not true, replies Dr. R., for there is

*the decalogue!* ! Not content with this annihilating blow, he goes on.

‘What else can you call the Epistle to the Romans, and several of the other Epistles? Each contains the sum of the doctrines of the Gospel digested into that form or method which, to the Apostle who wrote it, seemed best suited to the circumstances of the times and of the people. And occasionally these are abridged in a few words, as by our Saviour himself,—“God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him might not perish,” &c. or by the Apostle,—“Great is the mystery of godliness, God manifested in the flesh,” &c. Thus the inconsistency of this scheme is very evident, and something more than inconsistency,—a want both of just observation and due consideration in reference to the sacred Scriptures, and, though certainly unintended, a sophistry, or, at least, a fallacy of argument scarcely to have been expected in so acute a reasoner.’

Most of our readers will recollect the anecdote of the great Lord Chatham, which states him to have overheard, as the door closed upon him on retiring one day from the House of Commons, a puny orator begin his speech with ‘I rise to reply to ‘the honourable gentleman,’—meaning Mr. Pitt, who had last spoken, and whom he had watched out before he ventured to rise. Mr Pitt turned round, and slowly marching back to his seat, fairly confounded and struck dumb his doughty antagonist, by simply exclaiming, ‘Now let me hear what the ‘honourable gentleman has to say to me.’ Dr. Ranken’s *reply* to Dr. Campbell has forcibly brought this anecdote to our recollection. But he is safe: Dr. Campbell cannot return to confront his grave reprover. Let us then examine this proof of his alleged inconsistency and sophistry. It is not true, says Dr. R., that there is no methodical digest of doctrines in the Scriptures, because they contain certain simple declarations, and certain trains of argument, in which the doctrines of the Gospel are virtually comprehended. Those declarations are digests, those argumentations are methodical systems. You object to my *Institutes of Theology*: what say you to the Epistle to the Romans? You find fault with the Assembly’s Larger Catechism: what difference is there between that and a text of scripture, such as 1 Tim. iii. 16.? Both are summaries. What could Dr. Campbell have said to this?

Dr. Ranken, having thus, in the first place, shewn that ‘the ‘independent method’ ‘seems inconsistent,’ proceeds, secondly, to shew its inconsistency. ‘The study of system,’ he remarks, ‘is disapproved, and yet the art of system-making is recommended, and recommended to youth.’ Dr. Campbell recommends a systematic study of the Scriptures, chiefly by means

of the parallel passages of Scripture. This, according to Dr. R. 'is as if every man were to causeway his own road, build his own house, plough his own field,—in a word, return to the practice of barbarous times, and never to proceed in the successive improvements of science.' For the student 'to labour himself' in thus studying the Bible in the original, as Dr. Campbell recommends, would be a waste of his time, since he has only to take for granted the ready-made deductions which others, by their previous labour, have furnished in the form of convenient digests. To reject these, is, we are told, to return to the practice of barbarous times, when there were no professional system-makers. Will it be credited that such language as this can be seriously held by a Protestant divine in the nineteenth century, in reference to the study of the Bible? Aware that this statement savours a little of Papistry, the good Dr. endeavours, in a subsequent paragraph, to fight off the objection, that to make systems thus necessary, is to abandon the principle that the Scriptures are a sufficient rule. He shall be heard in his own defence.

'The Scriptures certainly contain the words and the doctrines of wisdom; but they must be gathered and applied. They are not intended to work as a charm, nor will they afford spiritual and moral nourishment without being digested. Now, in digestion, the whole contents of the stomach are not indiscriminately taken into the circulation of the blood; there is a selection, a secretion, an arrangement adapted to the different uses of nature. So it is the duty and the interest of the man of God, to occupy himself diligently with the Scriptures, not merely as they are, but in arranging them for the purposes of more ready application and practice; and if this shall be found already done for him, thankfully to adopt the judicious plans of others, and to enjoy the fruits of their labours.'

At the risk of being ourselves thought very unthankful for the labours of Dr. Ranken, we must observe that his metaphor is a singularly unfortunate one. The Scriptures assuredly do not require such cooking to make them yield nourishment. If they did, he is not a spiritual *Kitchiner*. But, in fact, a system is the most indigestible form in which wholesome truths can be served up; and they require, in this state, a peculiarly strong appetite to extract from them the nourishment they are adapted to yield. In these made dishes, there is so strong a seasoning of foreign ingredients, that the real flavour of Scriptural truth is often overpowered, and the mind rejects the distasteful mixture. What parts of the Bible Dr. R. means to allude to, when he says that the whole contents are not to be 'indiscriminately taken up,' we leave him to explain. We agree with



him, that the Scriptures are not intended to work as a charm ; but he seems to think that systems may thus operate ; and his words look too much like attributing to the *hocus pocus* of mere arrangement, a *moral* effect on the mind and heart, which he would readily admit, we are persuaded, can be secured only by the influence of the Spirit of God.

Had the Dr. succeeded, even to his own satisfaction, in proving systems to be necessary, it would not have been requisite for him to multiply arguments in their defence. But to silence all misgivings, he adds, fifthly: ' In spite of all that ' can be said against systems, *they will be framed.*' And let them be framed. What is this to the purpose of determining the question, whether to *begin* with the study of divinity systems, is the best method of theological study? We could not at first imagine what the Dr. was driving at, till we came to the following paragraph, in which the drift of the preceding argumentation is all at once disclosed.

' Finally, it seems agreeable to common sense, as well as fair dealing, that *the system which forms the standard of the National Church*, should be early laid before young men who propose to become candidates for the office of the ministry in it, in order that they may know what it is expected they are to believe, to teach, and to maintain, that, if they approve of them, their minds and habits may be trained and accustomed to these modes of thinking, and to the means of defending them, and that, contrary to their solemn profession and engagement, they may not indulge themselves in that loose and licentious mode of thinking, which seems liberty, but which is not less pernicious to their own mind and comfort, than dangerous to the true interests of the church and of society.'

Now, if the question to be determined, is, not what method of study is in itself best adapted to lead to a right knowledge of the Scriptures, and to train and discipline the mind of the young inquirer, but, what may most effectually secure an implicit and bigoted adherence to a certain human standard and certain arbitrary modes of thinking,—Dr. Ranken may be right in maintaining, in reference to this latter purpose, the indispensable necessity of *systems*. His zeal, though not according to knowledge, is at least not without an object. It is not in order to the digestion of the Bible, that the culinary arrangement he contends for is necessary, but to render palatable and nutritive the Confession of Faith, the Larger Catechism, and, as an *entremet*, the solemn League and Covenant. Considered as a *recipe* for promoting an appetite for these formulas in the youth of Glasgow, the worthy Dr.'s prescription may have some reason in it ; though, such is our respect for the Church

of Scotland, and for our particularly venerable fathers the Westminster Assembly of Divines more especially, that we should be sorry to think the 'independent' mode of studying the Scriptures, must necessarily lead to a rejection, in the main, of the theology imbodyed in those documents. Dr. Ranken, however, trembles for the Ark if *his* method be given up. He has got it into his head, that the Scriptures are rather a sandy foundation for his Church to rest upon; and, so he is for driving in certain theological piles to form a sort of pier. 'Systems,' he says, 'will be framed,' say what we will; and then he goes off as follows:

'Men of similar opinions will naturally coalesce; they will draw up a formula of doctrines in which they agree; it will become the *bond of their union*, and the *rule of their faith*; they will maintain it in opposition to other creeds and formulas, and it will be the badge of their distinction. The practice is agreeable to the nature of man,—is analogous to the principles and constitution of material as well as of animal nature, by which substances of the same kind cohere, and living creatures of the same kind associate. It is the foundation of human society, and it may be added, is the very basis of the Catholic church on earth, and of the kingdom of God in heaven.'

p. 38.

What is? Creeds and formulas, divinity systems and institutes of theology; these are 'the rule of faith' on earth, and the basis of the kingdom of God in heaven!! If this be not what the good Dr. means, what, in the name of common sense, does he mean? We do not look for rank priestcraft and absurdity like this from a Scotch divine, and we hope that such language is not to be heard from many chairs. Indeed, we have no reason to believe that these sentiments prevail; and though Dr. Ranken has chosen, for reasons best known to himself, to couple with that of Dr. Campbell the obnoxious name of Mr. Glass, both of them being defunct, as the chief abettors of what he facetiously styles the 'independent' method of studying theology,—he might have found in the recent able work of the Professor of Divinity at St. Andrew's, a recommendation of the same plan of study. 'It is obvious,' says Dr. Cook, 'how desirable it must be to enter upon the study of the Scriptures, with a mind as far as possible free from those opinions which it is the professed purpose of all dogmatical commentaries upon them and systems of theology to form. In every country where Christianity is professed, there are religious instructions conveyed to the infant mind by the affectionate counsels of the parent. Should these be regarded as obstacles to fair future inquiry, they are obstacles which must remain; which are inseparable from the



‘ condition of man ; and which, upon the whole, do far more  
 ‘ good, and are more serviceable to the cause of truth, than the  
 ‘ malignant, vicious sentiments and habits which, were not  
 ‘ these communicated, would occupy their place. But we go  
 ‘ out of our way in search of the most unnecessary and perti-  
 ‘ nacious obstacles, when we begin the study of theology with  
 ‘ the perusal of commentaries and systems. As helps where  
 ‘ they may furnish the information of whatever kind necessary  
 ‘ to just interpretations, they are to be resorted to for the same  
 ‘ reason which makes us take any other intellectual help ; but  
 ‘ as guides they cannot be taken, for this would be to exalt  
 ‘ them above the Scriptures\*.’

‘ The first principles, the great principles of religion,’ re-  
 marks Mr. Howe, ‘ do lie in a very little compass. . . . Though  
 ‘ it is true, that the variety of apprehensions and sentiments,  
 ‘ and the great dissensions and manifold errors, that have in  
 ‘ after-times sprung up in the Christian Church, have occa-  
 ‘ sioned the enlargements of creeds and multiplying of articles  
 ‘ of faith ; varying them this way or that, to meet with this or  
 ‘ that wrong sentiment as they have been apprehended ; yet,  
 ‘ the things that are in themselves necessary, must needs be  
 ‘ but few. And if the Christian religion ever return to itself,  
 ‘ and be what at first it was, simple, pure, plain, and unmixed,  
 ‘ undoubtedly the sum and substance of it will be found to lie  
 ‘ in very little compass. It hath sadly degenerated in point of  
 ‘ efficacy, and vigour, and power, as it hath been increased and  
 ‘ augmented in point of necessary doctrines,—men rendering  
 ‘ such doctrines necessary, or bestowing that notion upon them  
 ‘ arbitrarily as they have thought fit. And indeed the state of  
 ‘ Christian religion hath never been flourishing, since (as one  
 ‘ very accurately observes) it became *res ingeniosa fore Chris-*  
 ‘ *tianum*†.’

Our recent notice of Principal Hill's Divinity Lectures (E. R. March, 1822) renders it unnecessary for us to say any thing further on the general subject of theological systems. They have undoubtedly their use, and there is still room for a work of the kind, that should be adapted to the present state of moral and theological science, and deserve the praise of being at once ‘ simple, comprehensive, and philosophical.’ The present Compiler, it is evident, has not set about his task in the right way, or in the right spirit. We would by no means inti-

\* “ Inquiry into the Books of the Old Testament. By John Cook, D.D.” p. 11.

† Works. Vol. VI. p. 381.

mate that the work he has produced is of no value or utility. A person of the most moderate abilities could hardly fail to collect from the abundant materials which lay ready to his hand, a vast mass of important information; and Dr. R.'s references to the authors who have treated of the several topics, are commendably full and minute, indicating that they have been actually consulted. The pains which he has evidently taken in compiling the work, make us sincerely regret that we cannot bestow higher commendation on its arrangement and execution, than that the one may sufficiently answer the purpose of the reader, and that the other is generally respectable. The remarks which his dogmatism has provoked from us on the subject of the method of study, have left us no room to enter into a minute examination of the bulk of the work. We shall only advert to a few of the notes made in perusing it.

The chapter on Religion is extremely meagre and unsatisfactory. Religion, we are told, which is 'the knowledge and *faith* of God, is founded on the adaptation of the human mind to divine objects:' that is to say, religion is founded on man's being capable of religion. In a few sentences after this profound remark, we are informed, that it rests mainly on the principle of self-preservation, called into operation by theological knowledge, as the effect of the fear inspired by the Divine perfections; but, in connexion with this fear, 'the contemplation of his goodness as naturally moves our gratitude and love.' The fear and love of God, according to this view of things, are not the essence, but the effect of religion, what religion is calculated to lead to; for religion is 'the knowledge of God,' which inspires us with fear, and the design of that fear is self-preservation! This is neither very scriptural nor very philosophical.

Superstition is described as the *genus* which comprehends under it the several species of fanaticism, enthusiasm, and mysticism. These, the worthy Dr. attempts to define; and, as might be expected, he miserably fails. Hooker has said more to the purpose in one sentence, than can be gathered from the whole section. 'A longing to be saved, without understanding the true way how, hath been the cause of all the superstitions in the world.' As a specimen of the Author's powers of critical analysis, we extract the following comprehensive account of Jacob Bryant's theory of mythology.

'Mr. Bryant's Theory, in which he discovers great ingenuity and learning, is founded on etymology, and ancient tradition and customs. He supposes, for example, that Noah was the ancient Dionusus so universally venerated, equally among the Greeks and Indians: and that the Cyclops with one eye was a light-house, &c.'

In stating 'the evidence on which we rest our faith of the 'being of a God,' Dr. Ranken assigns the first place to the following singular argument: 'That it is desirable to believe 'that there is a God.' It 'gratifies the natural religious feelings or affections,' he says, 'as food is grateful to the appetite of hunger.' Does Dr. Ranken mean to say, that its being desirable to believe a thing, forms an argument for its truth? It is very desirable to a wicked man, to believe in the doctrine of annihilation: is this an argument for the doctrine? To the sinner, it is not and cannot be desirable, to believe that there is a God. He says in his heart, it is the language of his wishes, 'There is no God.' Is this an argument against the Divine existence? Dr. R. probably means that it is for the good of society that such a belief should prevail; but there are some prejudices and vulgar errors which have had a beneficial influence. The argument is every way unsolid, and it is not wanted.

Equally weak is the argument for 'the unity of God,' which is attempted to be rested on the uniformity in the structure of the globe itself, in the suitableness of its surface and soils for vegetable and for animal residence, in the position of its strata, the utility of its minerals. We cannot conceive how these marks of the Divine wisdom can be made to substantiate the unity of the Deity.

The section on the 'Divine Justice' is very unsatisfactory. There is a reference to Paley's chapter on Rights, and that on Property, which contain absolutely not a word bearing on the subject. Dr. Ranken commences the section with affirming, that 'Justice seems to consist both in sentiment and judgement.' We leave our readers to make what sense they can out of these words. He goes on to remark, that 'justice decides on rights; 'it discriminates betwixt those which belong to ourselves and 'to others.' What illustration does this supply, or even tend to, of the Divine Justice? Honesty is certainly a branch or modification of that justice which is man's duty; but it is giving a very imperfect and unsuitable idea of the Divine attribute, to represent it as consisting in dealing justly, and rendering to every one his due. What is due to the creature, but the punishment of his offences? The Divine Justice relates to his character as the Moral Governor of the Universe; and when it is concluded that the Judge of all the earth will do right, the punitive justice is distinctly recognised, which necessitates the punishment of the guilty. To confound the justice or integrity of a tradesman with the justice which belongs to a magistrate, would be to blend together under one term, very distinct ideas;

and the confusion is still greater when this loose generalization is extended to the justice of the Supreme Governor.

In the account of the Canon of Scripture, there is not much to object to, except the very small selection of writers which is given as having illustrated the various books of Scripture. In the account of Matthew's Gospel, there occurs a sentence which, as it stands, is not clearly intelligible. 'The labours of the learned,' says Dr. R., 'have fully obviated the objection arising from the supposed want of the first two chapters.' He means, their alleged absence from the non-existent copies of the Gospel used by the Ebionites. He then adds :

'If there had been any ground for the objection, it would not have escaped the attention of the translators of our present English version. They lived in an age celebrated for substantial learning, and were themselves the most learned of that age. They were engaged in it three years, fifty of them studying both individually and collectively : and they not only consulted the most ancient and modern versions and manuscripts themselves, but invited communications on the subject to be made to them, from every quarter of the kingdom.'

p. 281.

We notice this passage, not so much on account of its being a very incorrect representation of the fact, as for its being a puerile attempt to settle a question by authority, which has in fact been set to rest upon far higher evidence. Whether the objection did or did not escape the attention of King James's Translators, we have no means of ascertaining, as we are not aware that they have left their opinion on record. But whatever their opinion was, it would be of extremely small importance in the present advanced state of Biblical criticism. It is well known, that their orders were, to follow, as far as the original would admit, the Bishop's Bible, making it the basis of the text ; and that, in common with all the previous English translations, was derived chiefly from the ancient versions. They consequently admitted into the present Authorized Version, many readings, and some whole sentences, which are now, on the authority of the best Manuscripts, rejected by all competent critics. Does Dr. R. really imagine that the long agitated question relating to 1 John v. 7. is to be satisfactorily adjusted by a reference to the probable opinion of King James's Translators ? The Dr. may very possibly set a low estimate on the labours of Kennicott and De Rossi, of Wetstein and Griesbach ; but we must caution him against leading his pupils to suppose, that the genuineness and authenticity of any portion of the New Testament rest in any degree on the opinion of King James's Translators.

In section 5 of Chap. iv. the Author has occasion to explain the various phrases which occur in the Scriptures, to express the idea of atonement; and he remarks, that the word *atonement* occurs only once in the New Testament, while '*reconciliation* is a more common phrase.' It should have been mentioned, that the word in the original, which our Translators have injudiciously rendered atonement in that single instance, (Rom. v. 11.) is the same as is elsewhere more properly rendered reconciliation, (e. g. Rom. xi. 15. 2 Cor. v. 18. 19.) We are happy to find Dr. Ranken maintaining the universal sufficiency of the atonement.

'The remedy,' he remarks, 'is provided and offered, but not generally accepted. The atonement is complete, and its virtue or merit is sufficient for the salvation of the whole human race; but by very many it is neglected and scorned. The prophet Isaiah complains of the comparatively small number who accept of salvation:—"Who hath believed our report?" Jesus turns away the attention from the speculative question—"Are there few that be saved?"—to the practical duty of every man to secure his own salvation: "Enter ye in at the strait gate." At the same time he declares most positively—"He that believeth not is condemned:" "If ye believe not that I am he," the Messias, the Son of God, "ye shall die in your sins." The same conclusion is evident from reason and fact. Men cannot profit by any doctrine unless they study, and know, and receive it. The gospel—which is addressed to all in the Bible, and by preaching—is read, is heard, is listened to, is regarded by comparatively few. "Many are called, but few chosen." They do not choose themselves to employ the means of salvation; they will not use the remedies which God hath prescribed, and consequently are not chosen and saved by him.' p. 492.

Lest any of our readers should be led by this last sentence to imagine that the Author is a favourer of the Arminian scheme of conditional Predestination, we must do him the justice to transcribe his remarks on that subject, which we think highly judicious. His theological views in general appear to us correct and Scriptural.

'Why may we not rest satisfied with the belief of both the facts—that God hath decreed all things, and, at the same time, that man acts as freely as if nothing were either foreknown or decreed? Reason infers, that a wise being would first devise and fix a plan, before he would begin to execute it. The Scriptures assure us, that this was the order of the divine procedure; that God "ordained all things after the counsel of his own will." This, the divine decree, is one fact. We must believe it, if we either listen to common sense or to Scripture. Of the other we are conscious, that we are free. But we are ignorant of the vinculum, connection, or the mode of reconciling their operation. The same observations are appli-

capable to the doctrine of divine grace and our freedom of will. If we believe the word of God, we cannot deny, that "by grace we are saved, through faith; and that not of ourselves, for it also is the gift of God." "Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling; for it is God that worketh in you, both to will and to do of his good pleasure." At the same time that we act under the influence of divine grace, we are insensible of its immediate operation, and can only know the nature of the cause by its effects. We act as if we were under no influence, but that of our own dispositions and faculties; we think, and deliberate, and resolve, and live, as if we were altogether independent and free. It seems as natural to do the will of God, as if it were our ordinary meat and drink. Here again are two facts, the connection of which we cannot explain, but the truth of which we cannot deny. We believe that "the grace of God works in us both to will and to do of his good pleasure;" and we believe, that we are free agents. Why should we not in this case, as in many others in nature and in ordinary life, rely on the facts, though we cannot explain them? We do not understand the nature and influence of the magnet; yet we believe its influence in giving the mariner's compass a polar direction; and we trust our most valuable property and lives to that direction. We know not the nature and mode of digestion, by which our food is converted into bodily nourishment and substance; but we take our food regularly, and have no doubt that we thereby maintain our health and strength, and will continue by the moderate use of it to prolong our lives.

On the whole, we must acknowledge, that these are obscure and difficult subjects; that our safest ground, in thinking and treating of them, is to adhere as much as possible to the language and general spirit of the Scriptures; and as even in so doing we are liable to differ in our opinion, to exercise candour and mutual forbearance! pp. 619, 20.

'God knew that man would become sinful, yet he created him.' This fact, it is impossible to deny, without denying at the same time the omniscience, and by consequence the perfection of God. 'The whole subject, therefore,' Dr. Ranken justly remarks, 'resolves itself into this question: Why God made beings capable of disobedience and of all its awful consequences.'

'This launches us again into the *mare magnum* of the origin of evil, without either a chart, a rudder, or compass to steer our way. We never can certainly know the reasons why God made man such as he is, more than we can know why he has made this globe, or the universe. We can only assign the general reason, and we believe it the true one, that it was to manifest the glory of his nature.' p. 622.

On the whole, Dr. Ranken appears to greater advantage as a divine than as a philosopher: a better believer than he is a reasoner, more orthodox than logical, he has contrived to compile an indifferent system of pretty sound divinity.



**Art. III. 1. *Quentin Durward*.** By the Author of *Waverley*, &c. 3 Vols. 12mo. Edinburgh. 1823.

**2. *Peveril of the Peak*.** By the Author of *Waverley*. 4 Vols. 12mo. 1822.

**WE** have suffered *Peveril of the Peak* to give us the slip, and we cannot say that we feel much regret for the failure of promptitude which renders it now inexpedient to assign a distinct article to that clever but unequal production. The person and court of the Second Charles, are drawn with the force and distinctness which almost invariably characterise the delineations of this powerful artist, who still pursues his course with unabated vigour. Chiffinch, Buckingham, and even the inferior dependants of nobility, from Jerningham to the French cook, sustain their parts with vivacity and skill. Old Sir Geoffrey and his lady, the Countess of Derby and her son, Lance Outram and mistress Deborah, are spirited sketches, rather than finished limnings. The hero Peveril is a bold, determined, high-minded youth; and the character of Alice Bridgenorth, though we see but little of her, is interestingly managed. The cool, ambitious, vindictive, unprincipled Gansesse, alias Christian, is finished with a master hand; and his mysterious daughter, with her elfin form and aspect, fiery temperament, and unfortunate love, flits and dances through the piece like a being from another sphere. Sir Jeffrey Hudson is not much to our taste. The scenery and action have all the richness, precision, and vivacity of the former productions. Castles, inns, mansions, palaces, heaths, gardens, forests, roads, parks, streets, scuffles, broils, trials, imprisonments, and hair-breadth 'scapes, make up the various and ever-moving pantomime, and carry on the attention with unabated excitement until the happy, but hurried *denouement*.

The principal character, that, at least, which is to us the most interesting, and which, we have no doubt, was so considered by the Author, will, however, demand from us a few words before we proceed to a brief analysis of the more recent production. Major Bridgenorth and his companions are designed as the representatives of the Puritans of that day; and though we are willing to believe that they were, on the whole, intended by the Author as favourable delineations, yet we are sorry to trace in them the continuance of a feeling, hostile—the Writer would say, to cant and hypocrisy, but we must say—to real piety, when attended by certain peculiarities of faith and conduct which happen to be distasteful to those on whom religion sits more loosely. The major is represented—such, at least, was the impression produced on our minds—

as a man shrewd and observant of his own interest, distinguished by the intensity of his attachments, and, though in the earlier part of his career, not unwilling to mingle prudential considerations with spiritual impulses, yet becoming, in its termination, a confirmed fanatic and fifth-monarchy man. Whether designedly or not, it so happens, that the sternest and least amiable manifestations of his character are those which are brought out by his religious convictions, while its most attractive exhibitions are occasioned by the strong workings of domestic feeling and personal affection. We shall not comment upon this, nor shall we point out certain other offensive particulars of the same cast, since we have followed out this subject, on a former occasion, with sufficient minuteness to preclude the necessity of extended animadversion at the present time. We have no wish to vindicate all the peculiarities which distinguished the habits and phrases of some of the Puritans; but we do affirm, and that without the slightest fear of effectual contradiction, that they were the master spirits of a corrupt and slavish age—that they were lights of the world amid a wayward and sensual generation—and that they only required to be put in fair contrast with those of the contrary side, to stand out conspicuous in moral elevation.

Quentin Durward carries us back to other times, and transports us to a different country. The Author has been reading Philip de Comines, and has, in consequence, given us, to the life, Louis XI. and his fiery opponent, Charles of Burgundy, with their respective courts and favourites. He has dissected the character of the former with consummate dexterity: its mingled timidity and self-possession, craft and superstition, policy and overweening confidence, are displayed with a skill and *keeping*, that make it entirely effective. The story is, in substance, nothing more than the success of a Scottish adventurer, penniless, but noble ‘by fifteen descents,’ in the latter half of the fifteenth century; but the accessories are so admirably adapted, the dialogue is so perfectly dramatic, the descriptions are so vivid, and the narrative so rapidly carried on, that the reader is too much occupied and interested to perceive the meagreness of the plot. As usual, there is an induction, in which the ruined chateau and shattered antique library of a returned Emigrant make a conspicuous figure; and the Author affects a disclaimer of identity with Sir Walter Scott, his ‘distinguished literary countryman.’

‘It was upon a delicious summer morning, before the sun had assumed its scorching power, and while the dews yet cooled and perfumed the air, that a youth coming from the north-eastward, approached the ford of a small river, or rather a large brook, tribu-



tary to the Cher, near to the royal castle of Plessis, whose dark and multiplied battlements rose in the back-ground over the extensive forest with which they were surrounded.....On the bank of the abovementioned brook, opposite to that which the traveller was approaching, two men, who appeared in deep conversation, seemed, from time to time, to watch his motions.'

The youth, Quentin Durward of course, is described as tall, handsome, and active; the principal of the two persons who were observing his advance, makes a very different figure.

'The eldest and most remarkable of these men in dress and appearance, resembled the merchant or shopkeeper of the period. His jerkin, hose, and cloak, were of a dark, uniform colour, but worn so threadbare, that the acute young Scot conceived, that the wearer must be either very rich or very poor, probably the former. The fashion of the dress was close and short,—a kind of garments which were not then held decorous among gentry, or even the superior class of citizens, who generally wore loose gowns which descended below the middle of the leg.

'The expression of this man's countenance was partly attractive, partly forbidding. His strong features, sunk cheeks, and hollow eyes, had, nevertheless, an expression of shrewdness and humour congenial to the character of the young adventurer. But then, those same sunken eyes, from under the shroud of thick black eyebrows, had something that was at once commanding and sinister. Perhaps this effect was increased by the low fur cap, much depressed on the forehead, and adding to the shade from under which those eyes peered out; but it is certain that the young stranger had some difficulty to reconcile his looks with the meanness of his appearance in other respects. His cap, in particular, in which all men of any quality displayed either a brooch of gold or of silver, was ornamented with a paltry image of the Virgin, in lead, such as the poorer sort of pilgrims bring from Loretto.'

It is scarcely necessary to apprise our readers, that this is an accurate portrait of Louis XI., or that his younger, shorter, and stouter companion, with his 'down-looking visage' and 'ominous smile,' was his trusty Provost-Marshal, Tristan l'Hermite, the punctual executioner of his sanguinary commands.

The river was in flood, and the youth shouted an inquiry respecting its fordability, but, receiving no answer, entered the stream without any other precaution than laying aside buskins. In an instant he was carried off his legs, but being a bold and practised swimmer, he reached the other side in safety. Exasperated at the negligence which had thus allowed him to endanger his life, he begins to quarrel with the worthy Tristan; but the elder companion interferes, and after a dialogue of some length, in which Quentin gives a summary but satisfac-

tory account of himself, Maitre Pierre (the King's assumed name) takes the Scot under his guidance, and they set off for the village of Plessis. In their route across the park, they pass near the castle, a large, dark, strong fortification with a triple wall and fosse.

His companion told him that the environs of the castle, except the single winding path by which the portal might be safely approached, were, like the thickets through which they had passed, surrounded with every species of hidden pitfall, snare, and gin, to entrap the wretch who should venture thither without a guide; that upon the walls were constructed certain cradles of iron, called *swallows' nests*, from which the sentinels, who were regularly posted there, could take deliberate aim at any who should attempt to enter without the proper signal or pass-word of the day.

A little further on, they pass an oak-tree on which hangs the body of a man, a victim of the King's justice or cruelty; an exhibition not unfrequently displayed on trees and gibbets in the vicinity of his abode. At length they reach an hostelry where the monarch was well-known to the landlord. Preserving his incognito, he orders an abundant breakfast for Quentin, whose appetite, at all times somewhat of the keenest, was now sharpened by long abstinence, and made desperate havoc in a noble *paté de Perigord*, and other viands of equal *gout*; nor does he decline an occasional draught of delicious *vin de Beaulne*. Maitre Pierre's fare was of a less solid kind, and was brought in by a lovely, dark-haired girl, who awakens in Durward feelings of a very tender kind. At length, the King quits his companion, having previously presented him with a silver cup, half full of money of the same metal. In the course of their conversation it had appeared, that the immediate object of Quentin's visit to this neighbourhood was to seek an interview with his maternal uncle, Ludovic Lesly, surnamed, from an enormous scar on his right cheek, *le Balafré*. This relative was in the *Archer-guard*, composed entirely of Scottish gentlemen of noble blood, to which the immediate defence of the royal person was entrusted, and which was distinguished by peculiar privileges, rich armour and clothing, and high pay. Ludovic is represented as a tall, powerful man, remarkable for steady courage, but, in all respects, a mere soldier; and when he learns, in the interview with his nephew, that he is the sole survivor of the family of Durward, having barely escaped with life from the fray which exterminated his race, he contents himself with giving orders for masses to be said in behalf of the souls of his kindred. Lesly is soon called away to duty, and his young relative amuses himself with a solitary walk along the banks of the Cher. His stroll

proves an eventful one, for, after some unpleasant misunderstandings with different persons whom he meets, he at last comes upon a groupe of peasants standing near some chesnut trees, on one of which hangs a man, whose limbs are still quivering with the convulsions of death. Without heeding the significant gesture of a by-stander who points to the rude impression of a *fleur de lis* on the bark, he springs into the tree, and cuts down the corpse, whose heavy fall on the ground announces that life was completely gone. While busied in endeavouring to restore animation, Quentin is surrounded by a band of gipsies, whose wild and savage appearance is most picturesquely described; and their lamentations and active efforts to bring back the extinguished spark of existence, shew the victim to have been one of their tribe. They are soon interrupted in their business by the appearance of the Provost and his guard, who succeed in seizing on a few prisoners, and among them, the luckless Scotsman, whose protestations of innocence are quite in vain; the halter is round his neck, and the hangmen, Trois Echelles and Petit André are urging him forward to the tree, when one of the Archer-guard, finding him to be a Scotsman, interferes; and shortly after, Ludovic Lesly and a party of his friends, ride up and rescue him from the disappointed cruelty of Tristan and his associates. Quentin is enrolled in the royal guard as his uncle's esquire, and, on his first appearance on duty at court, is recognised by Louis, who requires to know 'the year, day, hour, and minute of his birth.' From these important data, the King's astrologer calculates the youth's horoscope, and ascertains a mysterious connexion between his fortunes and those of the monarch, which induces the latter to employ him immediately on confidential service.

While at the little inn in the village of Plessis, the 'dark-browed damsel' had awakened a considerable interest in Durward's mind, and a subsequent glimpse of a 'white, round arm' at a turret window, and the sound of a delicious voice singing to the lute an ancient roundelay, had deepened the impression, and stimulated his curiosity. He now finds that the fair tenant of the *auberge*, is no less a personage than Isabelle, Countess of Croye, who, under the guidance of her relative the Countess Hameline, had fled from the court of Burgundy to avoid having an ill-suited husband forced upon her by the Duke. A haughty defiance from the latter is delivered to Louis by the Count de Crevecoeur, the ambassador of Charles; and the former, anxious to conceal his harbourage of the fair fugitives, sends them away, under an escort commanded by Quentin, who has thus the exquisite delight of attending on his 'lady-love,' through a perilous jour-

ney. Perilous, indeed, it proves to be; for the King, as usual, was playing a double game. Ostensibly he was consigning the countesses to the honourable guardianship of the Prince-Bishop of Liege, while he had made private arrangements for intercepting them on their route, and giving them up to the tender mercies of William de la Marck, the Boar of Ardenne; a monster of cruelty and ugliness, whose services were to be secured by the hand and estates of the lovely Isabelle. This design was to have been effected by the intervention of a gipsy guide, but it is effectually defeated by the shrewdness, activity, and courage of the young Scot. He first unhorses the Duke of Orleans, and engages, with doubtful success, the celebrated Dunois, who had reluctantly engaged himself to assist the former in his rash attempt to carry off Isabelle, with whose charms the Prince had been irresistibly stricken, though under positive engagements to the younger daughter of Louis. Quentin afterwards detects the treacherous machinations of Hayraddin Maugrabin, the gipsy, and by an alteration in the route, conveys his charge in safety to the court of Liege. The guide and his *monture* are thus described.

‘ The low size, and wild, shaggy, untrained state of the animal, reminded Quentin of the mountain breed of horses in his own country, but this was much more finely limbed, and, with the same appearance of hardness, was more rapid in its movements. The head, particularly, which, in the Scottish poney, is often lumpish and heavy, was small and well-placed in the neck of this animal, with thin jaws, full sparkling eyes, and expanded nostrils.

‘ The rider was even more singular in his appearance than the horse which he rode, though that was extremely unlike the horses of France. Although he managed his palfrey with great dexterity, he sat with his feet in broad stirrups, something resembling a shovel, so short, that his knees were well-nigh as high as the pommel of his saddle. His dress was a red turban of small size, in which he wore a sullied plume, secured by a clasp of silver; his tunic, which was shaped like those of the Estradiots, a sort of troops whom the Venetians at that time levied in the provinces on the eastern side of their gulf, was green in colour, and tawdrily laced with gold. He wore very wide drawers or trowsers of white, though none of the cleanest, which gathered beneath the knee, and his swarthy legs were quite bare, unless for the complicated laces which bound a pair of sandals on his feet; he had no spurs, the edge of his large stirrups being so sharp as to serve to goad the horse in a very severe manner. In a crimson sash this singular horseman wore a dagger on the right side, and on the left a short, crooked Moorish sword, and by a tarnished baldrick over the shoulder hung the horn which announced his approach. He had a swarthy and sun-burnt visage, with a thin beard, and piercing dark eyes, a well-formed mouth and nose, and other features which might have been pronounced handsome, but for the black

elf-locks which hung around his face, and the air of wildness and emaciation, which rather seemed to indicate a savage, than a civil man.'

This strange companion seemed to be much interested in the appearance of the ladies, and not only 'turned his head far back as he could, to peer at them,' but, with a morose like facility of twisting and distorting the natural position of his body, 'screwed his whole person round on the saddle' to command a more complete view. Not much pleased at this rude inspection, Durward rode up to interpose; and we cite the most characteristic passages of the dialogue which followed.

' " Methinks, friend, you will prove but a blind guide, if you look at the tail of your horse, rather than his ears."

' " And if I were actually blind," answered the Bohemian, " would guide you through any county in this realm of France, or those adjoining to it."

' " Yet you are no Frenchman born," said the Scot.

' " I am not," answered the guide.

' " What countryman, then, are you?" demanded Quentin.

' " I am of no country," answered the guide.

' " How! of no country?" repeated the Scot.

' " No," answered the Bohemian, " of none. I am a Zingari, a Bohemian, an Egyptian, or whatever the Europeans, in their different languages, may choose to call our people; but I have no country."

' " Are you a Christian?" asked the Scotchman.

' The Bohemian shook his head.

' " Dog," said Quentin, (for there was little toleration in the age of Catholicism in those days,) " doest thou worship Mahouri?"

' " No." . . . . .

' " Are you a pagan, then, or what are you?"

' " I have no religion." . . . . .

' Durward started back. . . . . He recovered from his astonishment and asked where his guide usually dwelt.

' " Wherever I chance to be for the time," replied the Bohemian, " I have no home."

' " How do you guard your property?"

' " Excepting the clothes which I wear, and the horse I ride on, I have no property."

. . . . .

' " Who is your leader, and commands you?"

' " The Father of our tribe—if I choose to obey him," said the guide—" otherwise I have no commander."

' " You are then," said the wondering querist, " destitute of that other men are combined by;—you have no law, no leader, no settled means of subsistence, no house or home. You have, in Heaven compassionate you, no country—and, may Heaven enlighten and forgive you, you have no God! What is it that remains to you, deprived of government, domestic happiness, and religion?"

"I have liberty," said the Bohemian—"I crouch to no one—obey no one—respect no one.—I go where I will—live as I can—and die when my day comes."

.....

"Yours is a wandering race, unknown to the nations of Europe—Whence do they derive their origin?"

"I may not tell you," answered the Bohemian.

.....

"Are you not sprung from those tribes of Israel which were carried into captivity beyond the great river Euphrates?" said Quentin.....

"Had we been so," answered the Bohemian, "we had followed their faith, and practised their rites."

.....

"Thou speakest too well for one who hath lived always in thy filthy horde," said the Scot.

"I have learned some of the knowledge of this land," said Hayraddin.—"When I was a little boy, our tribe was chased by the hunters after human flesh. An arrow went through my mother's head, and she died. I was entangled in the blanket on her shoulders, and was taken by the pursuers. A priest begged me from the Provost's archers, and trained me up in Frankish learning for two or three years."

"How came you to part with him?" demanded Durward.

"I stole money from him—even the God which he worshipped," answered Hayraddin, with perfect composure; "he detected me, and beat me—I stabbed him with my knife, fled to the woods, and was again united to my people."

"Wretch," said Durward, "did you murder your benefactor?"

"What had he to do to burden me with his benefits? The Zingaro boy was no house-bred cur to dog the heels of his master, and crouch beneath his blows, for scraps of food. He was the imprisoned wolf-whelp, which at the first opportunity broke his chain, rended his master, and returned to his wilderness."

To an inquiry whether their claims to a knowledge of futurity were just, Hayraddin answered.

"We pretend to it....and it is with justice."

"How can it be that so high a gift is bestowed on so abject a race?" said Quentin.

"Can I tell you?....Yes, I may indeed, but it is when you shall explain to me why the dog can trace the footsteps of a man, while man, the nobler animal, hath no power to trace those of the dog. These powers which seem to you so wonderful, are instinctive in our race."

De la Marck, disappointed of his prey, determines, with the aid of the disaffected Liegeois, to surprise the fortified palace of the bishop. The night assault, with the scenes of horror that attended it, are described with all the distinctness and



powerful effect peculiar to this Writer. Hayraddin has a deep part in this transaction; but, from motives of gratitude to Quentin—we should previously have intimated that the body which the latter had cut down from the tree, at the commencement of his adventures, was that of Zamet, the brother of Hayraddin—he determines on saving him and the Countess Hameline, who, though a somewhat faded beauty, has fallen in love with the youth. By an easy *equivoque*, Quentin supposes his prize to be the Lady Isabelle, and, on discovering his error, hastens back to the castle in search of her, leaving Hameline to the care of the Zingaro. With some hazard and difficulty, he succeeds, but finds it impossible to carry her off without the aid of Pavillon, a rich Syndic of Liege, and one of the leaders of the insurrection. The gates, however, are secured by the orders of the Boar of Ardennes, and the whole party, with poor Isabelle, muffled in a cloak, and nearly insensible with terror, are compelled to enter the great hall of the palace, where that ruffian is revelling with his men, after the exertion of the assault. The vivid description of this scene is far too long for our limits, but a few sections will sufficiently exhibit the vigour with which it is portrayed.

‘ The soldiers and officers sat around the table, intermixed with the men of Liege, some of them of the very lowest description; among whom Nikkel Blok, the butcher, placed near De la March himself, was distinguished by his tucked up sleeves, which displayed arms smeared to the elbows with blood, as was the cleaver which lay on the table before him. The soldiers wore, most of them, their beards long and grisly, in imitation of their leader; had their hair plaited and turned upwards, in the manner that might best improve the natural ferocity of their appearance; and intoxicated, as many of them seemed to be, partly with the sense of triumph, and partly with the long libations of wine which they had been quaffing, presented a spectacle at once hideous and disgusting.’

.....

‘ The preparations for the feast had been as disorderly as the quality of the company. The whole of the bishop’s plate, nay, even that belonging to the Church—for the Boar of Ardennes regarded not the imputation of sacrilege—were mingled with black jacks, or huge tankards made of leather, and drinking-horns of the most ordinary description.

‘ Amidst the wild licence assumed by the soldiers of De la March, one who was excluded from the table (a Lanzknecht, remarkable for his courage and for his daring behaviour during the storm of the evening) had impudently snatched up a large silver goblet, and carried it off, declaring it should atone for his loss of the share of the feast. The leader laughed till his sides shook, at a jest so congenial to the character of the company; but when another, less renowned, &

would seem, for audacity in battle, ventured on using the same freedom, De la Marck instantly put a check to a jocular practice, which would soon have cleared his table of all the more valuable decorations.—“Ho! by the spirit of the thunder!” he exclaimed, “those who dare not be men when they face the enemy, must not pretend to be thieves among their friends. What! thou frontless dastard thou—thou who didst wait for opened gate and lowered bridge, when Conrade Horst forced his way over moat and wall, must *thou* be malapert?—Knit him up to the staunchions of the hall-window!—He shall beat time with his feet, while we drink a cup to his safe passage.”

‘The doom was scarce sooner pronounced than accomplished; and in a moment the wretch wrestled out his last agonies, suspended from the iron bars. His body still hung there when Quentin and the others entered the hall, and, intercepting the pale moon-beam, threw on the Castle-floor an uncertain shadow, which dubiously, yet fearfully, intimated the nature of the substance that produced it.

‘The Bishop of Liege, Louis of Bourbon, was dragged into the hall of his own palace, by the brutal soldiery. The dishevelled state of his hair, beard, and attire, bore witness to the ill-treatment he had already received; and some of his sacerdotal robes hastily flung over him, appeared to have been put on in scorn and ridicule of his quality and character.

The bearing of the ecclesiastic is noble and impressive; he reproaches De la Marck with his crimes, and enjoins on him contrition and penance.

‘While Louis of Bourbon proposed these terms, in a tone as decided as if he still occupied his episcopal throne, and as if the usurper knelt a suppliant at his feet, the tyrant slowly raised himself in his chair; the amazement with which he was at first filled, giving way gradually to rage, until, as the bishop ceased, he looked to Nikkel Blok, and raised his finger, without speaking a word. The ruffian struck, as if he had been doing his office in the common shambles; and the murdered Bishop sunk, without a groan, at the foot of his own episcopal throne.’

The Liegeois, though they were a turbulent race, and had conspired to throw off the easy yoke of the Bishop, were not so far hardened as to tolerate this sight of horror. A tumult arises, of which the result promises to have been the entire extermination of the insurgents by the better armed and more warlike satellites of William, but for the spirited conduct of Quentin, who seizes upon a youth, the natural son of De la Marck, and with drawn dagger, threatens his life unless a stop were put to the imminent massacre. His uniform, that of the Archer-guard, supports his claim to be considered as the envoy of Louis, the ally and protector of the Boar of Ar-



dennes; and he succeeds by firmness and intrepidity in withdrawing this whole party from the Castle. After some further adventures, he places his fair charge in safety at the court of the Duke of Burgundy.

The remainder of the story turns on the singular determination which was carried into execution by Louis XI. when he voluntarily put himself into the hands of his rival at Peronne. The craft of the French king, with his anxieties, apprehensions, and his various manœuvres, are admirably detailed; and the struggles between violent emotion, self-interest, and honourable feeling, in the breast of Charles, are powerfully drawn. Philip de Comines, and other leading characters of the Burgundian court, figure conspicuously on the scene. The main narrative, with its various underplots, now becomes too complicated for analysis. In the mean time, Quentin's amour with the Lady of Croye, goes forward amid multiplied difficulties, until her hand is offered by Charles, to any noble adventurer who shall bring him the head of De la Marck, the murderer of the good Bishop of Liege. The battle fought by the allied Burgundians and French against the Liegeois and the Boar of Ardenne, is portrayed with great force and spirit. De la Marck, aware of the efforts that will be made personally against him, changes his usual armour and bearings; but Durward, having been made acquainted, through a communication from Isabelle, with this circumstance, singles him out, and has nearly obtained the victory, when called off by the shrieks of a damsel in the hands of the licentious soldiery. The business, however, is finished by *le Balafre*, who willingly resigns the lady's hand to his nephew. In this brief sketch, we have, of necessity, passed over a multitude of characters and events; but it would be unfair to the Zingaro, not to record his fate. Having delivered, in the assumed character of a herald, an insulting message from De la Marck to Charles the Bold, he is first baited by dogs, and then hanged, bequeathing his purse and his horse to Quentin.

Art. IV. *Remarkable Passages in the Life of William Kiffin*: written by Himself, and edited from the Original Manuscript, with Notes and Additions. By William Orme. Small 8vo. pp. 162. Price 5s.6d. London. 1823.

THE publication of this manuscript memoir is in some measure owing to the appearance of "*Peveril of the Peak*." It is perhaps the best result of those fascinating but exceptional productions now known by the name of the Scotch

s, that they have indirectly led to the illustration of several interesting periods of English history, by means of the which have followed in their *wake*, and 'partaken the .'. 'The attentive reader of that work,' says Mr. Orme, 'ing to the above-mentioned novel, 'who may deign to his eye over the following pages,'

be struck with various points of resemblance between its nical hero Major Bridgenorth, and the honest and venerable m Kiffin. Both belonged to the same class of religious pro-; both made considerable fortunes during the period of civil on; both exercised their talents in the field, and their gifts in urch; and both were the subjects of heavy domestic misfortunes, ed in religious persecution, or in the calamities of political in- . Here, however, I must stop. Bridgenorth is a caricature, eature of fiction, and designed to ridicule either the profession : weaknesses of religious persons. Kiffin is a real character, ming, it is true, a few peculiarities, but embodying the sub- al excellencies of Christianity, which the Author of the *Scot- loves* seems little capable of estimating. In this last production, d, there is a greater tone of moderation in regard to religion, n some of his former works. There is an admission, that "his an is faintly traced to his Cameronian"—a poor apology for his hteous treatment of the patriotic and persecuted covenanters. Author of "*Peveril*" still considers "hypocrisy and enthusiasm" is in the vocabulary of the world for the religion of the Bible) food for ridicule and satire. "Yet," he says, "I am sensible e difficulty of holding fanaticism up to laughter or abhorrence, ut using colouring which may give offence to the sincerely worthy eligious. Many things are lawful which are not convenient; and are many tones of feeling which are too respectable to be in- l, though we do not altogether sympathize with them." If this t a testimony of homage to truth, it is at least a deference to c feeling; and every step in the return to right thinking and g ought to be acknowledged with approbation.

here is some reason to believe,' adds Mr. Orme, 'that an ex- re change in the public opinion respecting the nature of genuine on, has been silently operating for a considerable time. All alents are obviously not on the side of infidelity and irreligion. faith of Christ is not entirely limited to the vulgar and the shed. It has been adopted in all its peculiarities, and manifested its decision, by men of the highest order of intellect, and of the brilliant parts. It is not so convenient as it once was, to decry usness as fanaticism, and religious zeal as madness. It is dis- ed that a Christian may be a gentleman, and that sourness and ace have as little connexion with godliness as levity and profane-

This change in the public mind appears, among other things, e increased respect which is shewn to puritanical writings—puri- al characters—and to what may be called the puritanical age of ish history. Even Oliver Cromwell has ceased to be regarded

merely as a hypocrite and a villain, and has found historians and apologists, not only among Dissenters and Whigs, but among Churchmen and Tories.'

There could not be a much more striking proof of this change of public opinion, than the deference which is paid to it by authors of novels and works of fiction. Even in the most exceptionable and perhaps the finest production of the Author of *Waverley*, *Old Mortality*, there are concessions made to the piety and heroism of the Cameronians, which distinguish the injustice of the historical novelist from the coarser misrepresentations of party-writers and the ribaldry of the satirist. Such, however, was the character of those times, and such the state of things in our own country in the days of *Peveril of the Peak*, that it would not perhaps be easy to bring home the charge of stepping beyond the line of truth in the depiction of individual characters. The misrepresentation lies in the sweeping inferences which are drawn from such instances when held up as specimens. 'I readily grant,' says Mr. Orme, 'that during the period in which Kiffin lived, there were many false pretenders, not a few wild enthusiasts, and some who made gain by godliness.' 'Many of the Puritans would have been singular and eccentric characters though they had not adopted a religious profession.' We fear that the general character of the age must be allowed to have been that of stormy grandeur, rather than of light and purity; and such spirits as Milton, and Howe, and Hutchinson were upborne above the element of their times, rather than partook of its influence. We should not like to undertake the defence of all the sentiments and doings even of the sincerely religious in that age, and should most assuredly hesitate to subscribe to many of the dogmas of the puritan theology. Our admiration of those olden times is by no means unbounded, nor do we think them to have been better than these we live in. But, compared with the mass of their countrymen at that period, the party which furnishes the Novelist or the Satirist with his caricature portraits of fanaticism, and which contained but too many pretenders and counterfeits to serve as originals to these portraits, included, unquestionably, by far the larger mass of the wise and good; nor is it possible to hold up their peculiarities to ridicule, without countenancing the ribaldry of the scoffer and the impiety of the profane.

The misrepresentation of the men would be an offence of no further consequence than as it tends to perplex and obscure the page of history, were it not that something much more important than the character of any set of individuals or of

any party, gets misrepresented through them. They are dead and gone, and all their private interests have long been buried in forgetfulness. Whatever be their claims to our veneration as patriots or as divines, we have no further interest in their reputation, than that which, as Englishmen and as Christians, we feel for the wise and good whose names illustrate the annals of our civil and ecclesiastical history. Owen is no more to us than Wicliffe, nor Baxter more than Latimer. Whatever were their errors or their oddities, we have no cause to blush for the one, nor to refrain from a smile at the other. The principles which we hold in common with the early Puritans and Nonconformists, ally us as nearly, in feeling and in fact, to Hooker, to Reynolds, and to Leighton, with whom they are now eternally associated. Were they alive at this moment, retaining all the notions of their age, it would be hard to say from which we should find ourselves differing the more widely. 'In many things,' as Mr. Orme justly remarks, 'we do not sympathize with the men of the seventeenth century; nor will the men of the twentieth, perhaps, sympathize with us.' But even if we could consent to go further than this, and give up the 'professors' of that age to the pens of Clarendon and of Butler, as a set altogether of hypocrites and fanatics, our objection would not be in the slightest degree lessened to the ludicrous exhibition of their peculiarities as *religionists*. In all such representations, religion itself must be made to supply the point of the jest. There is nothing ludicrous in hypocrisy; it is in itself a thing simply hateful. What it is, then, that is amusing in these suspected or alleged hypocrites? It must be the piety which they affected. Take away their scripture phrases and religious habits, and you destroy the joke. They formed, it is said, a caricature of religion. Be it so; what other purpose can the exhibition of a caricature answer, than the casting ridicule on the original? There must be a resemblance, to constitute it a caricature: there must have been something in these men very like religion, to make their hypocrisy or enthusiasm pass for it. Then how is it possible to hold them up to ridicule without connecting the burlesque with religion itself? Let it not be said, that it was they who rendered religion ludicrous. It is not the fact. Their habits were the habits of the times; and however quaint, or affected, or precise they may seem to us, they were no more ridiculous in the estimation of their contemporaries, except to those who scoffed at the Scriptures and the religion of the Bible itself, than Wicliffe's translation of the Bible was ridiculous in the age of Richard II., or than the costume of our great grandmothers was in the days of Queen Anne. The contrast which

is one cause of the ludicrous effect, is supplied by the manner and dialect of the several periods. There can be no doubt that the manners and customs of the primitive Christians, could they be portrayed by the Author of *Waverley*, or had they been authentically delineated in some classical *Hudibras*, might be made to furnish equal entertainment. And incidentally enough, if their religion suffered no prejudice by these means. Diorephres, or Alexander the Copper-smith, or some of the Corinthian teachers, might be made to occupy the place of Habbakkuk Mucklewrath or of Major Bridgenorth on canvass, and we should have in that case an equally fair and undoubted specimen of the fanatics of the first century. The question but those trouble-coasts wore the same quaint dress, affected the same unsocial nonconformity to the world, observed the same strange customs, talked in the same rude dialect as Demetrius, and Onesiphorus, and Stephanas. What would minister food to ridicule, therefore, must be, not what distinguished the sincere from the counterfeit, but what both had externally in common.

Fanaticism, except in its wildest excesses, may be termed the religion of weak minds, and it is always more or less nearly allied to real religion. Its errors are the exaggerations of truth; its repulsive features are a bad copy of the blameless original. But is it quite certain that no portion of the disapprobation or indignant ridicule levelled at fanaticism, is provoked by the closeness of its resemblance to true piety, rather than by the points of deviation? Whence arises the admitted 'difficulty' of holding up fanaticism to laughter or abhorrence without using colouring which may give offence to the sincere and worthy and religious? To us it appears to arise simply from its being an imperceptible line of demarcation which often separates the object of ridicule from pure religion. The contrariety between fanaticism and piety, as between hypocrisy and piety, lies less in the external manifestation than in principle itself. But it is the external appearance, the accidents of fanaticism, not its essence, which are hated or despised, and these may chance to be the accidents of true piety. The austerity or moroseness of the fanatic is ridiculed; but are the seriousness and temperance of the Christian admired? The cant phrase is laughed at: is the sentiment respected? The pretended sanctity is despised: is the saint revered? We shall say when the zeal of the Christian reaches the proper point in the scale, which marks the temperature of fanaticism. Who is to decide when faith in Divine providence becomes presumptuous, when devotion runs into enthusiasm, prudence into craft, heroism into obstinacy? Shall it be the man

is himself devoid of the substantial qualities of faith, of devotion, and of ardour? Shall it be the novel-reader, or the writer of novels?

Every one knows that the harmless oddities of a friend we venerate, the eccentricities of a genius we admire, the weaknesses of a great man, are not merely pardoned and treated with indulgence, but sometimes dwelt upon with fondness, as a characteristic part of the portrait. If religion itself were universally an object of love and veneration, it would in like manner redeem from contempt and heartless ridicule, the human infirmities which became associated with it. But unhappily, this is not the case. Religion, to the generality of those who seek for amusement in works of fiction, is in the disadvantageous predicament of a stranger, whose substantial excellencies are unknown, and who is, therefore, recognised only by the awkward stoop, or inelegant gait, or provincial dialect, or cynical mien which may happen to distinguish him. Those who are taught to laugh at the Cameronian or Puritan fanatic, would not know the Christian were they to meet him; or if they did, they would soon be disgusted at finding how closely the other resembled him. How disagreeable must that needs be in reality, which is so near being ridiculous or detestable, that when pushed to what is deemed an excess, or associated with a few peculiarities of costume, it becomes so!

The frequent use of Scripture phraseology, which gives a quaintness and the appearance of affectation to the writers of the puritanical age, and which is stated to have characterized even their familiar intercourse, has furnished infinite store of merriment and sarcasm, from the days of *Hudibras*, down to those of the Author of *Waverley*. But there is one circumstance which appears not to have been taken into the account, in judging of the practice of the Puritans in this respect; and it is a consideration which greatly aggravates the profaneness of Butler: we refer to the state of the English language at that period. The phraseology of the Authorized Version of the Bible is now antiquated, and is on this account peculiarly susceptible of a ludicrous effect when applied to familiar subjects. But the translation had then very recently been executed. The language of the Bible was at that time the language of common life: its quaintness was the quaintness of the age. There was a naturalness, therefore, in their use of Scripture language, which is lost to us. Instead of the phraseology of the Puritans being formed upon the Scripture, the phraseology of Scripture was greatly formed upon theirs. This must be allowed to make some difference in the matter of affectation. The speeches of Cromwell are held to be un-



doubted affectation and cant, and yet, they are not more interlarded with Scripture, while they are far less affected, than the speeches of King James. Add to this, that the English Bible was then a new book, and there was consequently a peculiar interest attaching to it, which may partly account for the frequency of quotation. But the phrases themselves which are now so repulsive to the fastidious ears of men of taste, were for the most part as familiar English as any which could now be employed to express the same idea. *Godliness* did not savour a whit more of any theological school, than *piety* does now. *Divine grace* was not more technical a term than *Divine favour*. The terms which are most remote from our vernacular idiom, come to us obviously from the Vulgate and the Latin Fathers. Of this description are justification, election, predestination, for which there is reason to regret that our Translators did not find substitutes more purely English. But these theological terms were by no means of Puritan origin, nor were they restricted to any theological school. We attach ideas to them in the present day, which could not have been associated with them in the seventeenth century, and imagine that they must have sounded strange to that generation, because they are antiquated to us. The ridicule then, attached to the doctrine, not to the phraseology. Those who now ridicule the phraseology, affect to reverence the doctrine. The wits and cavaliers of those days laughed at the Bible itself, and honestly hated all who pretended to believe its doctrines. Impiety has now-a-days grown more modest, and quarrels only with the nomenclature of religion, sneering at the odd dress and antiquated manner which piety may seem to assume. This is something better, as regards the malignity of the intention; but the effect of ridicule is much the same, whether it be aimed at the doctrine, or at the phrase. It is only a more decent way of exploding the thing. With how keen a relish for the venerable language of the Authorized Version, must the Author of *Old Mortality* and *Peveril of the Peak*, have sat down, after composing those works, to the perusal of the Scriptures! How admirably prepared must his readers have been to listen the next Sunday to Mr. Craig, or Mr. Thomson, enforcing the necessity of regeneration, and inculcating a godly life!

The present memoir, though never before printed entire, has been made considerable use of by Noble in his *Memoirs of the Protector*, and subsequently by Walter Wilson and Mr. Ivimey. We shall not, therefore, enter into the details of the narrative. As an illustration of the history of the times, it will be found highly interesting. Mr. Kyffen or Kiffin appears to have been a simple-minded, prudent, generous, and bene-



volent man, uniting the noble qualities of the English merchant to the devout character of the Puritan. By a combination of functions not very unusual in those days, he was at once a merchant, a soldier, and a preacher. But it should be added, that he preached without fee or hire, and that his military service was confined to the militia, in which he was first a captain, and then a lieutenant-colonel. It is probable that he regarded himself as a layman. In his old age, he had civic honours thrust upon him much against his will, being by royal commission appointed one of the aldermen of the City of London, a justice of the peace, and one of the Lieutenancy. But with neither of the latter two places, he tells us, did he ever meddle; and he obtained his discharge from the office of alderman about nine months after his appointment, laying down his gown with as much pleasure as some persons manifest to obtain one. It is somewhat remarkable, that he does not himself advert to his personal interview with King James on this occasion, which Noble has preserved on the authority of one of his family.

‘ Kiffin was personally known both to Charles and James; and when the latter of these princes, after having arbitrarily deprived the city of the old charter, determined to put many of the dissenters into the magistracy, under the rose he sent for Kiffin to attend him at court. When he went thither in obedience to the king’s command, he found many lords and gentlemen. The king immediately came up to him, and addressed him with all the little grace he was master of. He talked of his favour to the dissenters in the court style of the season, and concluded with telling Kiffin, he had put him down as an alderman in his new charter. “Sire,” replied Kiffin, “I am a very old man, and have withdrawn myself from all kind of business for some years past, and am incapable of doing any service in such an affair to your majesty or the city. Besides, Sir,” the old man went on, fixing his eyes stedfastly upon the king, while the tears ran down his cheeks, “the death of my grandsons gave a wound to my heart which is still bleeding, and never will close but in the grave.” The king was deeply struck by the manner, the freedom, and the spirit of this unexpected rebuke. A total silence ensued, while the galled countenance of James seemed to shrink from the horrid remembrance. In a minute or two, however, he recovered himself enough to say, “Mr. Kiffin, I shall find a balsam for that sore, and immediately turned about to a lord in waiting.” ’

We should much have liked this striking anecdote in the good old man’s own words. His two grandsons were executed for high treason, as adherents of the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth. A very affecting account of their last moments is given by Mr. Kiffin, in the present memoir. We subjoin from

the Notes appended to it by the Editor, two other characteristic anecdotes. Mr. Orme is already well known to our readers as the author of one of the most valuable pieces of ecclesiastical biography which have appeared: he has now laid the religious public under a fresh obligation by the manner in which he has brought out and illustrated this interesting document.

‘It is said that King Charles at one time, when much in want of money, sent to Mr. Kiffin, requesting the loan of 40,000*l*. Kiffin excused himself by declaring that he had not such a sum; but that if it would be of service to his Majesty, he would present him with 10,000*l*. It was accepted of course; and Kiffin used to say, that by giving ten, he had saved thirty thousand pounds. This perhaps partly accounts for the favour which he enjoyed at court.’

\* \* \* \* \*

‘When the French Protestants were driven to England for refuge, William Kiffin received into his protection a numerous French family of considerable rank. He fitted up and furnished a house of his own for their reception, provided them with servants, and entirely maintained them at his own expense, in a manner which bore some proportion to their rank in France. When this family afterwards recovered some part of their ruined fortune, he would not diminish it a single shilling, by taking any retribution for the services he had done them. Such were the *city patriots* of those times!’

**Art. V. *An Ecclesiastical Memoir* of the first four Decades of the Reign of George the Third; or, an Account of the State of Religion in the Church of England during that Period: with characteristic Sketches of distinguished Divines, Authors, and Benefactors. By the Rev. John White Middelton, A.M. 8vo. pp. xvi. 398. Price 9*s*. London. 1822.**

**A** COMPETENT and impartial memoir of the state of religion in England during the reign of George the Third, would be extremely valuable and instructive. It seems to be pretty generally admitted, that, previously to the rise of Methodism, a lamentable declension had extensively taken place, in point as well of purity of doctrine as of zeal, in both the established and the tolerated churches of this country. The causes which led to that state of things, have never been satisfactorily investigated. As regards the National Church, however, little obscurity hangs over them. The Act of Uniformity and the Test Act were followed by their natural consequences: they were the triumph of high-church intolerance, and they issued, as the former was expressly intended to operate, in the exclusion, during a century, of evangelical preachers from the pulpits of the Establishment. From the effects of those Acts,

the Church of England has never recovered, and it is quite visionary to suppose that it ever can recover. Though still the Established, yet, it never can be in fact the *national* Church. The evangelical ministers within its pale, do not now number so many as were madly and wickedly ejected from her communion; and if they were twice as numerous, the population has since become treble what it then was, and, of the great mass of the nation, a very large proportion has become irreclaimably attached to Dissenting communities. Almost all that distinguishes England as a religious nation in the eyes of foreign countries, originated with Dissenters, or is mixed up with Dissenters; so that the Episcopal Church can never be considered in future as any thing more than what Mr. Middelton aptly styles it, 'the ascendant division of Christianity' in this country. The ascendancy, the precedence, and the civil deference which it claims on the ground of its connexion with the State, Dissenters cheerfully concede to it; but they hold themselves to form a section of the nation rather too considerable to allow of their being put quite out of sight by the designation applied to that ascendant division, of the national Church. The nation does not go along with the Church of England; and that Church must submit to many modifications, before it shall be able to overtake and re-absorb the vast portion of the community which has departed from it. It has not the power of Aaron's rod to swallow up the other rods. It must always be indebted to those whose alliance it repels, and whose assistance it disclaims, the Dissenters, to meet the religious wants, and to maintain the social order of the community.

It is well known to have been the anxious wish of John Wesley, especially in the beginning of his career, to prevent a total separation from the Episcopal Church. And there are individuals of the Wesleyan body, who still affect to speak of themselves as Church of England men, while they worship every Sunday in a conventicle, and their recognised ministers take out licences under the Toleration Act. We have never been able to understand the consistency or the uprightness of such pretences. Occasional communion with the Church of England, was not scrupled by the most decided and exemplary Nonconformists, till the Test Act made the Sacrament a 'picklock to a place.' This, therefore, though it may qualify for office, does not make a man a churchman. The Church is generally understood in the sense of the clergy. We do not say that this is the proper sense, but, in point of fact, the people go with their clergy, and are characterized by them.

Had Wesley been able to procure the ordination and sanction of the Church of England for his preachers, (which he always did whenever he could,) he would never have separated from the Church; and the consequence would have been, that the great body of the Wesleyan Methodists would have been retained, in connexion with their preachers, within its pale. But it is the preaching of the Dissenters, the Methodists, and the evangelical clergy, which the policy of the Establishment leads its rulers especially to discountenance. And while this is the case, it can never be a national or a popular church. The people ask for teachers; they will flock to hear energetic, impassioned, evangelical preachers. They will follow such men into the Church; they will follow them out of the Church. The Church which does not recognise or employ ministers of this description, will find herself presently deserted by the people. The revival which has taken place within the Church of England, has been chiefly brought about by means of such preachers, who have risen up among her parochial clergy. Now the probabilities with regard to the growing prosperity of the Church, or the increase of Dissenters, may be summed up in this; whether that effective pulpit instruction which is found to lay hold of the attention and affections of the people, and to outweigh the considerations respecting minor differences, is ever likely to be identified with the pulpits of the Establishment; or, if not confined to them, to prevail in them, so as to characterize the Church, and give it an eminence over other divisions of the religious world. Any plan of comprehension which should have this effect, would give a death-blow to Dissent, considered as a party interest, though its principles would remain as true and as important as ever. But such an expectation we should deem very chimerical. It is to keep out and keep down this preaching, that the Act of Uniformity is continued; and while this policy is persevered in, the growing population must fall chiefly into the ranks of the Dissenters.

And yet, there are good men who speak of this Act of Uniformity, and of the still more iniquitous Test Act, as the magna charta and palladium of the Church. Acts which, judging from those who have got into the Church, have never sufficed to keep any wicked man out of it, but have excluded thousands of learned and pious men, and were meant to exclude them,—these Acts are the pillars of the Establishment, the safeguard of all that is venerable and apostolical in our constitution ecclesiastical! In these her ministers glory, of whom it may be truly said, that, in this instance, they glory in their shame. Mr. Middelton, after giving an account of the failure of the clerical petition for relief from subscription in 1772, and

noticing the deliverance of the Establishment from that formidable 'blow aimed at the ecclesiastical regulations,' the motion for a repeal of the Act for observing the 30th of January; proceeds to speak of the 'bold measure' of the Dissenters in petitioning for a repeal of the Test Act.

'The hardships imposed by the law on Protestant Dissenters,' he says, 'were represented as contrary to the generous principles of the British Constitution, and their cause was ably and eloquently pleaded. It was replied that the *penalties were never enforced*, as the Dissenters were not called on to subscribe; that the hardship was rather in letter than in fact; that the continuance of a test was necessary; for, if abolished, all the barriers raised by the wisdom of our ancestors in defence of the Church would be destroyed, and religious teachers might promulgate the most obnoxious doctrines without possibility of restraint or fear of punishment.'

That a number of things were urged on that occasion against the measure, untrue in point of fact, and inconclusive in point of reasoning, is certain and notorious; although this brief summary of the debate will not be accepted as a very adequate one. But we suppose, from Mr. Middelton's selecting the reasons here assigned, that they are such as appeared to him the most forcible. The first is a curious argument: the Bill is too bad to act upon; it is a dead letter, being never enforced; therefore its repeal would endanger the Church. The assertion, however, was incorrect. Dissenters had been, and were, long after that period, called on to subscribe; and it was but so recently as 1767, that the decision of the House of Lords rendered them not liable to be compelled to serve corporate offices. The other argument proceeds upon a blunder. The Test Act never was designed to operate as a restraint upon the promulgation of obnoxious doctrines: it can have no such effect. Mr. Middelton must surely be mistaken in representing that so silly a reply was given. Weak enough, the arguments doubtless were, and accordingly, they had no weight in the House of Commons. 'Notwithstanding these representations,' says our Memorialist, 'the Bill for relief passed the Lower House, and was carried up to the Lords, where it was rejected on the second reading by a large majority.' He does not give us the numbers, but he states who were the leading speakers in the debate when it came before the Lords. The Bill was supported by the Duke of Richmond, and Lords Chatham, Shelburne, and Lyttleton: it was opposed by Lords Bruce and Gower, and *the Bishops*. Mr. Middleton complacently adds:

'Such was the determination of the British aristocracy on the ma-

terial question of liberty of conscience, after an able discussion of the rights of nonconformists, and at a time when even the sentiments of the government were in their favour.....The condition of dissenters from the national communion may therefore be considered as having undergone the fullest investigation; and acquiescence in the result of that investigation seems to be the part of modesty and candour.'

This is amusing. After the recorded opinion of the ablest and wisest statesmen of this country, that the Dissenters are entitled to the relief they prayed for,—after the decision of the House of Commons in their favour,—after the able discussion and full investigation of their rights had terminated in procuring for them this emphatic acknowledgement of their unquestionable nature,—modesty and candour, we are told, require them to rest satisfied with the decision of a majority in the House of Lords, half made up of dumb and passive proxies, and chiefly determined by the Bishops, who form no part of the British aristocracy, and are never known to dissent from the Minister, but when he wishes to do some act of justice.

From these specimens, our readers will infer that Mr. Middelton is not precisely qualified to be the impartial ecclesiastical historian of the period he has undertaken to review. The causes which led to the decline of religion in this country, and the means of the astonishing revival of the spirit of piety which has since been witnessed, he does not attempt to explain or to illustrate. He confines his review entirely to the state of religion in the Church of England, which the style of his occasional references to the Dissenters leaves us no room to regret. But how the Church of England came into the state in which he describes it to have been lying at the accession of George III., and by whom the cause of truth was upheld, the tenets of the Reformation maintained, and an evangelical ministry perpetuated in this country, before the days of Mr. Romaine, he does not think it worth while to inform his readers. The rise of the Methodists, from which the revival of religion in the Established Church may be dated, is classed by our Author, together with 'the attacks of infidel writers and the restlessness of 'sectaries,' among the circumstances which were 'tending 'more or less to disturb the foundations of the throne, and 'loosen the stones of the national altar.' That the foundations of the throne were in danger of being disturbed by the rise of Methodism, is a gratuitous calumny. The 'national altar' is another matter, and the obscurity of the metaphor renders it more difficult to meet the assertion. If Mr. M. means by the national altar, the religion of altars, that was a little shaken by the rise of Methodism. If he means the religion of Christ,



that was not in any danger. If he means the Church of England, the tithes were as duly paid after the expulsion of the six young men from Oxford as before ; and not the curl of one Episcopal wig was singed by the wild-fire of enthusiasm. What can Mr. Middelton mean, then, by the loosening of the stones of the national altar? The fire had gone out on the altar he speaks of, and the Methodists, without disturbing a single stone of it, quietly built up another on which the fire is burning still.

The following is our Author's account of the state of the Church of England at this period.

‘ The Bishops, in their corporate capacity, were not conspicuous for evangelical purity of sentiment or attachment to the distinguishing tenets of the Reformation, as expressed in the Articles of the religious community over which they were destined to preside. They drank too much into the spirit of the fashionable theology. Occasionally, indeed, the sound sense and pious convictions of certain individuals of their number, led them to remonstrate with their clergy on the necessity of adopting a more Scriptural strain of preaching than generally prevailed. Occasionally too, they set the example, in their own discourses, of a departure from the dry method of ethical exhortation, and fortified the lesson of obedience by the powerful sanction of Revelation, or enlightened their audience by an exhibition of the holy verities of the Gospel. But the doctrine of justification by faith alone was in general inadequately and imperfectly stated ; the corruption of human nature was spoken of in qualified terms ; and salvation was too often represented as the possible attainment of mortal exertion, and the legal reward of a religious and virtuous conduct. As if the shades of those heretical and schismatical characters who figured in the disgraceful scenes that followed the decapitation of the first Charles, perpetually haunted their imagination, they viewed what were termed “ Methodistical tenets ” with a sort of instinctive horror ; and seemed to lose the power of discriminating between that zeal for the honour of his Saviour, and compassion for perishing sinners, which led the preacher to proclaim with appropriate energy and in familiar terms, the fullness and freeness of the everlasting Gospel, and a covert design to court popularity, and ultimately effect the overthrow of the Church. With most of the dignitaries of the day and their ordinary associates, fervour was denominated cant, watchfulness hypocrisy, and abstraction from worldly society unnecessary strictness. Connected with the first families by birth, alliance, or circumstance, their criticisms on the belles lettres too often usurped the place of Scriptural information ; what was elegant in conversation was more esteemed than what was edifying ; and among the higher orders of the clergy, the unction of humility which flowed from the silvered temples of a Beveridge down to the skirts of his garment, and the glow of holy zeal which animated the breast of a Reynolds or a Hopkins, seemed to be exchanged for courtly aspirations after prefer-



ment and translation, or distinction in the divinity-school of a Lord Lyttleton or a Dr. Johnson.' pp. 10—12.

This is a sufficiently faithful and by no means overcharged representation. Mr. M. proceeds to divide 'the ministers of the National Church' into four classes, the Secular, the Latitudinarian, the Orthodox, and the Evangelical. The latter are thus characterized :

'Scattered up and down, they were opposed to the Secular class, by their devotedness to the duties of their function ; to the Latitudinarian, by their jealous adherence to the letter and spirit of Revelation ; and to the Orthodox, by their faithfulness in proclaiming the doctrines of grace, and declaring the whole counsel of God, while they equalled them in theological correctness and in moral consistency. There were also in this class certain subdivisions ; some preferring the Calvinistic, others the Arminian scheme in divinity : they not only differed in their mode of stating divine truths in the pulpit, but were sometimes led to oppose each other in the press ; while a religious zeal, acting on a warm temperament, became insensibly mixed with the baser alloy of party spirit and logical contention ; and too often gave occasion of malignant joy to the enemies of that Gospel which the disputants mutually revered, as they saw revived in members of the pure and tolerant Church of Britain, a portion of that controversial rancour which had maintained the respective causes of the chairs of Amsterdam and Geneva, or had mingled in the quarrels of the Jansenists and Jesuits. The Evangelical divines differed again as to the phraseology which becomes the rostrum of public instruction ; some conceiving that the language of the preacher might be sufficiently plain without descending to partial vulgarisms which might give needless offence to the ear of taste ; others holding that abstinence from rude images and familiar style was in its degree an evasion of the offence of the cross, and that it were better, since the majority is poor and unlearned, to draw from their Master's quiver the jagged arrow than the polished shaft, to give the salutary wound of conviction. Some of them also, lamenting the darkness which overspread their native land in religious matters, and deeply impressed with a sense of the danger of that state of unconversion in which they beheld so many of their countrymen, deemed that their commission extended beyond the pale of their own parishes, and were fain, in their love of souls, to become itinerant heralds of the tidings of salvation, and exhort sinners to flee to Jesus, in a barn, a conventicle, or even in the open air. Others, and those by far the greater number, considered this step as inconsistent with that regularity of ministration which became a national priesthood, incompatible with the vow of canonical obedience, and calculated to prejudice their civil and ecclesiastical superiors against the most serious and devoted of the clergy. Nor must it be omitted, that many of these excellent men were distinguished by the manner in which they addressed their congregations, not confining themselves to the substance of a written discourse, but

delivering their sermons by notes, memoriter, or extempore, according to the custom of the preachers under the house of Stuart, and before the prevalence of the great oratory in a time of trouble and exacerbation rendered expedient to introduce a more cautious mode of preaching. In the revival, in some of their congregations, the custom of singing spiritual songs, abounding with Evangelical sentiments, in addition to the common versions of the Psalms of David. 20—4

Such were the small beginnings of that party in the Church of England, which now bears the name of evangelical. The volume contains biographical notices of the leading individuals among this body. At their head ranks the venerable Romaine. To him succeed, the Rev. Messrs. Thomas Jones, Foster, Madan, Spencer, Stonhouse, Hart, Toplady, Walker, Fletcher, De Courcy, Talbot, Maddock, Berridge, Newton, Adam, Grimshaw, Venn, Powley, Atkinson, Conyers. A few names of minor note are added, but the above were all of any eminence within the 'first decade,' extending from 1760 to 1770.

'Thus,' remarks the Author, 'did Jehovah, who is wise in counsel and wonderful in working, who hath put the times and seasons in his own power, vouchsafe to revive the dying spirit of religion in the Established Church of England, and render the first decade of the reign of George the Third an interesting era in the history of the Reformation. Thus did he recruit the expiring lamps of the sanctuary, bid the rod of the priesthood be covered with new blossoms, and send a gracious rain to refresh his vineyard when it was weary. This revival was effected by human instruments of various talents, attainments, and degrees of spiritual light; and while divine illumination resides in human breasts, and the hidden manna is enclosed in earthly vessels, imperfection will more or less attach to the operations of the Church. But if over-scrupulosity in some, and latent enmity in others, have magnified the inadvertencies, or aggravated the irregularities, of men of God, it will be the office of the impartial historian to place them in their true light, and exhibit their bearings in a less prejudiced point of view. It is, however, a more pleasing task to record their excellencies, and to notice how their characteristic differences were compatible with the relation they bore to the common Head. The various tints in the bow of Heaven are all produced by the same process of refraction; the different fragrances of the flowers of Eden all arise from the same law of exhalation; and if the zeal of Luther was seen in Romaine, the perseverance of Calvin in Toplady, the sweetness of Melancthon in Newton, the elegance of Erasmus in De Courcy, the research of Beza in Madan, and the diligence of Zuinglius in Grimshaw, we hail them as united confessors of "one Lord, one faith, one baptism." ' pp. 82—84.

The close of this extract is not in the purest taste; the style of the work is, indeed, very far from being chaste or pleasing.

But it contains much interesting information relating to the progress of evangelical religion in the Church, from this period, up to the close of the last century; and a series of biographical notices are given, which are serviceable for the purposes of reference. Some of these, however, are extremely meagre. The notice of the Rev. W. Grimshaw, for instance, is much too brief. But it is not our intention to pursue any further our examination of the volume. It has afforded us some pleasure, by enabling us to retrace, though very imperfectly, the history of the period, and we only wish that it had been more competently executed.

**Art. VI. *Testimonies to the Truths of Natural and Revealed Religion* :** extracted from the Works of distinguished Laymen. By the Rev. James Brewster, Minister of Craig, and Author of "*Lectures on Christ's Sermon on the Mount*." 12mo. pp. 380. Price 5s. 6d. Edinburgh. 1822.

**D**UGALD STEWART has remarked, that 'authorities are 'not arguments.' It would be more correct, perhaps, to say, that authorities are not proofs; for the argument which authorities supply, is good, when properly conducted. That a thing is probable, is surely an argument for believing it. Now a probability in favour of the truth of a thing, is furnished by the very circumstance of its having been believed by competent judges; because that belief must have had some evidence or some appearance of truth, on which to found itself. In the absence of any *contra*-probability, the presumption is very strong that the thing is true; and we are accustomed to act, in a thousand instances, upon such a presumption. Authorities are a species of testimony; and testimony is evidence, which, though not demonstrative, is capable of reaching almost the force of demonstration. The influence of authorities is, therefore, derived from the reason of the thing,—although it is often yielded to without reasoning about it, owing to that principle in our nature which impels us to conform ourselves to example. Those who blindly yield to authorities, act on this principle of imitation: their actions and their creed are determined by mere example. In this case, the influence of authorities may be delusive and mischievous, as precluding examination, and as leading to an implicit, indolent, irrational faith. Their true use is, to arrest attention, and to direct inquiry to the proper sources of evidence. But, inasmuch as they possess only the force of probabilities and presumptions, authorities, whether in religion or in science, can never be admitted to outweigh direct proofs on the opposite side.

The incalculable mischief which is attributable to a slavish deference to human authorities in matters of religion, has led some individuals to reject the argument drawn from them as altogether useless. But the evil has arisen from the mistaken use of the argument. It is our duty in religion to examine the Scriptures for ourselves. The use of arguments drawn from authorities and examples, is, to induce men to do so; to preclude that contempt for the truth prior to examination, which infidels generally discover. That Bacon, and Newton, and Milton believed, is no sufficient reason for my believing; but it is an unanswerable argument against the wisdom of my rejecting without examination what they found reason for believing. It shews at least the irrationality of that flippant infidelity which rests satisfied without devout inquiry. To disbelieve, ought to require, in such matters, as strong reasons as to believe. But he who disbelieves without examination, disbelieves without reason.

Authorities, then, prove the probability, though not the truth of a thing; and this is all that we want them to prove in the argument with an infidel. For, if he be once brought to think Christianity probable, he has the strongest rational motive to examine whether it be not indeed true. And that inquiry, the proper evidence of Christianity will not fail to satisfy.

But the infidel has authorities on his own side, to which he appeals, and to which he discovers an adherence not less fond, and implicit, and enslaving, than that which he is apt to ridicule in the subjects of priestcraft. Admitting the force of those authorities,—although it might be shewn that they can never have that force on the negative side of a question, which they have on the positive,—yet, give to them, those wise and learned authorities of irreligion and infidelity, all the weight we have attributed to the opposite authorities; yet, if the individual disbelieves on the simple ground of *their* disbelief, he is obviously acting upon a mere possibility, that the thing may be false, upon a mere presumption against it, founded on its having been disbelieved; is acting as if it were proved to be so. If he stops here without satisfying himself that it is false, he is acting not less servilely and more irrationally, than the person who *believes* on the strength of a mere presumption, without troubling himself to examine the direct evidence. The disbelief of learned infidels may be a good reason for not believing without examination; as the belief of learned Christians is a good reason for not rejecting without examination. But the former can be no reason for not believing, much less for not examining; just as the latter is not the reason for our belief, but only for our devout and humble inquiry.

The infidel tacitly admits the force of authorities, when he endeavours to evade or nullify the force of a very large class of them, those of the *clerical* advocates of Divine truth, by referring their belief or their zeal to personal interest or professional prejudice. We are chiefly indebted to National Establishments and richly endowed National Priesthoods, for the force of this prejudice, which has been incalculably strengthened by the dogmatism and intolerance of too many individuals of the order. But 'it is only, in fact,' as Mr. Brewster remarks,

'the very weakness of resting upon *authorities* more than upon *reasons*, that can account for this reluctance to allow their full weight to the statements of the professional teachers of religion; and the only effectual mode of counteracting these latent objections, (for they are such as many are ashamed to acknowledge, while they are acting under their influence,) is to produce that very species of authority which they are so much disposed to follow,—the authority of great names.'

This will explain Mr. Brewster's design in undertaking this compilation, which has evidently cost him considerable pains. The plan of the work will be better understood from the following extract from the Preface.

'The passages here brought together are of two very different descriptions; the one class consisting of the concessions of deistical writers, and the other containing the testimonies of avowed believers in Christianity. It was once intended to distribute them in separate divisions. But this plan, besides having an insidious appearance, would have been attended with various inconveniences; and, particularly, would have required a complete repetition of nearly the same heads of chapters and sections. With regard to the arrangement of the extracts, as they now stand, it will be obvious, that their place in the volume was necessarily regulated by the principal subject on which they touched; and that it would have been impossible, without greatly mangling a passage, and weakening its impression, or even altering its import, to have excluded every sentence which referred to other topics. Many of these passages, therefore, might have been placed with almost equal propriety, under different titles or sections; but it is hoped, that they are in general so distributed as to carry on a series of illustrations, and to form as natural a connexion, in a sort of system, as detached portions of different works could well be expected to preserve.'

The general heads under which the extracts are arranged are as follow:

'Chapter I. Testimonies to the irrational nature and injurious effects of atheism, scepticism, and irreligion. II. Testimonies to the Principles of Morals, and the foundation of Virtue. III. Testi-

monies to the Principles of Natural Religion. IV. Testimonies to the general importance of religious Belief. V. Testimonies to the particular uses of Religion—as a bond of society—as a rule of conduct—as a source of consolation. VI. Testimonies to the connexion of religious sentiments and virtuous conduct with Happiness. VII. Testimonies to the Evidences and Excellence of Christianity. VIII. Testimonies to the general doctrines of Christianity. IX. Testimonies to the particular doctrines of Revelation: 1. the existence of spiritual beings; 2. the Trinity; 3. human depravity; 4. the evil and penalty of sin; 5. man's incapability of claiming merit with God; 6. the mediation and atonement of Christ; 7. salvation by the grace of God; 8. repentance and conversion. X. Testimonies to the Duties of Christianity. Appendix: 1. traditionary and historical Testimonies to the truth of Scripture History; 2. physiological and geological Testimonies to the Mosaic account of the Creation; 3. miscellaneous extracts.

The public are, we think, much indebted to Mr. Brewster for the labour bestowed on this very judicious and interesting collection, which cannot fail to do essential service.

Art. VII. *Narrative of a Voyage round the World, in the Uranie and Physicienne Corvettes, commanded by Captain Freycinet, during the Years 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820; on a scientific Expedition undertaken by Order of the French Government. In a Series of Letters to a Friend. By J. A. Freycinet, Draftsman to the Expedition. With 26 Engravings. To which is prefixed, the Report made to the Academy of Sciences, on the general Results of the Expedition. 4to. pp. 586. Price 3l. 13s. 6d. London. 1823.*

M. ARAGO plays a little the Gascon when he says, 'There is scarcely a midshipman in our navy (the French) who could not now, if required, steer a vessel to Kamtschatka, to Otaheite, or to New Zealand;' but he is not far from right when he adds, that 'the Pacific Ocean has been so frequently explored, that it is almost better known, and certainly less dangerous than the Mediterranean.' A voyage round the world is no longer a novelty or a tale of wonder; but, in the hands of a Frenchman, the narrative of such a tour cannot fail to be in a high degree entertaining. This merit certainly attaches to the present volume. Its Author displays all the mercurial liveliness of the national character, in the vivacity of his descriptions and of his *petits sentimens*: it is some drawback: on this captivating quality, that he is often very flippant, and sometimes very nasty, which is fully accounted for by his having grafted the morals of a sailor on the habits of a Frenchman. During a three years' voyage, he 'became acquainted with' as he tells us, 'with nu-



‘merous tribes, hunted with the Brazilian and the Guanche, danced with the negroes of Africa, and slept under the hut of the Sandwich islander. I participated,’ he adds, ‘in the festivals of these children of nature, I sat at their hospitable tables, and, every where welcomed, I every where contributed my share by a cheerful gayety or the present of some European trifles.’ Unfettered by the rigid shackles of morality, this all-accommodating citizen of the world found no difficulty in adapting himself and shaping his gallantries to his company, of whatever colour or character. No one goes through the world so easily as a Frenchman; and he must, therefore, needs be the best man to go round it,—an adventure sometimes accomplished with less difficulty.

Our Author was, as set forth in the title-page, the draftsman attached to the Expedition, and his sketches are the most interesting and perhaps valuable part of the work. They are extremely spirited and characteristic; sometimes, we suspect, a little outstepping the tameness of nature for the sake of gaining effect, yet, substantially accurate, and forming a good index to the most important contents. As we cannot recommend the work to our readers, on account of its perpetual and flagrant indelicacy, we shall endeavour to give the substance of the information which it comprises.

The *Uranie* sailed from Toulon in Sept. 17, 1817, and reached Rio Janeiro, Dec. 6. where the Commander devoted nearly two months to observations on the pendulum and compass. Between sixty and seventy pages are occupied with a description of the Brazilian capital and the manners of its inhabitants, of which it may be enough to state, that it entirely coincides with the account given by Mr. Luccock\* and other English travellers. It is, however, gratifying to find a Frenchman speaking with horror of the slave-trade, and of the atrocious cruelty with which the negroes are treated. At the period of his visit, Rio contained, according to his statement, 120,000 souls, of whom five sixths were purchased slaves; and fifty vessels were engaged in the trade. ‘It is still considered,’ he says, ‘as problematical whether the negroes are men or brutes: they are employed as the first, but beaten like the latter.’ The problem has been solved at St. Domingo.

‘I have seen—yes, I have myself seen,’ says M. Arago, ‘two young ladies whose countenances wore the expression of mildness and benevolence, endeavour, by way of pastime, to cut, at a certain distance with a whip, the face of a negro, whom they had ordered

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\* See *Eclectic Review*, Vol. XVI. p. 193.



not to stir from the spot. This exercise seemed to amuse them. I would mention their names if their father, who came in after the first essay, had not severely reprimanded them for their cruelty.'

'A Portuguese, lately going along a narrow path, met a negro, who stepped aside to let him pass. Not satisfied with this, he ordered the slave to leap the ditch: the poor fellow muttered an excuse, and screwed himself up still closer. The Portuguese struck him with his cane. Enraged at this treatment, and unable to contain himself, the black gave his assailant a blow on the head, and ran away. The Portuguese discovered where he lived, signified to his master his wish to buy the negro, offered so large a sum, that the owner could not resist the temptation, and the wretched slave expired the following day under the lash. These acts of cruelty are not punished here. Are not such traits characteristic of a nation?'

We hope not, if a nation includes its colonies. These things are not confined to the Portuguese. M. Arago, though doubtless a good Catholic, does not spare the monks; 'an ignorant and debauched crew,' he terms them, 'sufficiently powerful to place themselves out of the reach of the law, but still too weak to seize the supreme authority,—a scandalous troop of sluggards and libertines,' who swarm in every street. He saw one, in the slave market, cheapening a young female slave, whom he bought for six quadruples: this was a venial act compared to the practices with which they are charged. The following anecdote of the present sovereign of Brazil, is worth transcribing, if it may be depended upon.

'When the Count Dos Arcos had quelled the insurrection at Pernambuco, the king, on receiving the agreeable intelligence, asked the heir to the throne, what reward he could confer in token of his gratitude for so signal a service. "Create him prince-royal: I shall not be jealous of him," replied Don Pedro.'

From this Prince, Brazil has much to hope for.—Our Author was much struck with the contrast presented by the appearance of Cape Town, in the brilliant whiteness of the houses, the 'astonishing' cleanliness (to a Frenchman just from Brazil) of the windows and steps, as well as of the interior, the broad and straight streets, the superb terraces, the spacious barracks,—a real palace; the imposing and well-disciplined appearance of the troops,—almost equal to the 'imperial guard;' and above all, the 'magnificent' beauty and elegance of the fair sex, who are described as having 'the very complexion of Frenchwomen, or, if any thing, it is rather more delicate.'

'The town-house is magnificent, and reminded me of those beautiful mansions which you discover, at intervals, in the environs of Genoa. It is in vain to try to distinguish the public edifices: the

private houses rival them in grandeur and elegance. The churches are small but clean. In each of them, instruction is daily given to negro slaves.'

We are glad to receive this last article of information, if it be so. 'The abolition of the slave trade,' we are moreover informed by our all-informed Traveller, 'is said to be very prejudicial to the welfare of the colony, as it is now become necessary to employ free Hottentots in tending the cattle and in agricultural labour.' As M. Arago approaches the Mauritius, the philanthropic horror of slavery which he discovers at Brazil, sensibly diminishes. The negro slaves at the Cape appeared to him neither so handsome nor so strong as those at Rio Janeiro, but quite as lazy and as thievish. 'Alas!' he exclaims, 'they thieve by instinct.'

'It would be as difficult to cure a negro of the passion for thieving, as to keep a Gascon from boasting, a Norman from perjury, a Breton from drinking, and a Frenchwoman from being a coquette.'

Let us hope, for the honour of France and of human nature, that if it is only as difficult, the poor Negroes may yet learn honesty. But, alas! again, 'there is no Roman Catholic church at the Cape.'

Our Author finds himself at home at the Isle of France: he pronounces it 'the Paris of India.' 'The manners, costume, language, but, above all, the hearts and feelings of the inhabitants are,' he says, 'completely French;' and he adds: 'There is, in my estimation, an infinitely greater distance between Paris and Bourdeaux, than between Paris and the Isle of France.' The balls, the ladies, the society of 'the Oval Table,'—oh! were it not for hurricanes, earthquakes, and conflagrations, it would be a French paradise; and sorely does M. Arago grudge the English the possession of it. A few circumstances, however, are slightly mentioned, which would somewhat lessen its attractions to our readers.

'The interior of the houses,' he states, 'is not destitute of elegance, but, in point of cleanliness, they are far behind those of the Cape. Here every thing is of finer quality; there in nicer order. At the Mauritius, the articles of furniture are more costly, more sumptuous; at the Cape, they are more homely, but more convenient. In short, cleanliness is a luxury in this colony; in the other, a necessary; and in this particular the Cape must be preferred to Port Louis: in every other, the Isle of France has greatly the advantage.'

He goes on to make a further concession in favour of Cape Town as regards the architecture of the houses and public buildings, and the laying out of the streets. As to the state

of morals, those of the Cape cannot at all events be much worse. 'The girls,' indeed, we are told, that is to say, the Whites, 'are brought up in sentiments of modesty, which heighten the lustre of their charms,'—the grand purpose, doubtless, which modesty in a woman, at least in a Parisian, is designed to answer. But the free mulatto women, being prohibited intermarrying with the white colonists, 'think it much more honourable to be the mistresses of young Europeans, than the lawful wives of free mulattoes\*.' These women are represented as frequently distinguished by the most perfect symmetry of form, manners the most gentle and insinuating, exquisite cleanliness, talents peculiarly adapted to conversation; 'in short, all the qualities of the heart compatible with the absence of modesty.' Many of these Laises and Aspasia's are wealthy, and are in the habit of presiding at 'enticing balls and entertainments,' at which they daily collect swarms of admirers, whites alone being admitted to them. M. Arago frankly confesses, that 'it seems difficult, if not impossible, for a young man who for the first time tastes the sweets of liberty, to withstand the allurements by which he is soon surrounded.' Such is the state of society at Port Louis; and such, more or less, is the state of things at Calcutta and at Barbadoes. The only remedy for the evil is slightly hinted at by our Author, when he puts it as a question, whether the Government will at length permit marriages between free women and the white colonists. He adds:

'It has already winked at several unions of this kind; and, for my part, I am of opinion that, by the force of circumstances, what is now regarded as a favour, will finally triumph over the repugnance of the whites, and the original intention of the legislator. Besides, I cannot see that this would be any great misfortune, or indeed any misfortune at all; for, every thing duly considered, it is perhaps better that, in proportion as the original stain becomes effaced, the whites should admit among them that portion of the mulatto population which, from education and good conduct, shall appear worthy of the favour. The disproportion between the black and white population

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\* This is notoriously the case in our West India islands, and for the same reason. A recent writer, in attacking the Registry Bill, while he pleads for the necessity of introducing marriage among the slaves, and confesses that an immoral connexion between the females and the whites, prevails, with scarcely an exception, among the married, not less than the unmarried men; declares, that he would guard against any intermarriages between the whites and the women of colour, by having attached to the crime, the *heaviest pains and penalties of a felonious act*. See Wilberforce's Appeal. 1823. p. 22.

will disappear; and perhaps the catastrophe with which the so-called *philanthropic system of the English threatens the colonies*, will be averted, or at least removed to a greater distance, because the number of persons interested in preventing it, will be sensibly increasing every day. There is also reason to believe that, in order to attain this distinction, so ardently desired by all persons of mixed blood, mothers will study to give a better direction to the education of their children, and that a gradual improvement will be effected in their morals. Several Creole ladies, without children, have already taken young mulatto girls, given them the best education, and instilled into them the best principles. Twenty years ago these girls could not have gone into company with their adoptive mothers; but this prejudice has lost much of its strength, and the example of some persons of influence in the colony, will probably soon become a general rule. An amiable mulatto girl, not less virtuous than handsome, has been recently married to a young man highly respectable in every point of view; and though he has thought fit to leave the colony, from an apprehension that the public opinion there might be unfavourable to him, he has never yet regretted, amid the felicity resulting from this union, the sacrifice which he has made to his interesting partner. The first step is taken: not to oppose these connexions is to authorize them; and a few happy examples will, I think, completely destroy antiquated prejudices.

M. Arago underrated, we fear, the inveteracy of this prejudice, and the difficulties which stand in the way of a change in the law. The pride of family recoils at the possibility that a legal union should be contracted with a half-cast female, by the youth who is sent out to make his fortune in the Indies, or perish there; but that pride is not in the least hurt by the said youth's ruining his health, and fortune, and morals in unbounded dissipation. With Lord Eldon's views of the seductive power of women, on which he rested his main argument against legalizing marriages even in this country under certain circumstances, and the preference implied in that argument, of family interests to morality,—any such change in the laws is certainly not likely to obtain his Lordship's sanction. The political necessity of an alliance between the white and the half-cast population, is, however, daily growing more apparent; and though M. Arago discovers only his national prejudice or his ignorance, or both, in his sneer at the English philanthropists, he glances at a fact which must soon compel the adoption, in many respects, of a policy more favourable to morals, and more consonant with the dictates of natural justice and Christianity.

On the subject of negro slavery, the Author here becomes very flippant and very extravagant.

‘Had I,’ he says, ‘proceeded directly to the Isle of France, and

not seen Negro slaves any where else, I should have considered their situation so happy as to prefer it to that of the greatest part of our labourers. They know nothing of slavery but the name: they are obliged, indeed, to work, but the kind treatment of their masters encourages them, and doubles their zeal. In Brazil, they are beasts of burden, whom the whip urges to action: here they are men, who are restrained by just punishments, and stimulated by rewards. At Rio, a slave must remain a slave all his life; here he may cherish the hope of some day becoming free. In Brazil, a Black has but two ideas—that of slavery, and that of the revenge which he constantly cherishes in his bosom. *Here a slave thinks, and, what is still more, he profits by his reason.*

‘The Europeans who come for the first time to the colonies, are incessantly deploring and exclaiming against the wretched condition of the slaves. In their eyes, corrections are acts of revolting cruelty and tyranny: their philanthropy cannot suppose an unfortunate creature, deprived of liberty, to be capable of doing wrong. Their hatred of the colonists is vented in works dictated by humanity and the love of order; and their principles tend, at the same time, to nothing less than the subversion of institutions, which, though severe, are wise and absolutely necessary to the existence of the colonies. I formerly entertained such sentiments myself, but did not then consider, that a man who here receives fifty or sixty lashes, would be punished in France with several years’ imprisonment. What, ye apostles of humanity, would be done in France with a servant who had robbed his master of gold or jewels? He would be sent to the galleys, after being publicly branded. Here he would receive fifty stripes, and his punishment would last ten minutes. If there be any cause for astonishment, it is that such mildness should prevail here, and such barbarity in our wise Europe.’

M. Arago does not appear to be an unamiable man: he probably thinks that he is correct, for he no doubt obtained all this information at the balls and parties he attended at Port Louis, and his statements doubtless contain the views and arguments of the French colonists of the Mauritius. The tirade is, therefore, entitled to attention, and the more so, as it contains some important admissions. A slave, it seems, can think, and profit by his reason; he can calculate, and lay up for the future; and he is found to do this in proportion as he is treated with humanity. M. Arago mentions a case in which an old negro called upon one of the most respectable merchants in the colony, to buy of him one of his slaves with his savings, that slave being his own son.

‘“I have saved sufficient” (he said) “to pay you in ready money; and I hope to lay up enough before I die, to redeem my second son.” “But why,” asked M. Pitot, “do you not rather purchase your own liberty?” “For good reasons, sir. I am now old, and if I cease to be a slave, I must support myself the rest of my life; whereas, in my

present situation, when age shall no longer permit me to work, my master will be obliged to keep me, and, when I am sick, my children will have it in their power to take care of me." "

This anecdote is worth something as coming from a representative of slave-holders and slave-dealers. With regard to the comparative mildness of the treatment of slaves in the Mauritius, it may be true, that they are worse treated in Brazil; but our Author stultifies his own statement by his reference to the labourers of his own country. They may be better fed than some of the poor Bretons who live on chestnuts; but cattle must be fed, if we would get work out of them, and a rich man's horses will have corn, if the poor are starving. Is the horse, therefore, happier than the pauper? So reason M. Arago. 'The slaves know nothing,' he says, 'of slavery but the name.' Whence, then, their anxiety to redeem themselves? Why, if so, will not some Gallic patriot propose the legalization of *white* slavery, that the superfluous paupers of France may be shipped off to participate in this happiness? Slavery is nothing, in this young Frenchman's estimation, provided the slave is not over-flogged. In the moral evils of slavery, in the degradation of the driving system, in the exclusion of the slave from legal protection, his personal non-entity, his liability to be seized and sold by creditors and executors as moveable capital, separately from the estate on which he is settled; in the inadmissibility of his evidence in a court of justice, his moral treatment as a being incapable of religion and of the humanizing institutions which form the cement of society; in all this, he sees—'nothing,' nothing to distinguish the freeman from the slave!

Such a man can never be a competent or a credible witness on the subject of the existing treatment of slaves. But his statements come before us with the more suspicious appearance, as they are evidently the mere echo of the falsehoods by which the French traders who still infest this part of the world, endeavour to deceive their own Government. Of the pertinacity with which the Slave Trade is carried on under the French flag, and of the impunity with which it is almost uniformly prosecuted, the Reports of the African Institution furnish us with the most disgusting proofs. In April 1821, a vessel with 344 slaves on board, *Le Succès*, was seized and condemned by our Government at the Isle of France, which had already made a successful slave-voyage from Zanzibar to the Isle of Bourbon, where she had safely landed 348 slaves. The Governor, M. Mylius, having been informed of the transaction, had instituted judicial proceedings against her; but the judges, whose office it was to try the cause, having then—

selves participated in the crime by purchasing some of her slaves, concurred in acquitting her ; and, encouraged by this impunity, she was immediately despatched for another cargo of Africans, with which she was returning to the Isle of Bourbon, when she was detained by our cruiser\*. Governor Mylius has since been recalled, chiefly in consequence of the complaints of the slave-traders, who accused him of '*anglomania and philanthropy*;' and under his successor, the brother of Capt. Freycinet, debarkations of slaves have taken place without difficulty. This circumstance will explain M. Arago's virulence against 'the philanthropists,' and his pathetic regrets that the Isle of France is lost to the French and—to the slave trade.

This subject has detained us at the Mauritius longer than we intended. Some of our readers will hardly thank us for the information, that our Author, on inquiring there for the tombs of Paul and Virginia, discovered that the romance which had charmed his boyhood, is purely a fiction. The shipwreck of the St. Geran is a fact, and there was a Madame Latour, who lost a daughter in the wreck ; but, instead of dying for grief, she lived long enough to espouse three husbands in succession after the death of her first husband at Madagascar. The pastor who acts so fine a part in the novel, was a Chevalier de Bernage, son of an *echevin* of Paris, who belonged to the musqueteers, but, having killed his antagonist in a duel, he retired to the Isle of France, where he is said to have been highly respected. 'As to Paul, there are no data whatever of his existence.' Will the tale cease to interest in consequence of this disclosure ? Who asks for any other truth than that of nature in such productions ? Possibly, some future traveller may discover that Waverley and Quentin Durward never existed. During our Author's short stay at Port Louis, a lady died, whose veritable adventures might surpass the interest of fiction ;—a Madame de Pujo, wife of a French colonel, but formerly the mistress of the celebrated Count Benyowsky, whom she accompanied on his flight from Siberia, to Kamschatka, to China, and to Madagascar, where he was killed.

'Few men,' remarks our Author, 'have experienced so many vicissitudes as Benyowsky ; and his daring spirit alone can account for his success. He had one leg much shorter than the other, and it was upon this that he habitually rested. But, when irritated, he raised himself upon the longer, his sparkling eyes became still more ex-

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\* See "Sixteenth Report of the Directors of the African Institution." 1822. p. 18. and Appendix. K.



pressive, and his strongly-marked features assumed so fierce a character as to strike terror into all around him. His astonishing presence of mind in the greatest dangers, his invincible perseverance, his daring projects, his unparalleled success—what more did he require to reign over a people with whom fool-hardiness is the chief of virtues ?’

We must not even touch at the beautiful and romantic Isle of Bourbon ; nor shall we stop to detail our Author’s adventures with the savages of New Holland. At Coupang in the Island of Timor, M. Arago found some novel subjects for his pencil in the yellow natives. The Chinese are the only persons here who follow any business : ‘ they are the Jews of Timor, ‘ and live on tea, rice, pulse, and knavery.’

‘ There are no people,’ adds our Author, ‘ the cast of whose countenance is more uniformly the same. Nothing is more like a Chinese of Canton, than a Chinese of Coupang ; nothing is more like a Chinese of Coupang than the Chinese on an Indian screen. They have a wild look ; little eyes, raised at the outer corner ; a round face ; a short and somewhat flattened nose ; large lips ; a small, well-formed mouth ; and a yellow complexion. Their manners are engaging, their words persuasive, their politeness minute. They will laugh, to oblige you ; caress, to seduce you ; fall on their knees, to persuade you. If they offer you a trifle, they mean you to accept it, but still more to give you an example of generosity. They will present you with any thing they possess, but only when they are assured that you will be more liberal than they. No one can be more humble, more submissive, more forward to oblige, than a Chinese. After this, will you trust to appearances ?’

The interior of this island is almost unknown, but is stated to be very mountainous, and is in possession of the native rajahs—the tyrants over a set of ferocious savages, who, as well as the natives of the island of Ombay, have the reputation of being cannibals. Some of the latter were, however, complaisant enough to suffer their portraits to be taken, which accord well enough with their reputed character. They are described as having a skin the colour of *terra di Sienna*, eyes generally sunk in the head, and bright ; low forehead, large mouth, and thick lips ; the nose sometimes aquiline ; broad chest and sinewy limbs ; a warlike, savage air, and great quickness in all their movements. Another engaging variety of the human species in its unsophisticated state, presented itself in the natives of Rawack, Waigooe, and New Guinea, who are described as

‘ little, squat, large-headed, woolly-haired, nearly black, big-bodied, spindle-shanked, with long and broad feet. Their countenance is unexpressive, their manners unengaging, their air stupid.

Some of them have so much hair on their head, that you would take it for a pile of wigs. Almost all are covered with leprosy, or have been affected by it. Their gait is awkward, though they are tolerably active. Their language is noisy and inharmonious; their smile, almost laughable. They climb trees with surprising facility, and are very skilful fishers: standing on the bow of a canoe, rudely enough fashioned, and sometimes furnished with a sail of cocoa leaves, a man sees a fish at a distance, directs his proa towards it, and, though more than twenty paces distant, almost always strikes it with a long headed with a double-pointed iron.'

Fish is their chief food, but they have likewise a bread made of sago, and baked in moulds of clay, divided into two or three departments, resembling the chafing-dishes used by the peasants of France. Their only beverage is water, or the milk of the cocoa-nut. When offered wine or spirituous liquors, they would take only a few drops, which they seemed to drink with a degree of repugnance. In their houses, and near their tombs, our Author found some coarsely carved and hideous idols; but he did not observe that the savages had the least veneration for these household gods.

Captain Freycinet remained for some time among the Marianne islands, and M. Arago does not fail with his sociable disposition to turn it to advantage. On landing at Guam, he was struck at the appearance of abject wretchedness displayed by the natives, who were for the most part covered with the black and livid marks of a virulent leprosy, living in the midst of a fertile soil from which nothing is obtained. Weeds were growing by thousands in smiling vales, among a few blades of rice and Indian corn, 'attesting equally the goodness of the soil, the idleness of the inhabitants, and the inattention of the governor!' 'I should have guessed,' says our Frenchman, 'that the country belonged to the Spaniards, from the sacrilegious state of neglect in which it is left.' The inhabitants sleep two thirds of the day, and spend the remaining third in smoking and chewing tobacco: they seem, indeed, to live only on tobacco and areca nut mixed with lime, to which they sometimes add a few leaves of betel. Their conquerors have introduced what they are pleased to call Christianity, — a religion of processions and ceremonies, which has neither informed their understandings, nor imparted to them even a sense of shame. In the churches the sexes are separate, and there, says our Author, 'the people behave like Christians; in the city and in the country, like savages.' There appears to be a regular compromise of all morality on the condition of innumerable genuflexions and processions.

'I have seen,' says M. Arago, 'the ceremonies of the Passion-

week, and have now an idea of the splendour with which our religious mysteries are celebrated here. With superior pomp and greater impositions on the people, they are celebrated here as they are at Manilla, and at Manilla as they are in Spain. It was to our captain that the priest of Agagna delivered the keys of the Holy Sepulchre. He kept them two days hung round his neck, and returned them on Easter eve with exemplary devotion. It is truly painful to see a people who might so easily be guided aright, given up to the darkness in which they are enveloped, and adopting with blind confidence the absurd narratives of pretended daily miracles.....The priest of Agagna can scarcely instruct his flock in the simplest lessons of the Catechism, as he is himself ignorant of the fundamental principles of our religion.'

The natives are described as well-shaped, of a dark yellow complexion: though debased by massacres and persecutions, they retain marks of a higher civilization anterior to the Spanish conquest, which was a tissue of cruelties and horrors. They are stated to be remarkably fond of music, and to be continually singing. The primitive language is monotonous and extremely difficult of pronounciation. The Spanish language and costume have now been generally adopted by the inhabitants, together with the vices of their masters. The island of Rota is still more fertile and more neglected than Guam.

'The trees are magnificent, the fruit and vegetables delicious. The country rich in varied vegetation, is over-run by thousands of rats, which are yet unable to destroy its roots; you cannot proceed ten steps without meeting hundreds: and it is really distressing that the inhabitants do not endeavour to destroy this devouring animal.....The hills and valleys are decked with cotton-trees, the bright tufts of which form a pleasing sight amid the verdure that surrounds them. The bread-fruit, the tacca, the water-melons, every thing is of a better quality here than at Guam; and I am surprised that greater attention is not paid to a country which might become the granary and general store-house of the Marianne islands. They reckon nearly 80 houses in the town, and 400 persons in the whole island. There are five or six crucifixes in every street; and it is necessary that some outward sign should put them in mind of their religion, since there is no public worship. There has been no priest here for more than twenty years. The houses are built on piles, as at Guam; but they are in a state infinitely more ruinous. The men may be said to go naked, for they wear no trowsers except on Sundays. The women wear a handkerchief fastened by a string round the waist. Their shape is completely beautiful, their feet small, their hair of a fine black, flowing down their shoulders.'

There is a church in this island, where five tapers are kept constantly burning before an image of the Virgin. There is

also a convent, peopled, happily, solely with rats, where our Author was shewn a violin and the remains of a harp and guitar which had belonged to the last priest of the settlement.

The island of Tinian is now the residence only of a few malefactors banished from Guam. Its present barren and depopulated state, our Author is inclined to attribute to one of those catastrophes that annihilate empires and generations.

‘ You cannot proceed a league without finding some gigantic remains of old monuments among the brambles; and the whole island seems to be but one ruin. The trees are weak and scanty; but they have to make their way with difficulty through heaps of dry leaves and decayed trunks of trees. Here and there we find old, bare bread fruit-trees, the tops of which, exhibiting a few grayish branches, indicate to the traveller the catastrophe of which they have been the victims, without denoting its epoch. Buffaloes and wild hogs can now with difficulty escape the arrow of the hunter. The eye at one glance takes in an ample space; and, if I may venture to say so, almost every part of Tinian recalled to my gloomy imagination the wild and arid soil of the peninsula of Péron. A few low and feeble cocoa-trees still raise their withered heads; you would say, they moaned the sadness of nature, and wished to die with her. Uniform plains of small elevation; a monotonous coast; a few reefs of rocks; trunks of trees parched by the sun; no road, no shelter; is not this the abode of melancholy? A scorching wind destroys vegetation, and deprives the ground of the power of reproduction. Every thing is in decay: vegetables grow with difficulty; the potatoes, yams, and water-melons, are all inferior to those of Rota; and I tremble while I think that Anson probably said no more than the truth, when he painted this country as an Elysium, as an abode of enchantment. Is there no testimony remaining of this convulsion of nature which is yet so recent?’

While at Guam, our Author had frequent opportunities of intercourse with the natives of the Caroline Islands, who carry on a trade in shells, cloth, wooden vessels, and cordage, with the Mariannes. He describes this race of amiable savages in the most glowing terms. They have, he says, no characteristic physiognomy, each individual differing from all the rest, but generally, ‘ their features express goodness, and inspire confidence.’ All have their ears pierced, and they enlarge the hole with a fish-bone: in some, the cartilage being, from infancy, drawn down by considerable weights, descends as low as the shoulder, and serves literally as a pocket to hold nails, fish-hooks, and other small articles. Their only dress, with a few exceptions, is a piece of cloth tied round their loins. Their hair is jet black, and acquires a gloss from being constantly rubbed with lemon juice; they bind it up sometimes with great taste; at other times, it is suffered to float over their

shoulders 'à la Ninon.' They are not *ladrones*, but frank and honest in their dealings. Fighting or quarreling is said to be almost unknown among them: slings are their only weapons. Their religion

'is confined to the recognition of a supernatural power which may lend a favourable ear to their prayers. They burn their dead; and they believe that good men who have not beaten their wives, are carried above the clouds to be eternally happy: while those who have stolen iron, are changed into a dangerous fish, which they call Tibourion, and which is continually at war with other fishes. Among these people, war is the punishment of the wicked. What a lesson!'

Their nautical skill and intrepidity are astonishing. In their frail *proas*, four feet wide and forty feet long, they make voyages of 600 leagues, guided only by the stars and the currents. The sea is their element, and they swim and dive like Nereids. Such is our Author's romantic account of this interesting people, which receives some confirmation from the character of Kadu, the intelligent Carolinian who attached himself to Lieut. Kotzebue at Radack, and who was deterred from proceeding to Europe, only by his affection for his child. The Governor-general of the Philippines is stated to have obtained permission of his sovereign to cede to those who would embrace Christianity, Seypan, one of the most fertile of the Marianne Islands; and the proposal has been gratefully accepted by many of the Carolinians. We regret to hear this. The worship of the virgin will be substituted for their vague belief in an over-ruling Providence, and they will be initiated into the vices, and inoculated with the diseases of Spanish colonists. It would be a happy circumstance that should render these islands accessible to a Protestant missionary.

A hundred pages are occupied with a description of the Sandwich Islands; but these were already sufficiently well known to the readers of Cook and Vancouver; and the recent account given by Lieutenant Kotzebue,\* renders it unnecessary to prolong this article by dwelling upon the statements of the present Author. The *Uranie* arrived at Owhyhee not long after the death of Tamaahmaah: he died in May 1819. The 'dog of all dogs,' called by M. Arago, *Riouriou*, had succeeded to the sovereignty, but his throne is a tottering one. One of the conspirators was already at the head of a powerful army. The memory of the late king is held in idolatrous veneration, and 'the first toast given at meals is always Tamaahmaah.' M. Arago seems to anticipate that the Islands will fall eventually

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\* See Eclectic Review. Vol. XVIII. p 29, &c.

under the dominion of the English; and though he adverts to this probability in a tone of jealous dissatisfaction, yet, he complains that we have not already interfered to liberate the people from the absurd superstitions and barbarous customs which still prevail, and to abolish the tyranny of the priests. His account of the natives substantially agrees with that given by Kotzebue: where they disagree, the discrepancy may be suspected to arise from our Frenchman's more accommodating habits. Thus, the former states, that the Owhyheans are very uncleanly, while the latter tells us, that the women are 'extremely clean in their persons;' but he at the same time informs us, that 'fathers, mothers, boys, girls, and sometimes even hogs and dogs, all sleep together *pêle-mêle*;' moreover, that 'the air which is breathed within these infected sties, is enough to stifle a person not accustomed to it.' It is true, that they bathe frequently, and this passes with our Author for cleanliness. He admits that the women are shameless beyond all that is usually to be met with among the most degraded savages. He attempts to prove the affinity of the natives to those of the Caroline Islands, but he ends by drawing a contrast: the chief points of resemblance are, that they are of the same colour, and that he saw at Woahoo several slings twisted exactly like those of the Carolines.

M. Arago was sorely disappointed at not visiting Otaheite, which he had pictured to himself as a modern Paphos: he hints in no equivocal terms at the pleasures he there hoped to realize. How great would have been his disgust, to find that abandonment of manners which once disgraced the island, giving way before the light of education and the Bible! Happily for the poor Otaheitans, M. Freycinet determined to steer at once for Port Jackson. At Sydney, our Author found himself, however, quite at home: he was enchanted with the town; he could have fancied himself transported into one of the handsomest cities of France; and he was equally delighted with the hospitable reception the officers of the *Uranie* met with from the English. In return, he considerably over-praises the policy and management of our convict system. From New South Wales, they sailed for Cape Horn, but the *Uranie* was unfortunately shipwrecked on one of the Falkland islands, and our Author lost the greater part of his collection. After suffering considerable privations in this inhospitable and desolate region, they had the good fortune to hire an American vessel which had put back there to repair a leak, in which they proceeded to Monte Video. After a short stay, they sailed for Rio Janeiro, and thence for Cherbourg.

We have no room left to notice the scientific results of the



voyage. Owing to the defective state of the apparatus with which they were furnished, these appear to have been neither very important nor very satisfactory. The Translation is uncommonly well executed.

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**Art. VIII. *The Remembrancer*, for such as believe in the Truth as it is in Jesus, of every Denomination. Preceded by Three Chapters, explanatory of Man in the Fall, and Unbelief; of God's Free Grace; of Regeneration, &c. Designed as a Pocket Companion. By a Member of the Society of Friends. Third Edition, enlarged. 32mo. pp. 224. Woodbridge. 1823.**

**T**HIS neat pocket volume consists entirely of passages of Scripture, without note or comment, arranged with great judgement under distinct heads, so as to exhibit at one view, the declarations of the sacred volume bearing on the particular subject of each chapter. It is divided into two parts; the first containing the explanatory or introductory chapters referred to in the title-page; while the second is principally intended to promote the encouragement and consolation of the truly pious and devoted Christian. The titles of the chapters, will give a sufficient idea of the design and spirit of the compiler.

‘Chapter I. Prophetical and historical allusions to the atoning sacrifice of Christ for sin; also of Him, as the author and finisher of our faith, unto whom believers are encouraged to look, as their only foundation and means of sanctification, justification, and redemption. II. Encouragement to the righteous to confide in God's unmerited mercy and loving kindness, and in his immutable promises. III. Encouragement to the mourners in Zion to trust in the Lord, under various trials, afflictions, and temptations to evil. IV. Encouragement to the doubting and fearful mind under feelings of unworthiness. V. Of the duty and privilege of prayer, and encouragement to maintain patience, and a persevering watchfulness thereunto, under dispensations of barrenness and darkness of mind. VI. Encouragement and promises under persecution. VII. Exhortations to Christian charity, obedience, and brotherly love. VIII. Incitements to offer praises unto the Lord Jehovah. IX. Promises to those under discouragement, principally through affliction of the body. X. The certainty of death; the saint's triumph and his support in death.’

Two striking declarations, if we have not overlooked them, might have found a place in chapters V. and IX.: we refer to 1. John v. 14. and Phil. iii. 21. Possibly, there may be detected some other accidental omissions of this kind; but, so far as we have examined the volume, the selection is sufficiently comprehensive, and free from all appearance of partiality or eva-



sion. We have pleasure in recommending it, as a 'pocket companion' that will be found useful to Christians of all denominations.

We ought to have taken an earlier opportunity of correcting a representation made in our article on *Quaker Orthodoxy*\*, of which this little manual by a member of the Society of Friends, reminds us. We stated, speaking according to the best information of which we were then in possession, that we had 'heard of no Quaker Tract Societies.' We are happy to say that there are such societies in existence, although the characteristic and exemplary quietness of the proceedings of Friends had prevented our hearing of them. An Institution was formed in 1813, under the title of the "Association for printing and distributing Tracts on Moral and Religious Subjects, chiefly such as have a tendency to elucidate and support the Principles of Christianity as held by the Society of Friends." Which Association appears to be in full activity. In the Report for 1821, which now lies before us, the subscriptions and donations for the past year amounted to nearly £300; and it is stated, that 'the number of Tracts issued, amounts to 48,349, of which 8620 were for gratuitous distribution.' Some of these tracts, (the series then extended to No. 30,) are in the French, German, Italian, Dutch, Danish, and Welsh languages. Among them are "Thoughts on some important subjects, selected from the writings of Chief Justice Hale;" "Detraction and Curiosity about the Affairs of Others, chiefly taken from the writings of Archbishop Leighton;" and "Bishop Burnett's Exhortation to the Practice of Religion." The price of the Tracts, which averages 1s. 2d., must limit, however, the circulation. Connected with this Parent Association, there appear to be already formed some auxiliary Tract Associations. We have a report of the "East Suffolk Auxiliary Tract Association of Friends" as far back as 1817. It contains the following brief address explanatory of its object, copied from the Report of the Parent Society in London for 1816.

'It is apprehended that the Society of Friends, though generally known in this Island, is, in some parts of it, still misrepresented, that our belief in the fundamental truths of Christianity is called in question, and the grounds of our religious testimonies misunderstood. A persuasion of this kind, and a full conviction that our faith and principles are in strict accordance with the doctrines of the New Testament, and tend to promote the present and future well-being of man-

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\* Ec. Rev. for Nov. 1822.

kind, are powerful calls upon us to make more general use of such means as may be proper for conveying religious information. It is also thought, that many serious persons are prepared to give our writings a candid perusal, and that the present is a favourable time for us to use endeavours, in this way, to increase the knowledge of the spiritual and peaceable kingdom of the Messiah.

‘ Whilst other professors of the Christian faith are attempting through the medium of the press, to diffuse their religious opinions and some of them have, through the Divine blessing, been instrumental of good, inactivity, in this respect, on the part of the members of our Society, would indicate a degree of indifference to the value and importance of their religious principles, with which they would be unwilling to be charged.’

A number of Tracts also, bearing more exclusively on the religious tenets of Friends, have been issued from more than one country press. Besides these Tract Associations, there is moreover, a “ Scripture Lesson Fund,” the object of which is so admirable, that it deserves to be more generally known. We shall transcribe an ‘ Appeal to Friends’ on behalf of this Fund, without date, but circulated during the last year; as it contains much interesting information.

‘ The Plans for the education of the Children of the Poor in a cheap and effectual manner, which first originated in this country from JOSEPH LANCASTER, having gradually extended since the year 1808, to all the four quarters of the world, and being now adopted by most of the nations of Europe, many thousands of children who would probably otherwise have grown up in ignorance, have received or are now receiving instruction: this affords an opportunity which should not be lost for fixing the great principles of Christianity, the foundation of all pure morality, in the infant mind, by a selection of texts from the Holy Scriptures, without note or comment. Lessons for this purpose have been prepared, which are divided into three parts, and contain a connected selection from the Bible, under the following heads:—1st. Historical lessons, selected from the Old Testament. 2nd. On our duty towards God and man, selected from the Old and New Testament. 3rd. Selections from the four Gospels and from the Acts of the Apostles. It is proposed that this Selection should form the common reading lessons in all these Schools in whatever nation they may be established

‘ The Emperor of Russia in the winter of 1819, encouraged the making of the present selection, ordered it to be printed at his own expense, and to be used in all the Schools in his extensive dominions. The third part, or selections from the New Testament, is already printed in the common Russ upon large sheets, which are pasted on boards and suspended round the walls of the School-rooms: there is also an edition of the whole, in 8vo.; and as the Old Testament is not translated into common Russ, the Emperor ordered those parts of it which enter into these lessons to be immediately translated. It was estimated that more than twenty millions of persons in that country

pire had never heard a line of the Holy Scriptures, in a language that they could understand; the Christian feeling and paternal care of the Emperor will provide for the wants of these millions, but other nations will require the assistance of Great Britain to begin this great and good work.

‘ In several nations where Schools upon the British system are established, not one thousandth part of the population have ever read the Sacred Scriptures :—this was the case in Russia; this is the case in Greece and the Ionian Islands, and pretty much so in Sicily, Italy, Sardinia, Spain, Portugal, and many other countries; but as the printing of an edition of these Scripture lessons is attended with a considerable expense, and moreover as other lessons far less useful may be adopted if these are not supplied, the Committee of the British and Foreign School Society are raising a subscription which is to be kept entirely separate from its general fund, and to be applied only in printing editions of these Scripture lessons in foreign languages, not only on large sheets to be pasted on boards and hung against the wall as School lessons, but also in an octavo pamphlet. It is intended that these lessons should be sold as far as it is practicable, and the proceeds employed to print other editions. An edition of the third part, or selections from the New Testament, has been printed in Italian, not only in octavo, but also on large sheets for the use of Schools, and copies have already been sent to Malta, Naples, Rome, Florence, Leghorn, Milan, Turin, &c. Application has been made from South America, where Schools upon the British system are about to be established, for assistance in printing Reading lessons, and accordingly it is intended to print an edition of these Scripture lessons in Spanish; the want is so pressing that although the funds have not yet been subscribed, the Committee have concluded to proceed without delay, not doubting but that they shall receive timely assistance.

‘ STEPHEN GRELLLET and WILLIAM ALLEN, in travelling through Greece, observed with sorrow that the great mass of the people in the different islands, though professing the Christian religion, were as ignorant of the contents of the Holy Scriptures as the Turks themselves; but they appeared a fine race of people, and likely to do credit to any care that might be bestowed upon them: they received some copies of the New Testament in modern Greek, and some Greek Tracts with avidity; and in the island of Tinos, said to contain 80,000 inhabitants, after the travellers had parted with all they could spare, and were sailing away, a small vessel put off and followed them in hopes of getting some more. During their stay at Scio, they visited an establishment for the education of youth, chiefly of the higher class, containing 600 pupils, at the head of which is the benevolent Professor Bambass, but it did not appear that the Scriptures were used in the School; they exhibited to him the third part of the selection which they had cut out of a Greek Testament; he read it with interest, and said that he should greatly rejoice to see it adopted in their Schools. The Metropolitan of the Greek church in this island, to whom the selection was also shewn, expressed his entire

satisfaction with it, and said he thought the accomplishment of such an object would be a blessing to his country. It is proposed, as soon as the funds will allow of it, to print an edition of these lessons in the modern Greek; and this is the more necessary, as some of our countrymen who are endeavouring to revive learning in Greece, have principally directed their attention to the higher branches. STEPHEN GRELLLET and WILLIAM ALLEN, on visiting the few existing Schools, universally found the classical writings of the Greeks, but in no one instance did they meet with a Bible or Testament in any of the Schools. As however the plan of the British and Foreign School Society is about to be introduced, it is of the utmost importance to be able to provide a set of Scripture lessons with as little loss of time as possible. In Italy also, where Schools for the Poor are rapidly spreading, and where hitherto the Scriptures have not been used, this selection was fully approved, the conductors of the Schools expressed an anxious desire to obtain such a work, but stated that various difficulties would prevent its being printed in Italy.

‘ Such an opportunity as is now afforded for spreading a knowledge of the Great Truths contained in the Holy Scriptures, and of exciting a desire among the nations who have sat in darkness, to possess the whole Bible, has perhaps never before occurred in the annals of the world. The education of the Poor is proceeding in an unprecedented manner, and its progress should be every where accompanied by the inculcation of those Great Truths which, if universally acknowledged and acted upon, would introduce the glorious times foretold by prophecy, “when the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdom of our Lord and his Christ.” ’

On the subject of Quaker tenets, it is not our intention to offer any further remarks; but we have felt it due to those estimable Members of the Society for Friends, who are thus actively bestirring themselves for the promotion of religious knowledge among their own body and of the general cause of Education,—to shew that there is such a thing as Quaker zeal as well as Quaker orthodoxy; by which we mean, that genuine benevolence which is inseparable from true piety.

Art. IX. *Martha*: a Memorial of an only and Beloved Sister. By Andrew Reed, Author of “No Fiction.” 2 vols. small 8vo. Price 12s. London. 1823.

OF Mr. Reed’s former work, we were able to speak only in terms of qualified commendation, having strong objection to the class of works with which it ranks as a sort of religious novel, and not deeming the execution wholly unexceptionable. It has obtained, however, a surprising popularity, and has, we would fain hope, been useful in many quarters. We objected at the time to the title, and our remark might then appear

hypercritical, but it turns out to have been of some importance. A narrative which is only founded upon fact, as that professed to be, and which indeed, judging from internal evidence, we concluded it to be, could not with any propriety be termed no fiction. All fictions are founded upon facts, but upon facts more or less disguised and arbitrarily arranged to suit the design of the poet or the moralist. Taking "No Fiction," therefore, for a biographical novel, we remarked that the title was a misnomer. Unhappily, the work proves to be too true for a fiction, too fictitious for truth; and its pretensions to authenticity have afforded a handle to a personal attack upon the Author on the part of the supposed Lefevre, which, if not altogether unprovoked, displays a rancour and a malignity which nothing can justify. We cannot assuredly make ourselves parties to this quarrel: it comes more properly within the jurisdiction of a civil court, than within our province as Reviewers. Had Mr. Barnett's object been redress or the vindication of his own character, unobjectionable modes of proceeding were open to him. But we cannot conceal our suspicions, that he has been stimulated to the ill advised line of conduct he has adopted, by those whose virulent hostility has not even the poor justification of revenge, and is directed less against the person of Mr. Reed, than the religion of which he is the minister. Mr. Barnett admits, that when his friends asked him about the work, he certainly did furnish a key to some of the characters. This has satisfied us that he was not at that time acting under the influence of his present advisers; nor could he have been guilty of such extreme indiscretion, had he then entertained the sense of injury which he now affects. He admits, that Mr. Reed cautioned him not to acknowledge the application of the work to himself. This proves that Mr. R. was anxious to prevent its being so applied. All the circumstances of the case are not before the public, for the provocation which has led Mr. Barnett to publish his "Memoirs," was evidently given or taken subsequently to Michaelmas last: during the three preceding years, he is said to have spoken of "No Fiction" with commendation and complacency; and he does not deny it. Now nothing short of extreme provocation under a sense of intentional injury, could be admitted for a moment as an extenuation of the libellous disclosures (even supposing they were true) contained in Mr. Barnett's Memoirs. But we do not find him even insinuating an imputation against Mr. Reed of an intention to injure him; and the publication of "No Fiction" in 1819, could not form the real reason of Mr. Barnett's anger and vindictive conduct in 1823. The length of time which has elapsed, precludes our

regarding Mr. Barnett's appeal to the public as dictated by the honest warmth of an injured man, or of one who thought himself injured. The pretence is, that Mr. Reed refused to write something which Mr. Barnett wished him to write, exculpating him from the charges brought in the novel against the fictitious Lefevre. What Mr. Reed refused to do, or what were his motives in refusing, we know not; he may have acted imprudently, or even unkindly in this instance, although it would be the height of injustice to conclude so much from an *ex-parte* statement. But to us it is wholly inexplicable, that such an application should have been first made in 1822. A prosecution for libel would be vitiated by a similar delay on the part of the prosecutor in applying for redress. It seems strange, that during three years, Mr. Barnett should not have found out, when he was furnishing his friends with the key to *No Fiction*, that such a disclaimer on the part of Mr. Reed was rendered necessary by his own indiscretion. Had Mr. Barnett thought it possible that his character could suffer from its supposed identification with a fictitious person in an anonymous novel, he ought instantly to have demanded, not that Mr. Reed should write something to exculpate him from the charge of felony, but that the work should be *suppressed*. Nothing short of this would have contented an innocent and high-minded man, who felt his reputation attacked. Had Mr. Reed proposed to write something to the effect of saying, 'Mr. Barnett did not commit felony,' it would have amounted in our opinion to a cruel insult. How sunk must be the character of an individual which could stand in need of the impotent justification,—he never committed felony! Could it then be necessary—if necessary, could it be sufficient—to protect the character of Mr. Barnett? We repeat, that he ought to have demanded the suppression of the work, and that in 1819, had he felt that there was any danger of his being suspected of the crimes imputed to Lefevre.

We cannot, then, but consider Mr. Reed's refusal, whether prudent and justifiable or not, as the mere pretence for Mr. Barnett's vindictive proceedings. There seems to us to have been a wish to make up by some means a legal case in 1823, for the publication of *No Fiction* in 1819, or to obtain matter for an indictment on some fresh ground. We do not impute this wish primarily to Mr. Barnett. We suspect that he is not even the author, certainly not the unassisted author of the publications sold for his benefit. We say this with no unkindly feelings towards him, for it is impossible that he can gain any reputation from those productions. But we believe that he has fallen into the hands of false friends, who have



instigated him to these proceedings from other motives than the wish to serve him; and that because an action could not be maintained, he has been put upon the plan of pecuniary indemnification by means of the press. Had the attack been confined to the person of Mr. Reed, we should not have thought so ill of the head and heart which could pen the aspersions cast upon him. But when we find the warfare of calumny and malignant sarcasm carried on with his aged parents, and even with the dead, when we find female innocence and piety itself treated with unfeeling and unmanly ridicule, we cannot for a moment imagine that we are reading the defence of an injured man, but rather the effusions of some despicable individual who has abused Mr. Barnett's confidence, and, while he writes in his name, displays a malevolence of which we would fain believe that the nominal Author is incapable.

We did not intend to have said so much on a subject which can be of little interest to the public at large; but we know that Mr. Barnett's work has been eagerly laid hold of by persons who know nothing, and who care nothing, about either him or Mr. Reed, as an occasion for sneer or vulgar philippic against the Methodists, the Dissenters, or the Saints. Mr. Barnett has pandered, in his Memoirs, to these worst feelings of our nature; and even had he had truth and injured innocence never so clearly on his side, all good men must, we think, deprecate the equivocal mode of righting himself which he has been instigated to adopt. It may do harm to another; it will do harm to religion, as far as religion is implicated in the character of its professors; it cannot possibly do much good to himself.

We are almost sorry that "Martha" appears at this moment, or with the Author's name, as it is likely to be read by many persons with a prejudiced mind. It is a work of which we should not have hesitated to pronounce, whether it came before us as a fancy sketch or a real portrait, that it was adapted to be extremely useful to young persons. We almost wish, that the name had been veiled, and that the reader had been left to gather from internal evidence, that Martha was not the Lucilla of a novel, but a study from real life. It would have had more effect, inasmuch as our admiration is more freely conceded to an unknown and indefinite personage, than to one within our own sphere and on our own level. In that case, the indelicacy of allusion to the living would have been obviated. But possibly the Author imagined that this would lessen the force of the example. Our objection, we confess, is of a temporary nature, and applies chiefly to the present moment. The example of Martha Reed will, we trust, continue to operate as it



deserves, on the minds of youthful readers, when Douglas and Lefevre are forgotten.

Two volumes in small octavo may appear, at first sight, a most disproportionate quantity of matter to be occupied with the memoir of a single young woman unknown beyond the sphere of a private circle, and whose life was unvaried by any one remarkable incident. Yet, it would not be thought too long, so capricious is the public judgement in some things, were the heroine the creation of the novelist. With the mere account of what a young person did or said, or where she was born, and where she went, it would obviously have been ridiculous to take up one tenth part of these volumes. But Mr. Reed has aimed, not at narrating the incidents of a life, but at developing the progress of a character. And so well has he succeeded in doing this, so highly instructive is the *mental* history which is laid open in these volumes, that, whether the individual had or had not a real existence,—whether the portrait were or were not in every feature a faithful, unflattering copy of the original,—the work would be equally efficient for the purpose of usefulness. The design of the publication is thus stated in the Preface.

‘ Let it be understood that the history is entirely of a *domestic class*. The Author has no splendid incidents, no improbable reverses, no extraordinary circumstances to excite curiosity and hold attention. The life he records, if interesting at all, must be so, not from its dissimilarity, but from its resemblance to our own. The occurrences which vary it are of that simple and sober kind, that they abound in our daily enjoyments, and are familiar to our common existence. The same observation should be applied to the character he would describe. It is not intellectual so much as *moral*; and if intellectual, the mental endowments are only such as are ordinary and general, while they are successfully directed to high and extraordinary moral attainments.

‘ The Author was convinced that in portraying such a life, it would be utterly useless merely to make a chronological record of events and actions, or even to do more than faithfully describe the leading features of character. He has been concerned to subordinate dates and occurrences to their moral effect; to trace the influence of circumstances on the passions and the judgment; to shew, not only what the individual became, but to mark, step by step, the way in which she reached her spiritual elevation. And this object was not to be effected by a hasty sketch, or a few powerful strokes of the pencil. Patient exertion was indispensable. There must be stroke upon stroke, line upon line, touch upon touch, to reach progressively the full expression of a character at once energetic and delicate.’

It was inevitable that, in endeavouring to accomplish this, the Author should be tempted to linger at particular points.

and that his style should sometimes run into diffuseness. A want of compression is the prominent defect of the work. Yet, with this qualification, few readers will, we imagine, think it too long. The character of Martha is truly feminine and perfectly natural. It has none of the stiffness of the model, none of the pedantry of an over educated character, none of the false sentiment of the heroine, but is of that simple, domestic, amiable kind which every one would wish to realize in his daughter or his sister. Had we room or inclination for minute criticism, we might very possibly detect remarks or expressions obnoxious to animadversion. But, upon the whole, the work has struck us as exceedingly well written, and in a much chaster style than the Author's former production. We frankly confess that the work has strongly interested us, though we had not the slightest knowledge of the individual whose virtues it commemorates; and we judge that it will interest, not indeed all sorts of readers, but the young for whom it is designed, and all who feel for and with the young. The parent may derive from it many valuable hints, while the youthful reader will find in it an attractive example of rare, yet far from unattainable excellence. On this account, waiving all criticism, we have pleasure in giving it our cordial recommendation. We shall merely subjoin a few extracts, and leave them to speak for themselves.

‘Hitherto Martha’s mind had been free from any continued uneasiness on religious accounts. She had been nurtured on the bosom of parental piety; her education had restrained her from many of the faults common to childhood; she rejoiced in the exercise of filial love and obedience; her sensibility sympathized with the affecting portions of scripture history; her temper was cheerful, joyous, and unsuspecting; what wonder, then, if she had hastily concluded that she knew all it was necessary to know, felt all it was needful to feel, and did all it was requisite to do?

‘If any thing occasionally disturbed this state of self-satisfaction, it was the often-reiterated admonition of her anxious and beloved parents: “Remember, my dear, *profession* is not *possession*; *pious education* is not *piety*; the *form* of godliness will never save you.” These exhortations had fixed themselves in her memory, while her mind was unprepared to appreciate them; but, now that her eye was turned inwardly upon herself, they arose to her clothed with an importance they had never worn before, and gave force to those convictions of which she was so entirely the subject.

‘Martha’s principal deficiency had been the want of self-inspection, a defect that is never supplied but by religious influence. She had mourned over an evil temper, and confessed the criminality of a wrong action; but she had not inquired into the motives and principles of conduct: she had admitted the truth of our general depravity,

but she had not realized it. And now that she was disposed to a sincere examination of her heart, she was surprised and pained at discoveries which were made to her. In bringing her thoughts, motives, and her affections to a high, holy, and spiritual standard—standard she had not before comprehended—she found that the least offence, the least defect, exposed her to condemnation. She was constrained to admit, that she had sinned, and come short of the glory of God; that, however well she might have thought of herself, or her connexions have thought of her, she was “by nature a child of wrath even as others.” She awoke as from a profound sleep: she had dreamt of peace and security, but she was awakened by the sting of an accusing serpent coiling round her heart.’ Vol. I. pp. 44.

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‘To possess the theory of religion only is of high advantage. It is possessing the escape-ladder, which, though it may never be used, is always ready for use when the hour of distress arrives. Thousands, from their ignorance of Divine truth, have to inquire for the means of salvation when they should be intent only on their application. They are aware of their danger, but know not where their help is to be found; and they remain in a state of fearful distress, if they are not precipitated into overwhelming despair.’

‘From these perplexities Martha did not suffer. In the ruin of her existing hopes, she knew where her only, her last dependence was, rest, and her eye turned spontaneously to that Saviour who is the hope and consolation of Israel. With this object her mind had been familiarized for many years; but it is important to mark the first lights in which it was now contemplated. Before, it was the Saviour’s gentleness of temper, the benevolence of his heart, the innocence of his life, the distress of his circumstances, or the agonies of his final hours, that called forth her sympathy, while the more exalted parts of his character rested behind a veil, which she had little power to remove. Now, however, it was on these her thoughts most earnestly dwelt. The Saviour as mediator; his engagements for our redemption; his authority to forgive sins; his power to propitiate Divine justice, and bring near to us the infinite Mercy; his conquest over our spiritual foes, and his bestowment of a renewing, sanctifying spirit,—these were the particulars in his character and work which were felt to be so needful to her condition. She searched the Scriptures afresh, and found that they testified of Him in a new sense and with a power to which she had been hitherto a stranger. She saw that Christ was indeed the wisdom of God—the power of God—the Son of God—God himself, manifested in the flesh. It was apparent to her, that the Saviour, possessing the nature of God as man, was qualified to stand in the breach, and effect our reconciliation. A scheme of salvation lay before her above her hopes—above her thoughts: she could not doubt its suitableness—it was exactly what she wanted: she could not question its sufficiency—it was the production of inexhaustible love. “No,” she remarked at the

period with peculiar emphasis, " I cannot for a moment doubt the ability or the willingness of Jesus to save to the very uttermost; my only doubt is, whether I have come to him aright for salvation." "

Vol. I. pp. 48—50.

Our next extract will give a view of her active benevolence at a more advanced period.

' On one of these exploring excursions, following the current incidents of the morning, she arrived at a place called Newgate Street. The name which describes it, however, is not likely to suggest a just idea of it. It is a small hamlet, resting on the verdant bosom of a gentle eminence, which springs from the surrounding pastures. The cottages fringe the edges of this somewhat circular elevation, without assuming any thing of a set and artificial appearance. They are detached and diversified in form and position; yet all are simple and chaste. Their base is relieved by the aspiring flowers, and their soft brown roofs half hidden in the overhanging and nodding foliage. The eye is carried to them by " the merry green," which, animated with rustic figures, forms a beautiful fore-ground; while pretty vistas are often breaking on the sight between the cottages, revealing the descending glade, softened by shadows, and bounded by swelling hills crowned with wood, and basking in the warm and blessed light of heaven. There is a completeness about this humble spot, which satisfies the eye; there is a freshness, which invigorates the taste; here is a quietude, which soothes the soul. It speaks of separation from the world; of ignorance of the hacknied ways of life; and exemption from its vices and its snares. And of how many spots in our picturesque and happy land may all this, and more than this, be said!

' Martha, coming unexpectedly on this scene, fed on it with a relish which ever afterwards made it sweet to her memory; but no illusions of taste could induce her to conclude, that the inhabitants were as pure and as happy as their situation suggested. She knew that man, in his best estate, is still ignorant, vain, and sinful; and here she dreamed of no exception. She made her visits; distributed her counsels and her tracts; and acquainted herself with their moral condition. She found that these people were five miles from their parish church, and that they had no means of instruction within their reach. That the fathers, from having no employment for their time, acquired the habit of passing most of the Sabbath at the village pot-house; and that this wretched habit had opened the entrance to others, injurious to their character and the comfort of their families. The mothers, indeed, remained true to their domestic duties; but either father nor mother nor child had the attention directed, from year to year, to any thing beyond life's transitory concerns. Yet, many expressed a concern to observe the worship of the Sabbath, if the means were within their power; and were desirous that their children should receive a better education than had been granted to themselves.

' This information affected Martha most deeply. Here were a

people surrounded with the light of truth, and yet sitting in darkness ; in the midst of a Christian land, and yet without a school, without a sanctuary, without any one to care for their souls ; living like the brute in their pastures, alive only to sensitive enjoyment, and dying also like the brute, as ignorantly, though not as safe. The external signs of their happiness only rendered their spiritual wretchedness the more deplorable. Martha looked on the lovely spot as her Saviour looked on the outward magnificence of Jerusalem, and wept ; and her sympathy settled down into a resolution often to visit this place, particularly to notice it in her prayers, and to use her best efforts to put its inhabitants nearer the means of religious improvement.

‘ The days spent in these benevolent exercises, were, in the review, some of the most pleasant and important of her life. It is little to say that she never met with insult or molestation of any kind ; she seldom met with neglect ; and, in most cases, she was received with unfeigned gratitude and kindness. As she became known in some of her favourite circuits, she would be welcomed on her way by smiling faces and simple courtesies ; groups of happy children would often be gathered round her resting place, reposing on her knee, and hanging on her lips, attracted by her winsome manners and tempting rewards ; and, though far from seeking such offerings, the thankful tear would sometimes fall in her presence, and the blessing that would not be refused an utterance, would sometimes descend on her head. The benevolence of her errand called into play the kindest parts of human character ; she communed with her kindred on the best of terms ; she walked in the warm glow of human sympathy ; and she frequently saw some fine illustrations of what is most lovely and generous in our nature.’ Vol. II. pp. 16—20.

The closing scene corresponded to the lovely tenor of a well spent life : it is extremely touching. We have room only for one short extract.

‘ On observing my distress, she readily changed the course of her remarks, and, with a mixture of confidence and tenderness, continued—“ What a mercy that we have lived together so happily—that we have understood each other so well—that we have had such opportunities of forming an affection which will never be broken—no brother, *never be broken* ! I feel assured that our love shall be continued and perfected in heaven. We shall only be separated as for a moment—and then—then we shall meet before the throne never to part !” Her thoughts dwelt upon the assurance with delight.

“ O how little have I done for the cause of my Saviour ! I did hope my life would have been spared to be useful to others ; but Jehovah has appointed otherwise, and I bow to His will ! I cannot now serve him by my life ; I pray that I may yet do it by my death. *O that my death may be made eminently useful*—that it may constrain many to work while it is called to-day—that it may quicken many to thoughtfulness and prayer !

“And, perhaps, in that world to which I am going, I may be useful as well as happy. I shall be, my Saviour says, as the angels in heaven; and they are all ministering spirits sent forth to minister to the heirs of salvation. Dear brother!” said she, touched by the thought, “perhaps, perhaps it may still be my privilege to hover about your ways, to contribute in some mode or other to your comfort or your usefulness. When I am gone, O do not think of me as far off, but as near to you, as watching over you, as soon to join again for ever!”

“O my dear, dear brother, do not weep—do not weep—that will break my heart! If you knew all I have suffered, you would earnestly pray for my dismissal—indeed you would. I would not advert to any thing that should give you a moment’s pain; but I am desirous that you should know that I am happy—yes, notwithstanding all I suffer—that I am happy—that it makes me so—that God does support me. This will be a comfort to you at a future time.”

Vol. II. pp. 169—71.

pt. X. *Ancient Military Architecture*. A Series of Views of the most interesting Remains of ancient Castles of England and Wales; engraved by W. Woolnoth and W. Tombleson, from Drawings by G. Arnald, A.R.A. &c. with Historical Descriptions. By E. W. Brayley, jun. 8vo. Parts I. to III. Price 4s. each. London. 1823.

As a work of art, the Castle cannot vie with the Cathedral; it is, however, in some respects the more interesting object, as being richer in historic associations, and it forms a not less picturesque feature in the landscape. Some of the castles which remain as grim monuments of feudal times, have been again and again selected as popular subjects for the pencil; but hitherto, there has been nothing approaching to a complete series of views illustrating the existing remains of our military architecture, on a scale that should bring them within the reach of persons of moderate resources. We have great satisfaction, therefore, in noticing the present publication, which is well deserving of public encouragement. The contents of the numbers now before us, are Peverel’s Castle, Brougham Castle, Warkworth Castle, Chepstow Castle, Goodrich Castle, Newark Castle, Ashby de la Zouch Castle, Pickering Castle, Rochester Castle, Carisbrook Castle, and Thornbury Castle. The execution of the work is in every department highly respectable, and does credit to the Editors. It is continued in monthly numbers, and is to extend to three volumes. When complete, it will form an interesting appendix of illustrations to our English histories.



## ART. XI. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

*\* \* \* Gentlemen and Publishers who have works in the Press, will oblige the Conductors of the ECLECTIC REVIEW, by sending information (post paid) of the subject, extent, and probable price of such works; which they may depend upon being communicated to the public, if consistent with its plan.*

In the press. A Classical Assistant to the Study of Homer, Virgil, &c. in the translations of Pope and Dryden. By Mrs. Oom, in one volume octavo.

Remarks on Female Education, adapted particularly to the regulation of schools. 1 vol. 12mo.

On Comets. By W. Cole, Author of Conversations on Algebra. 1 vol. small 8vo.

Four Treatises, by Mr. Haldane on Self Examination—Mystery of Redemption, &c.

A Treatise on Practical Cupping. By Samuel Bayfield, Surgeon.

A Memorial of the late Rev. W. Evans of Wymondham, Norfolk: including a selection from his correspondence, and a funeral sermon. By the Rev. J. Hooper, A. M. in 1 vol. 12mo.

Preparing for publication, Six Etchings, from Pen Drawings, of interesting Scenes in Italy, drawn and etched by Mr. W. Cowen, and dedicated by permission to Lord Viscount Milton. Size of the prints, 16 inches by 10.

Mr. Wright, Accountant, Fenchurch street, will publish in a few days, "the New Mercantile Assistant, and General Cheque Book," containing nine copious and distinct sets of tables. The first series (which contain more than one hundred tables) are calculations by reduction, on a novel and simple principle; exhibiting, at one view, what any commodity, purchased in the aggregate, i. e. by the ton or cwt., costs per single lb. stone, or qr. any number of lbs. or stones, or qrs.; or vice versa.—The eight other tables relate to the public funds—life annuities—wine and spirits—hay and corn, &c. &c. all peculiarly simple, and adapted to the purposes of commerce—and as a cheque in the counting-house. 1 vol. royal 12mo.

In the course of the present month will be published, Observations made during a Residence in the Tarentaise and various Parts of the Grecian and Pennine Alps, in Savoy, and in Switzerland and Auvergne, in the years 1820,

1821, and 1822, with remarks on the present state of society, manners, religion, agriculture, climate, &c. By Robert Bakewell, Esq. in 2 vols. 8vo. Illustrated with plates, &c. &c.

The English Flora. By Sir J. E. Smith, President of the Linnæan Society, &c. &c. in 8vo.

A Geognostical Essay on the Superposition of Rocks in both Hemispheres. By M. de Humboldt. And translated into English, under his immediate inspection. In 1 vol. 8vo.

Sketches of the Lives of Correggio and Parmegiano, with Notices of their principal Works; beautifully printed in small 8vo. with a portrait.

Lectures on the General Structure of the Human Body, and on the Anatomy and Functions of the Skin; delivered before the Royal College of Surgeons of London, during the course of 1823. By Thomas Chevalier, F.R.S. F.S.A. and F.L.S. Surgeon Extraordinary to the King, and Professor of Anatomy and Surgery to the College. In 1 vol. 8vo.

The Royal Naval Biography, Vol. I. Parts I. and II. in 8vo. Containing memoirs of all the flag-officers living at the commencement of the present year. By John Marshall, (B.) Lieut. R. N.

Vols. II. and III. containing Memoirs of the Captains and Commanders, will appear shortly.

The Jamaica Planter's Guide, or a system for planting and managing a sugar estate, or other plantations in that island, and throughout the British West Indies in general. Illustrated with interesting anecdotes. By Thomas Roughley, nearly twenty years a sugar planter in Jamaica. In 1 vol. 8vo.

A Series of Picturesque Views of Edinburgh, engraved in the best line manner. By W. H. Lizars. With a succinct historical account of Edinburgh. In royal 4to. Part I. To be completed in 17 Monthly Parts, each containing 3 Plates.

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# THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR AUGUST, 1823.

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Art. I. *The Travels of Theodore Ducas in various Countries in Europe at the Revival of Letters and Art.* Edited by Charles Mills. Part the First. Italy. In 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 788. Price 1l. 4s. London. 1822.

**W**E cannot assign an intelligible motive for the idle fancy of publishing a work of literary research, in the shape of a fictitious book of travels. Had Mr. Mills intended merely to combine the amusement of a novel with the information of a traveller, we should have had some clew to his meaning. A work of that nature, requiring indeed a more intimate acquaintance with the subjects discussed, than could be fairly expected from ordinary travellers, might, in skilful hands, be made a most efficient instrument of instruction. In this respect, Mr. Hope's *Anastatius* is a most extraordinary performance, though it abounds with literary inequalities, and has faults also which no literary excellence can redeem. *Anastatius*, however, is himself the most prominent figure in the canvas; and the reader's attention, having been first of all secured by the interest of the story, the author scatters at will the various reflections of a mind richly endowed, the enlarged comments of 'a learned spirit in human dealings,' but particularly a variety of interesting facts relative to the East; thus insinuating a mass of various and pleasing information, equally the result of extensive reading and of actual observation. We do not say, that Mr. Mills has even attempted an imitation of that masterly model: on the contrary, he seems to have studiously shunned it; for Theodore Ducas has none of the charms of that agreeable fiction. We take it for granted, therefore, that the French *Anacharsis* was the chief prototype of Mr. Mills. He has, however, followed at a humble distance, and with a languid footstep; and the Abbè Barthelemi runs no risk from the competition.

We are not (to speak our real sentiments) much enamoured of these modes of instruction; and we think that tinging the cup of knowledge with honey, is in general a most exceptionable way of imparting it. In the early stages of education, the system of teaching by amusement is a most injurious one, 'L'éducation,' observes Madame de Stael, 'faite en s'amusant, disperse la pensée. Vous enseignerez avec des tableaux, avec des cartes, une quantité de choses, mais vous ne lui apprendrez pas à apprendre.' So it is with our more adult studies. Historical facts will never make a durable impression, but when they are the fruit of our own researches; and that nothing worth obtaining is to be had without labour, is the law and condition of our nature. Be this, however, as it may, Mr. Mills's work is, as we have just hinted, but a faint approximation to Anacharsis. In that work, it is true, the traveller is the mere showman of the spectacle, who shifts each succeeding picture at his pleasure. In like manner, Theodore Ducas is the supposed narrator of what he saw and heard in the course of his travels. But here the analogy ends. Anacharsis is the condensation of a vast mass of reading drawn from authorities too multifarious to be consulted without more time and application than could be afforded by the mere general reader. But Theodore Ducas condenses only that which was sufficiently condensed before. He tells us little but what has been long known and often repeated, and may be at any time found in a shape equally concise and tangible. If the merit, therefore, of such a work rested wholly on its utility, and was to be finally decided by its answer to the standing interrogatory *Cui bono?* there would be an end of the subject, and we might dismiss Mr. Mills's compilation to the vault of the Capulets, with a few only of those frigid and common-place remarks upon its style and execution, which amount neither to praise nor censure.

In an age of book-makers, however, such a trial by such a standard, is not likely to be allowed. The time is gone, that when a literary topic had been so completely exhausted as to leave scanty gleanings only to the researches of new labourers—that when such authors as Tiraboschi, Ginguenè, Sismondi, and Roscoe had collected all that could be known of the revival of letters in Italy, and of the great men who appeared with that golden dawn,—no fresh contributions would have been levied on the reading part of our population, in the shape of a new compilation relative to subjects which their comprehensive diligence had already explored. But the fashions of the world pass away; and the modesty which, in the old times we speak of, would have abstained from the publication of

a new book upon a worn-out subject, has, like the *Astræa* of the poets, departed also. A book-maker of the present day is encumbered with no such reserves. His vocation it is to beat about pales and enclosures. Every thing is game that falls into his net; nothing is exclusive or appropriate, nothing sacred from his grasp. Without attending to this peculiarity in modern literature, it would be puzzling to account for the phenomenon of a new work upon one of the most thread-bare passages of history. The themes of declamation which exercised the Roman youth in the declining days of ancient eloquence, were scarcely more trite and hackneyed, than are the munificence of Leo, and the illustrious names of Bembo, and Poggius, and Politian.

We have remarked already the total failure of analogy between the *Anacharsis* and the book before us. The Abbé, indeed, might have made more of his fiction. As it is, however, the young Scythian imparts a species of dramatic interest to the composition. He discourses with the sages and philosophers of Greece, and lives among her orators and poets. He is present at the celebration of the games, and witnesses the representation of the tragedy which obtained the prize. He describes the passing impressions of a moment actually present, and they are instantly transferred to his tablets in their original freshness. The Greek whom Mr. Mills sends out upon his travels, is of a cast much more saturnine and heavy. If he deals in lengthened details upon the state of arts and learning in the places where he sojourns, it is in such a sort as convinces you, that he is no real traveller. The fiction has not a moment's triumph. It exists only in the title-page; that threshold crossed, the illusion is over; and instead of being seated by the side of an agreeable traveller, one who,

Wandering from clime to clime, observant strayed,  
Their manners noted, and their states surveyed,

we find ourselves with a tedious rehearser of twice-told tales. Theodore Ducas sees every body and every thing 'through the spectacles of books,' and seems to have breathed no atmosphere but the vapours of a library. He lived, as he pretends, in familiar converse with the learned, the gay, the witty. Yet, of this intercourse, where are the fruits? Dull catalogues of authors, criticisms on their writings, somewhat the worse for wear; but neither dialogue, nor flashes of wit, nor sallies of humour has poor Theodore carried away from the *noctes canaeque dcorum*, to which he had so unrestrained access, and from which a lively and acute Greek might be expected to bring something to delight and amuse his readers.

Another circumstance tends still more to dissipate the illusion; a standing anachronism through the whole book, which constantly drives away all credulity as to the existence or peregrinations of this 'learned Theban.' It is this. In every page, we are successively referred to a note, in which the narrative of the text is carried on sometimes a century or two beyond the existence of the supposed traveller; a clumsy contrivance, to say the least. For, although Theodore was not a Highland seer, nor could lift up the veil of 'coming events,' yet, the transition to the note is so sudden, as to render it, in point of effect, a continuation of the text. Now, as it is physically impossible, without an uncommon effort of abstraction, to break the chain of events which are strictly consecutive, it happens by this process, that the supposed narrator becomes a kind of wandering Jew, and lives through a portion of time so protracted, that a century hardly goes for any thing in his existence. Let us take two instances out of many others. The society of Francesco Molza, we are told, was courted by the witty and the great. Our Traveller was of his parties, and tells us a good-deal about this second-rate imitator of Petrarch. A numerical reference then summons us to the note, and though it is no longer *Ducas loquitur*, yet, so instantaneous is the process, and such is the identity of style in the text and the note, that Ducas appears still speaking; notwithstanding that he introduces us to a very discreet and learned lady, the grand-daughter of Molza, who flourished at Alphonzo's court at Ferrara,—a fact which cuts deep into the seventeenth century, and much too late for Ducas, who was born in the first year of the sixteenth. Again, Michael Angelo was, as we are told, and as every one knows, employed for a considerable time as the architect upon the building of St. Peter's; but, so late as the time of Sixtus V., the pile had advanced no further than the frame of the cupola. The clumsy façade by Moderno was finished in 1615, when Ducas must have arrived at an extreme age; but at the completion of it by Innocent III., (all of which is told consecutively if the note is read with the text,) he must have attained the antediluvian age of a hundred and fifty. We do not say, that Ducas relates all this; but the constant migration from the text to the note, renders it scarcely possible to disconnect the narrators. This, however, is one only of the effects produced by this ill-judged contrivance; a contrivance which, while it takes away from the work all the charm of truth, does not impart to it the grace of fiction.

As for Theodore, he is any thing but a Greek. The gay, the subtle, the ethereal spirit of Greece, nourished by the pure air and cloudless brilliancy of her skies,—the enthusiasm, more

especially, of a young inhabitant of that clime, an enthusiasm nourished as at a vestal lamp by familiar contact with the great names and hallowed recollections which every scene of that country calls up to remembrance,—all this has wholly evaporated in the crucible of Mr. Mills; and Ducas, a learned native of Crete, (an island once the nurse of legislators and sages, and even in the sixteenth century the asylum of the arts and literature of Greece,) might, for any distinctive features of character and genius to warrant a contrary conclusion, have been born and educated in Cheapside or the Strand. The tone of his criticisms, the whole tenor of his reflections, are of this day and country. The language is that which at present goes by the name of English, coldly correct, phlegmatic, unidiomatic. To have given Ducas the feelings, the emotions, the quickness of a real Greek, would have been destruction to the stately and measured sentences of Mr. Mills. Hence it is, that this fictitious Traveller has scarcely a particle of the native eloquence of his country; and he visits the scenes and the places which his habitual reading must have endeared and consecrated in his affections, without a single phrase of delight or admiration. What would have been the first rush of emotion (we cannot refrain from indulging our own fancy with the picture) upon the ingenuous enthusiasm and the sensitive organs of a Grecian youth, recent from congenial studies, when Rome rose in distant prospect on his view,—when he felt himself on the charmed spot of that metropolis of the world, which, next to his own Athens, would most warm his heart and kindle his imagination;—when he saw the ancient Queen of the earth, like a venerable matron, desolate and alone amidst the ruins of her fallen greatness; when he descried the woody heights of the Alban mountain, once crowned with the temple of Jupiter Latialis, and the Sabine hills, where Cincinnatus ploughed his field, and Horace enjoyed the rural pleasures of his farm,—

‘ ——— domus Albunæ resonantis  
Et præceps Anis ac Tiburni lucus et uda  
Mobilibus pomaria rivis.’

With what Batavian indifference, on the other hand, does Mr. Mills's Greek move over scenes and countries ennobled by recollections alternately awful and pleasing! Nor is he less impassive to the living charms of nature. He approaches Naples without one of those enraptured expressions which would escape the most frigid observer, as his eye wandered among the beauteous ascents of Pausilypus, or reposed on the verdant island of Nicida; in one word, as his vision revelled among the mingled treasures of earth, and air, and ocean



We well recollect the raptures of Anacharsis amidst the vales of Tempe, and the verdant steep of Delphi; and we expected some burst of feeling from a young Greek, as he approached the Parthenope of the poets—that city too of Greek extraction,—and while he was travelling over a country which, if contemplated by the mind as well as the eye, recalls at the same instant the greatest vicissitudes of polity and empire, and the still more awful vicissitudes of external nature; the spots where the masters of the world built those magnificent villas, in which they respired from the cares of state and the tumults of ambition; the most magnificent scene fitted up by nature for ‘man’s delightful use,’ the countless smiles of the waters as they sparkle in the bay,

πορτιῷ κυματος  
 Αναριθμον γελασμα,

while Vesuvius, rising in the back-ground of the picture, gives a stern but not displeasing grandeur to the landscape. All this he observes with the apathy of the mule he was bestriding, and falls into a fit of prosing about academies, and scholars, and Saracens, and Arabians, and Aristotle, and Hippocrates; and makes no other reflection than that the region through which he journeyed, furnished wines to the Roman table!

Enough, perhaps too much, has been said to shew that, considered as a fiction, Mr. Mills’s book is a total failure. The most efficient cause of that failure, however, we consider to be this; that he has never actually visited the countries which his supposed traveller describes, and has breathed only its delicious atmosphere in his library, and conversed with its scholars and artists only through the cold medium of books. A book about China or Japan might, indeed, be got up from similar sources. But Italy is so nearly connected with us by the intercourses of travel, of letters, and of commerce, that a mere chamber-journey through that interesting region is necessarily dull and insipid. There is, moreover, a certain lightness and airiness of expression, characteristic of a rapid succession of images and ideas, which will always cause a considerable contrast between the actual observations of the traveller committed to his notebook, and the elaborate and analytic form of set dissertations. Nor can Italian criticism be cultivated with success out of Italy. The remark applies even to that species of criticism which is conversant with productions that may be said to belong to an almost dead language—the language of Dante and Boccaccio. For it is only in Italy that an Italian student be supplied with the abundance of books which he requires,

and, what is of still greater moment, with that traditional knowledge which floats in the memories of literary men.

We have said much in the way of censure, but this is by no means incompatible with a large share of commendation; and we are always glad to escape from the less pleasing parts of our duty, to the gentler office of pointing out merits. The Author's criticisms are entitled to considerable, though not unqualified praise. Mr. Mills is not an original author; every page of his work, indeed, has served but to revive in our memories facts or reflections that had been long familiar to us. But to compile with taste, is no mean merit; and we can with a safe conscience recommend the work to those who have not the means of consulting the larger collections, or are unable to read them in their own language.

The commentaries on Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch, form the best portions of the two volumes. That on the former of this great triumvirate, is correct and copious, but incomplete, we venture to affirm, from the omission of a most important feature in the estimate of that great poet. Dante (and no appreciation of his powers can do him justice if this circumstance be overlooked) was the first architect of his own poetical diction. His choice lay between the various dialects which had grown in Italy. He levied also considerable contributions on the Latin and the Provençal, and, when he wanted a new word, did not scruple to invent one. The assiduous study of Virgil furnished him with those concise and energetic, and at the same time picturesque expressions, which were not to be found in his native idiom—an idiom which, before it had received such noble engraftings from his genius, was little more than the organ of vulgar and familiar speech, and never soared to higher or nobler sentiments, than those of gallantry and love. Add to this, that the great poem of Dante is without example in the intellectual history of nations. It was a creation out of chaos. And while every other liberal art which then burst into life, received successive improvements,—while the sculpture, the painting, the architecture of the period were wholly surpassed, even to the extinction of their fame, by the more ripened glories of a succeeding age,—the *Divina Commedia* of Dante has always stood alone, equally superior to all that went before, and all that came after it.

‘The fire and energy,’ says Mr. Mills, ‘are partly attributable to the perturbed state of its author’s mind. Indignation against his country gave new vigour to his feelings. He dipped his pen in the gall of his anger as well as in the pure stream of Helicon. He joined the bitterness of his soul to the sweetness of poesy. He was animated both by his muse and his resentment. But if the injustice of

the Florentines kindled his indignation, Florence herself was ever dear to his heart. He could keenly satirise the government by contrasting the versatility of its principles with the stability of the ancient republics; Athens and Sparta, he asserts, made slow progress in civil improvements compared with Florence, who used such wondrous subtlety, that the thread woven in October scarcely reached to the middle of November. Dante lamented the depravity of the time wherein he lived: he thought with fondness of those pure days when his native city made no false boast of embroidered damsels; when there was no zone more attractive than the form which it embraced when mothers handled the spindle, and their faces were coloured by nature, not art.

‘ Non donne contigiate, non cintura,  
Che fosse a veder più che la persona.

\* \* \* \* \*

La donna sua senza 'l viso dipinto:

\* \* \* \* \*

E le sue donne al fuso, et al penneccchio.’

‘ And now the times were such, that it was the preacher’s task to command the unblushing dames of Florence to veil those beauties which even women of barbarian countries concealed. But the former days were chiefly happier than the present, because then

————— Ciascuna era certa  
Della sua sepoltura.

‘ “ Every one was certain of burial in his native land.” How dear to the misery of his exile—how affectionate his love for Florence must have been—if a satisfaction like this were the subject of Dante’s meditations!’ Vol. I. pp. 227—229.

‘ Poetical comparisons with rural scenery abound in every description. The views of external nature which Dante has given, are particularly observable; for no Italian or Sicilian poets before him had painted the fine scenery they lived in. There are some passages as beautiful and sublime as those which I have mentioned: perhaps, our admiration of the *Divina Commedia* proceeds rather from the excellence of particular parts than from the strength of the whole. Dante’s rich and energetic sentiments impress themselves on the mind. His pregnant brevity is convenient for solitary meditation and conversational quotation. The misfortune is, that we feel little interest in the story. Although Dante is in the course of his journey perpetually shedding tears and fainting with terror, still our confidence in the sufficiency of Virgil’s guardianship is so complete, we are not alarmed for our hero’s safety. It is sufficient to be told once, that the two poets pass with slow and solemn steps through the solid temperament of darkness, conversing in few and brief sentences on the life to come. But we soon become wearied with the measure of roads and bridges, circles, abysses, precipices, and rocks. We are pleased, however, when Dante meets with, and expresses, gratitude to his old master, Brunetto Latini, and reverentially bends his head

‘————— l l capo chino  
Tenea com’ uom che reverenti vada.

Or, when Virgil saves his charge with parental care; or encourages him to exertion by such noble lines as these :

‘ Omai convien, che tu così ti spoltre,  
Disse ’l Maestro; che seggendo in piuma,  
In fama non si vien, nè sotto coltre,  
Sanza la qual chi sua vita consuma  
Cotal vestigio in terra di se lascia,  
Qual fummo in aere, ad in acqua la schiuma.

INFERNO. CANTO 24.

‘ The reader feels no interest for Beatrice. She is too visionary, mystical, and allegorical to excite any sentiment in our minds. Although we are told that she grows more bright and beautiful the higher she ascends into heaven, still we affix no ideas to such seraphic charms, and cannot sympathize with a metaphysical abstraction. For the innumerable flitting shadows in the drama, our interest is equally faint. The mixture of profane and sacred characters is offensive to good taste. The legend is as much borrowed from, as real history. With all Dante’s endeavour to vary the punishments of hell, still there is left upon the mind only one general impression of horror and disgust. There is nothing that can raise or soften the feelings in a description of liquid pitch, boiling blood, gales of fire and snow, the mixing of the bodies of men and serpents, and the cries and shrieks of the damned. A picture of corporeal sufferings must be repulsive, whether it be drawn in a sermon or a poem, by a minor friar or by Dante. Would that the author of the *Inferno* had described the characters, the councils, and the actions of the Prince of Darkness ! But his description of Lucifer, his making him a beast rather than a being of intellectual energy, checks the wish. Nor do I greatly admire his account of the demons, in the twenty-first canto of the *Inferno*. What can be more offensive to delicacy than the conclusion of that canto ?

‘ The Purgatory is only an adumbration of the *Inferno* ; for sinners of the same description are in both worlds. In the former place, however, they are persons who repented before they died ; but in the more doleful regions of Hell, they are offenders who perished obdurate in their violations of the laws of Heaven.

‘ The *Paradise* is not, I believe, often read, even by Italians themselves. The want of passion is more felt in this part of the poem than in the preceding cantos. In resolving to make, at all hazards, the third book as long as each of the others, Dante did not consider the dangers of prolixity.

‘ Metaphysical and scholastic subtleties appear occasionally in the Purgatory, but they abound to satiety in the *Paradise*. Poetry, the language of passion, is ill calculated for discussions on the nature of angels, free will, original sin, and the mysteries of redemption. The various astronomical remarks, and the occasional medical theories, are

not, apparently, of heavenly or of scientific origin. We feel no special pleasure in being perpetually told of blazes of light, and the singing of hosannahs. We pass through planets, and moons, and stars, without finding any thing wonderful or distinguishing. We are wearied by theological symbols, and crosses extending over all the heavens. The inability of man to describe celestial bliss ought to have repressed the muse of Dante; but the pious humility of confessing ignorance was no part of the religion of the time. Consistent with the best principles of religion, Dante has made tranquillity a species of happiness. But tranquillity is a point, and admits of no description. Call in recollection, and ideas of pain as well as of pleasure are summoned up. Anticipations will be either of hope or fear, agreeably to the cast of mind and circumstances of the individual. In every case tranquillity will be changed into restlessness. Dante's notion that happiness consists in knowledge is beautiful and philosophical. But when we find that this knowledge is the Aristotelian philosophy in a degraded state, or the miserable theology of monks, or academical distinctions between moral and speculative virtue, our understandings are not much enlightened, and the conclusions we draw are not very suitable to the dignity of the subject.

‘ If the character of his times had led him to a happier theme, and had his learning been that of the sixteenth instead of the thirteenth century, our admiration of Dante's genius would be greater than what it is. We read the *Divina Commedia* as a task, and feeling that the invisible world is a subject, which even the genius of the great Florentine cannot describe, we wish that he had treated of matter purely of terrestrial interest. His religion is not the pure Gospel, his philosophy is not divine, and the awfulness of his subject should have forbidden him from making his book a political satire. But so beautiful are his rural images, so fine are his occasional paintings of the workings of passion; he is so energetic and so pathetic; his strain is so sublime, (except when he inculcates revenge as a duty), and his satire is so keen, as to impress upon his poem a character of merit so far transcending all former attempts at rhyme in Italian language, that we hail him as the father of his country's poetry, and apply to him his praise of Virgil,—that his fame will co-existent with the world's duration :

‘ O anima cortese —————

Di cui la fama ancor nel mondo dura,  
E durerà quanto 'l moto lontana.’ Vol. I. pp. 235—

We were pleased to observe that Mr. Mills gives this poet due credit for those more softened charms of the which are requisite to delineate the calm and the tranquil repose of inanimate nature, the bland and home-felt delicacy known only to those who are enamoured of picturesque and imagery. They who take up the *Divina Commedia* in the expectation that it abounds only in that which is supernatural, sublime and terrific, will be surprised at meeting with pass

It inspire far other emotions than awe and terror. What reader of cultivated taste has not throbbed with delight, when he read, for instance, the entrance of the Bard into purgatory, and felt the music of those ravishing strains in which he felicitates himself on his escape from his 'obscure sojourn,' to those fearful regions where hope comes to the wretched? It is as if delivered of a burthen which pressed down his gloomy feelings, and bound him to themes ungenial to his nature, and breathing a more ethereal element, that he expatiates in joy and gladness over fairer fields of imagination. His images are culled from the smiling scenes around him, and his poetry is instantly lighted up with all the beauties and splendors of the visible creation.

Of all writers, Dante is confessedly the most original. Virgil is the inspiring genius of his song, but Dante did not tread in servility in his steps. Even his faults bear testimony to the greatness of his powers. His unlimited command over language, betrayed him into those obscurities and licentious innovations which occur now and then in his poem. But it is in its sententious conciseness and the singular happiness of finishing every picture by a few bold touches, that his great excellence lies. How prolix would the stories of Francesca and Paolo have been in the hands of Ovid, or of Claudian, of Virgil, or of Spenser!

We agree with Mr. Mills, that the *Paradiso* is not so often read, as the other parts into which Dante has divided his poem; but we must venture to assign other reasons for the fact. Dante had nearly exhausted the opulence of his fancy in the three regions of his spiritual world. Hope and beatitude are not subjects wholly inexhaustible. Unvaried brilliancy is tiring; and the accumulation of images derived from light and music, pall by too frequent repetition. In addition to these marks, in which we have insensibly indulged, and for which our own predilections must be our excuse, we must further observe, that there is no poet, with the exception perhaps of Shakespeare, who is a better master of moral wisdom, or who is more brief and energetic in the enunciation of abstract truths. Our own Milton alone excepted, he is also the most learned of the poets. The *Divina Commedia* abounds in learned speculations, and especially in that

‘dottrina che s’asconde  
Sotto l’velame degli versi strani.’

But the great poem of Dante is still more interesting, when it is studied as the portraiture of the Bard himself,—the mirror of his mind,—the register of all his solitudes and sorrows.

We sympathise alike, as we peruse it, with the unhappy of Beatrice, and the exiled magistrate of Florence. Nor we agree with the Author, that Beatrice is incapable of exciting interest in the reader. The sincerity of his passion, we have always discerned, or thought we discerned, piercing veil of allegory which shrouds her. But, if we do not sympathize strongly with his love, we take our full part in his rements. The unmerited exile and the hopeless poverty of a man, appear the irredeemable disgrace of our kind, and they awaken within us the tenderest of all sorrowings—the with which we bewail the sufferings of genius and virtue.

Petrarch has of late years had his full share of attention; not so much, we are inclined to think, as one of the rest of letters, as on account of the air of romance which his passion for Laura has thrown over his life. Upon the subject of that passion, Mr. Mills adopts the theory at present in current, but never satisfactorily established before the Abbé Sade's *Memoirs of the Poet*,—that she was a married woman when she inspired that singular and mysterious attachment. However that may be, we confess that, after four hundred years have passed over the mortal remains of the Poet and his mistress, we are little disposed to discuss the question, whether Laura was an inflexible maid or a coquetting wife? Yet, in one respect, it is important, though it has not occurred to Mr. Mills. The unyielding coldness of Laura to so passionate a deserving a lover, would, upon the hypothesis of her having been unmarried, throw no little ridicule on so rapturous, lengthened, so unrequited a passion; and it is not, therefore, singular that the Italian commentators of Petrarch should have deemed it a mere poetical passion only. Whereas, on Abbé Sade's hypothesis, we have at once a key to the whole of the Petrarchan poetry. On one side, a love conceived in a moment, nurtured by the softness of a heart unusually tender and warmed and ripened by an ardent fancy; a love with hope indeed, yet, strange as it may seem, deriving even from its hopelessness all its strength and vivacity;—on the other, a mixture of prudery and coquetry, a partiality restrained probably by chastity, yet evidently flattered by the immortal affixed to her name by the talents of her lover. These circumstances shed some light over an attachment, which, to men of the world, must always appear in some sort mysterious and unintelligible. Petrarch's passion, such as it was, cannot however, be deemed free from reproach;—but the state of manners in the fourteenth century, must be some palliation of his passive surrender to the impulses of his heart.

Our Author's remarks on Petrarch, if not perfectly origi-



and how can originality be expected on such a subject ?) are either feebly nor inelegantly expressed.

Petrarca was fond of disclaiming all merit to his sonnets: he calls them mere juvenile exercises, mere sportive indulgencies of his wit and fancy, which he often intended to cast into the fire. This renunciation of honor must however be placed among the artifices of wary men. He says, in one of his sonnets, that if he had anticipated the applause which his Italian poetry had met with, he would have written it with more care.

‘ S’ io avessi pensato, che sì care  
Fosser le voci de’ sospir miei in rima,  
Fatte l’avrei dal sospirar mio prima  
In numero più spesse, in stil più rare.

It is certain that Petrarca did use all possible diligence; that he gave all the powers of his mind to the revision of his sonnets and rasonieri. Some of his own manuscripts are yet in being. In some the poet has marked the various corrections which he made in every particular verse, and the year, the day, and the hour when each successive change was made. These manuscripts destroy the supposition that he did not rest any of his hopes of fame on his Italian poetry. Besides, Petrarca in his old age solicited his friend, Coluccio Salutati, to correct his works, except his verses in the Italian language; for those he had polished, he says, as highly as he was able. Petrarca had so much of the irritability of genius, that it was impossible for him to pass over with indifference any of his literary productions. He wrote some wretched eclogues in imitation of Virgil; and was deeply mortified that they were censured by his judicious friends. If he had been dead to fame on the subject of his sonnets, why was he jealous of Dante’s great poem in the vernacular idiom? The existence of that jealousy is evident from his cold and sneering letter to Boccaccio, when that honest son of genius, not observing in Petrarca’s library a copy of the Divina Commedia, made one with his own hand, and sent it to his friend, with a letter, in which he acknowledges that Dante’s mind had first illuminated his own. Why, when Petrarca mentions the poet of the invisible world, is it always in company with, and in no higher terms of eulogium than he bestows upon, the wretched versifiers who lived in the first ages of Italian poetry?

‘ The worst sonnets of Petrarca are full of extravagancies of opinion, and conceits in language. They are fit for the perusal of those persons who wish to possess a favorable notion of those much raised, but little read, authors, the Troubadour poets. Petrarca’s genius was so much superior to that of his precursors in the gay science, that it gave brilliancy and pathos to their lifeless forms. His excellent sonnets, and they are so many that I cannot particularize them, though not pictures of a heart torn by passion, are rich, fanciful, and elegant: at least, as much so as can be expected in that Procrustes of poetry, the sonnet. The Graces are very decorously dressed in the verses of Petrarca. The perfect chasteness of his

ness is astonishing, when we read the licentious *poesie* of the Troubadours. The Provençal bards, like the poet or Vaucluse, were mystics in love. But nature forced her way through their Platonism. It is difficult to suppose, considering the amatory character of Petrarcha, that if his feelings for Laura had been those of ardent love, some corresponding expression would not have escaped him. The Canzoni of Petrarcha, on moral and political subjects, have often ideas astonishingly noble, conveyed in expressions of majestic gravity. Lyrical poetry has not many finer pieces than his canzoni beginning with the words, "O aspettata in ciel," and, "Sprito gentil, di quelle membra reggi," in the former of which he endeavours to revive the spirit of crusading; and in the latter, he writes on a subject which, from his love of classical literature, was always dear to him,—the restoration of Roman liberty. Petrarcha's lyrical genius appears in full display in several others of the canzoni, particularly those whose initial lines are, "Chiare fresche e dolci acque," "Di pensier in pensier, di monti in monti," "In quella parte dove mi sprona;" and "Nella stagione che 'l ciel rapido inchina." His Trionfi of death, chastity, &c. are, for the most part, dull and frigid allegories, seldom illuminated by the rays of poetic fancy, or made interesting by the glow of poetic feeling. Petrarcha, like Dante, owes much of his celebrity to the circumstance that he was one of the earliest writers of genius in the Italian language. To him, as a man who contributed to the perfection of this most melodious dialect, posterity bow with veneration; for the purity, taste and melodiousness of his verses are beyond all praise.' Vol. I. pp. 264—267.

The passion of Boccaccio (the third great ornament of Tuscany in the fourteenth century) for the Princess Mary of Naples, was far different from that of Dante for Beatrice, or of Petrarch for Laura. It was a sensual intercourse, in which the heart had no share; and it was preserved only by vanity on one side, and by voluptuousness on the other. Hence the works he composed for her, viz. the romance of Fiametta, (the name under which he celebrated her,) that which is intitled *Filosofo*, and the two heroic poems, the *Theseide* and *Filistrato*, are cold and lifeless compositions, and betray the want of interest occasioned by an unreal or unworthy passion. One merit belongs to the former of these poems, that it is an early specimen of the ottava rima; that majestic and delightful stanza which has ever since been the heroic poetry of Italy. Mr. Mills indeed says, that Boccaccio 'was the earliest Italian poet who used that beautiful form of verse.' He is, however, wrong; for the earliest poem in that measure, is the *Buovo d'Antona*, the work of an unknown author, but probably produced within thirty years after the death of Dante. Ginguené is wrong in making Boccaccio the inventor of the stanza; and Mr. Mills is incorrect in stating, that he was the earliest Italian

poet who used it. 'There is another circumstance,' remarks our Author, 'in these poems, interesting to the history of poetry. Before Boccaccio's time, poets were accustomed to make visions and dreams the vehicles of their tales. Boccaccio boldly imitated the classical poets, imagined a fable, and conducted it by various events, to its close.' He might have found in the *Theseide* a still higher claim to distinction. It furnished the model of the *Knight's Tale* of Chaucer, and was therefore the origin of one of the noblest poems in the English language, the *Palamon and Arcite* of Dryden.

We quote the following passage as a specimen of just and pleasing criticism.

'It is, however, as the father of Italian prose, that Boccaccio stands pre-eminent. He gave it richness, purity, and harmony. Whether such was his wish or not, his fame rests on his novels, and of those, on the *Decamerone* chiefly. It is generally said that he demanded for immortality on his Latin works only; and that he wrote his Italian pieces for relaxation of mind. This assertion may be opposed by the fact, that his novels are far longer and more numerous than his other pieces, and that at the conclusion of the *Decamerone* he often complains of the *lun faticas* of his work. Towards the close of his life, he certainly regretted that so much licentiousness had fallen from his pen; and this opinion gave rise, perhaps, to the assertion which I have mentioned.

'Of the *Decamerone* I must say a few words. Boccaccio supposes, that during the dreadful pestilence which raged through Europe in the fourteenth century, and which devastated the rich and populous city of Florence, in the year 1348, seven young ladies and three gentlemen retired to a beautiful house and garden, a short distance from the city, and diverted the time by telling tales. Each person told one tale a day. Ten days formed the time of the continuance of the party, and, therefore, the compound word *Decamerone* is given to the budget of stories. It is an amusing proof of Boccaccio's fondness for Greek literature, that he has given a Greek title to his book, and Greek names to the ladies and gentlemen who recite the tales. To assemble several persons, whose object it is to narrate tales, is a common artifice in Oriental literature, and was well known in Europe in Boccaccio's time, by French and Latin translations of a collection of Asiatic fictions, called the *Seven Wise Men*. The machinery which surrounds the *Decamerone* has been imitated by several succeeding writers. Chaucer has adopted the fashion which the popularity of Boccaccio gave rise to, of investing tales in a dramatic form: but he has infinitely improved on his original, by collecting a number of pilgrims, who agreed to deceive the road, by telling tales. Each person speaks agreeably to his character and circumstances; and the judicious appropriation of stories to individuals is a great subject for the exercise of the author's ingenuity. The want of this harmony

makes Boccaccio's machinery occasionally appear cumbrous. Besides pilgrimages were often made excursions of pleasure as well as religion, the telling of tales was a natural part of the entertainment much more conformable to situation than an amusement of that kind in the midst of a public calamity.

' Few of the tales in the Decamerone are the perfect creation of Boccaccio's genius. Most of them existed already in a rude shape. The collection of tales called the *Gesta Romanorum*, by Peter Borchius, prior of the Benedictine convent of St. Eloy at Paris, was a very favorite work in the fourteenth century, when it was written, as well as in after times. Boccaccio has occasionally drawn from it. He calls his master Leontius an inexhaustible archive of Grecian legends and fables. Hence many Oriental and Greek fictions are to be found within the Decamerone. Boccaccio likewise borrowed from the Trouveurs of the north, and the Troubadours of the south of France. Italian cities were in Boccaccio's time so much infested by vagrant French minstrels, that their excesses were made the subject of a municipal regulation. Some germs of the Decamerone are to be found in the *Golden Ass* of Apuleius, in the tales of the *Seven Wise Masters* and others in the collection of popular stories called the *Cento Novele Antiche*. Many had been long the hereditary property of the travelling Italian minstrels, and not a few were mere village stories. The proud lord, the polite cavalier, the lovely damsel, the cruel and avaricious father, coquettes, and cuckolds, luxurious monks, and idle friars, were common members of society in Boccaccio's time, and he has introduced them into his tales in every possible variety of exhibition. He gave vitality and spirit to the meagre forms of ancient fiction, and his pictures of his contemporaries are striking and faithful. The elegance of the narratives, the richness and naïveté of the style, the wit of the conversation, the remarks on life, the poetic grace of the description, in short, the genius of the whole, must be claimed by Boccaccio alone.' pp. 285—289.

To the antiquarian sources to which Mr. Mills has traced the Decameron, he ought to have added the old Indian romance of *Dolospathos*, which had found its way into the national literature of every country in Europe, and which was in fact the ground-work of that highly prized, illegible, and unread book so dear to the worthy members of the Roxburghe Clubbe, the "*Seven Wise Masters*." As to Boccaccio's having borrowed his tales from the Trouveurs and Troubadours, we agree rather with Ginguenè and the Italian avengers of their native literature, that both Boccaccio and those from whom he more immediately drew, were, without reference to each other, supplied at the same common Oriental fountains. We have also remarked, and with some surprise, that, in the summary of Boccaccio's writings, his prose version of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were framed probably from the lectures of his friend Leo Pilatus (for Boccaccio was an indifferent Greek scholar,) that trans-

lation, however, which conveyed to Petrarch, who was still less versed in that language, the only notions he had of the Father of poetry, and, which, in the succeeding century, was clandestinely used by Laurentius Valla, the Latin interpreter, —we are surprised, we say, that this important work should have escaped the learned diligence of our Author.

Of the poets of the fourteenth century, Mr. Mills gives only a barren and desultory catalogue. We shall very briefly endeavour to supply the omission, confining ourselves to the poetical literature of Italy, and only referring occasionally to Mr. Mills, rather as an auxiliary than a guide.

Dante was followed by a tribe of imitators. Fazio degl' Uberti, and Federigo Frezzi, the former in the poem called *Detta-mondo*, the latter in the *Quadriregio*, followed servilely the track of that sublime master. The *Detta-mondo* is vigorous in style and expression, and is only not worthy of Dante. It is now, we think, undeservedly forgotten, having never passed beyond two editions, each of them now very scarce. What has weighed it down, is the mystical theology that pervades it. Antonio Pucci, the inventor of that peculiar burlesque which Berni afterwards brought to such perfection, closes the poetical catalogue of the fourteenth century.

The next age was that of philologists, grammarians, commentators, while the national literature giving way to the rage for antiquity, remained almost stationary. Dante and Petrarch seemed to have left the poetic soil exhausted and effete; for their successors dealt in little more than those strokes of wit, puerilities, and conceits, which render it the severest penance to read them. Towards the close of the century, 'a divine ray,' says Sismondi\*, 'penetrated the inanimate statue; the soul was rekindled, and life began a new career.' This second life was breathed into Italian poetry by the liberal encouragement of Lorenzo de' Medici. To this era belongs the creation of the highest kind of Italian poetry; we mean the heroic romance which may be styled the Epic of Italy. We presume not to meddle with the perplexed controversy as to the origin of chivalrous fiction, acquiescing as we do in the ingenious theory of Warton, which M. Ginguené has also adopted, by which the jarring opinions of those who trace it to the Scandinavian scalds and the Moorish minstrels, are completely harmonized. They who are well read in the Italian romantic fictions, will without difficulty recognise the varied features of a double descent,—the gloom of the northern superstition, and the en-

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\* Tom. ii. p. 41.

thusiasm of the northern courage, softened by the brilliant voluptuousness, the caprice, the exaggeration of the mere airy poesy which belongs to the South.

For a very long period, Turpin's Charlemagne was the chief source of Italian fable. This, with other romances equally wretched, constituted no inconsiderable part of the literature of Italy during the fourteenth and part of the fifteenth centuries. They will, however, be interesting to those who are desirous of tracing the beauties of Ariosto to their primary sources, and of contrasting their rude conceptions with the embellished forms in which his genius has invested them.

'All the romances which I have mentioned,' says Mr. Mills, 'were superseded in reputation by the *Morgante Maggiore* of Lodovico Pulci, the friend of Lorenzo de' Medici. He is called, indeed, the Ennius of Italy. The topics of the poem are the wars and adventures of Charlemagne's Paladins, which the envy of Ganellon, the minister of the emperor, gave rise to; and the nominal hero, Morgante, is a giant, subdued and converted to Christianity by Orlando, and who serves as his friend and esquire during some of his expeditions against the Moors. Like the rest of the early writers of the romantic epopée, Pulci commences many of his cantos with quotations from Scripture; he invokes most sacred names in the midst of his descriptions of follies and indecencies; and introduces prayers and Scriptural phrases in places little analogous to such solemnities; among extravagant, and even licentious tales. Pulci is a fine painter of manners. Poignant satire and arch simplicity are not the only features of the *Morgante Maggiore*.' Vol. II. pp. 146, 7.

Mr. Mills rightly estimates the *Morgante Maggiore*; and we observe with pleasure, that he by no means concurs with Sismondi in consigning both poet and song to unqualified condemnation. We admit its unmeasured prolixity, and its grotesque mixture of sacred and ludicrous subjects; but a rich vein runs through it, and its Tuscan dialect is considered by the Italian critics as exquisitely pure. One important link in the genealogy of Ariosto's great poem has, however, been omitted by Mr. Mills, viz. the *Mambriano* of Francesco bello, commonly called the blind man of Ferrara, which preceded the *Orlando Innamorato* of Boiardo. We acknowledge that we never saw the work; but, from M. Ginguené's analysis, which is now before us, we infer that it has considerable merit. Both the *Morgante Maggiore* and the *Mambriano* are, however, memorable chiefly as the precursors of the *Orlando Innamorato*, the immediate progenitor of the *Orlando Furioso* of Ariosto. Of Matteo Maria Boiardo, we cite the following notice from Mr. Mills.

'He was born in a castle near Reggio, in Lombardy, about the

434. He studied in the University of Ferrara, and remained all his life attached to the courts of the Ferrarese dukes. He died the year 1494. He was one of the most learned and ingenious of a very intellectual age, and he gave his country a poem, in the marvels of fairy worlds are displayed, if not with the sweetness of beauty, yet with astonishing stateliness and magnificence.

Until I read Ariosto, I conceived that Boiardo had exhausted the world of invention; so numerous are the characters in the *Orlando Innamorato*, so varied the circumstances, so rich the mantle of ornament. His good sense and piety made him avoid the example of his poetical predecessors, in introducing Scriptural phrases on trivial occasions. He is sometimes grand and sublime; but he is not in a court where gallantry dictated manners; and his subject, as he conceived it, and as his readers expected to find it, is more to love than heroism. There is in the *Orlando Innamorato* in every other poem, a maze of romantic adventures, that beset the valiant of Charlemagne, in their wars with the Saracens. But he is the first poet that has made love the ruling passion of Orlando.

Angelica, the object of his passion, does not, however, receive his affection. She adores Rinaldo, who regards her with indifference. Orlando breaks the ties of friendship, and forgets his love, and, indeed, all his chivalric qualities and desires, except religion; for, in perfect harmony with the principle, that God and his should possess, in divided sovereignty, the heart of a true knight, Orlando is as zealous in converting the heathens as in adoring his goddess. Vol. II. pp. 147, 8.

Ariosto's poem is read with delight by all nations. Stripped of the beauties of poetry, even in the cold and languid translation of Hoole, his fables are captivating and delightful. The secret charm that leads us on, is the interest that we feel in the deeds of valorous achievement. He transports us into a world in which the vulgar interests, the sordid chase after wealth and happiness, and the low and common perturbations of life are suspended. In spite also of a lurking spirit of raillery and of an ill-concealed satire, that run through the poem, he has within us, we know not by what process, a high-toned enthusiasm for courage and virtue; and we almost blush, as we read him, that we are not cavaliers and heroes. His version is more graceful and elegant, than vigorous or majestic. The beauties of diction are peculiarly observable in the opening of each canto. He has no equal in harmony of language. He dallies, as it were, with his subject, as well as with his readers. Hence it is, that he seldom reaches the grandeur and grandeur of the epic; but, if he does not reach it, it is because he does not wish to do so. Hence too, his style borders not unfrequently upon negligence, and he pours out his verses like an improvisatore. Yet, even these deficiencies please us, like those of the nymph of Horace.



But he drops his playfulness in an instant ; and the elaborate polish of the rest of his verses, shews them to have been interposed by design, that the more vigorous and finished parts of the poem might stand out in bolder relief from the contrast. The other poetical qualities of this great artist, are adequately appreciated by Mr. Mills.

‘ There are few parts of the story of the *Orlando Furioso* that are strictly new. The author has freely borrowed from all the common stores of fictitious narratives, the romances relating to Charlemagne and his Paladins, King Arthur and the Armoric knights. But Ariosto every where appears an original writer, because the changes which he has made in his original tales shew the highest powers of invention. He has given form and character to the meagre sketches of his precursors. His genius has embellished their creations, or given life to more beautiful visions ; and when he has borrowed from the classical authors any of their rich inventions, (and he is the first of the romance-writers that has drank of this source of inspiration,) he has either varied with masterly power some features of their images, or has so nobly developed their beauties, that there is no appearance of adoption or translation. The *Orlando Furioso* is the richest and most magnificent of the poems of chivalry. The author commands, with the potent skill of a magician, all the marvels of Oriental sorcery that form the graceful colouring of the Spanish and French romances, which Ariosto had diligently read. Wit, elegance, pathos, satire, comedy, simplicity, the terrific and the sublime, the classic and the historic pages, the authentic annals and the fairy tale, all contribute their stores equally for the events that prevent the marriage of Ruggiero and Bradamante, who are the ancestors of the Este family, for the wars of Agramant, the Musselman chief, with Charlemagne, and for the misery and madness of Orlando on account of the beautiful Angelica bestowing her affections upon Medoro, and not upon himself. The valour of the cavaliers, and the tenderness, true feminine fortitude, and energy of the ladies of chivalry, are described in the most glowing colours. No author paints with more vividness and brilliancy than Ariosto. The interest of the reader is perpetually alert, for it is impossible to foresee the progress of the story.

‘ But, to enjoy the *Orlando Furioso*, we must associate with the poem a long train of chivalric recollections. We must imagine a lofty hall enriched with the trophies of war, where the minstrel roused the courage or softened into love or pity the hearts of knights and ladies, by singing the wars and loves of times which poetry has rendered bright and golden. Then the lively conversational style which pervades the greatest part of the *Orlando Furioso*, will appear brilliant, elegant, and harmonious, and the variety and quick transition of circumstances in the poem will seem the natural flights of genius roving over boundless worlds of fiction, and bearing away the feelings of the enraptured auditors.

‘ I shall say little on the defects of the *Orlando Furioso* ; on the author's preserving his comic mask in improper places, on his vulgar

and mean phrase in its parts, and many other inaccuracies of style. If the poem be censured for its voluptuousness, let it be raised for the delicacy of every point of honour that it inculcates. It must be confessed that Ariosto's digressions respecting the origin and history of the family of Este are exceedingly wearisome. The poet has made some noble attempts to illustrate that family, but their real insignificance appears only more contemptible through the cumulous load of ornament.' Vol. II. pp. 151—154.

We have not room even for a passing mention of the numerous poems in imitation of Boiardo and Ariosto, nor for any remarks, strongly as we are tempted to make them, on the *Orlando Innamorato* Reformato of Berni; a *refaccimento* which, by a singular fatality, has entirely superseded the original of Boiardo. Mr. Mills has noticed them somewhat slightly. Nor as he dwelt very emphatically upon Tasso, the only poet to whom Italy owes the glory of a serious epic. We must, therefore, close our article without touching upon the painters, the sculptors, the political and philosophical writers whom he commemorates. Our opinions concerning his work have been already given, and we shall neither add to our censures nor to our commendations. But his industry, to which every page of the book bears ample attestation, deserves more than lukewarm praise. Whatever portion of fame may be assigned to Mr. Mills, he has shewn himself, more especially in his former works, not unmindful of the path by which it is to be attained, — the path of severe diligence and unremitted research; and his Italian studies seem at least to have impressed him with the truth conveyed in the immortal lines of Dante,

—che seggendo in piuma,  
In fama non si vien, nè sotto coltre,  
Sanza la qual chi sua vita consuma  
Cotal vestigio in terra di se lascia  
Qual fummo in aere, ad in acqua la schiuma.

Inferno. Canto 24.

pt. II. 1. *The Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns*. By Thomas Chalmers, D.D. Minister of St. John's Church, Glasgow. Vol. II. 8vo. pp. 366. Price 8s. 6d. Glasgow. 1823.

2. *A Letter to the Right Hon. George Canning, on the Principle and the Administration of the English Poor Laws*. By a Select Vestryman of the Parish of Putney. 8vo. pp. 110. London. 1823.

Mr. Chalmers will have performed an essential service to society, whatever be the event of his economical specu-

lations and labours in other respects, should he but succeed in drawing attention to these repulsive subjects by the force of his name, and in rendering them somewhat more attractive by the charm of his eloquence. The least that his present volume claims from the public, is an attentive perusal on the part of every person who feels an interest in the national welfare. The facts which he states, are in the highest degree deserving of consideration; and his own practical exertions in following out his system of local inspection, are above all praise. We estimate very highly Dr. Chalmers's intelligent zeal and persevering philanthropy. A man may be forgiven being sanguine, who has been so successful; and of such pure and active enthusiasm as has supplied the stimulus to his labours, it must be at least admitted, that 'it works well.'

The general design of the present volume is, to shew the bearing which a right Christian economy of the kind contended for in the previous chapters, has upon pauperism, and to demonstrate the feasibility of completely doing away our poor's rates, and indeed any legal provision for the poor, by means of an efficient parochial apparatus. This seemingly chimerical achievement, the Author shews to have been actually realized to a considerable extent in some of the poorest districts of Glasgow. In the parishes of St. John and of the Outer Kirk, the experiment has been tried with the most complete success, of a return to a strictly gratuitous economy, agreeable to the original constitution of Scottish parishes, in which a legal assessment is an innovation of modern date. In three other parishes, the North-west, St. George's, and St. James's, the example has been followed, of taking the charge of all new cases upon the gratuitous fund formed by the weekly collections. In five parishes, the system of receiving aids from the Town Hospital out of the general fund raised by assessment, still prevails. In the Barony of Glasgow, one of the suburbs, containing a population of more than 50,000, the plan of assessment was first resorted to in 1810,—'much against the advice and opinion of those who were most versant in the details of the administration for the poor, antecedently to that period.' In the short space of seven years following that period, the expenditure became five times greater than before, while the poor, Dr. Chalmers states, are in no wise better off under the present regime. In the Gorbals, another suburb parish, containing upwards of 22,000 inhabitants, almost all belonging to the mercantile and manufacturing classes, the assessment has never been admitted; and the whole of its sessional expenditure for the poor, is defrayed from a revenue of about £400. annually, which is not £25. a year for each

thousand of the population. And it is stated, that the lower orders are in circumstances of quite as great comfort and sufficiency as those of the assessed Barony, and of the still more heavily assessed parishes within the city. Thus, Glasgow exhibits the experiment in every stage and form, at one and the same time. There are the assessed parishes, the parish into which assessments have never been introduced, those in which a return has been made to the original Scottish mode of supporting the burden entirely by voluntary contributions, and those in which the transition is in progress. From a comparison of the actual results in all these several cases, the Author must be admitted to have brought out by fair induction a very strong case. And he has left little room for doubt, that in Scotland, the old system might be rendered perfectly efficient under proper management, so as to supersede the necessity of ever having recourse to a compulsive assessment. The application of his statements and arguments to the English poor laws and English pauperism, is, perhaps, the only question that is attended with real difficulty.

It is now five years since we devoted considerable attention to the subject of the Poor Laws.\* We then examined at some length the principle of the law of relief, shewing that it arose out of a previous state of society, which rendered the measure at once just, expedient, and salutary; that it was conceded to the poor not as a gratuitous boon, but as the equivalent for a natural right; that it had for its object, less to extirpate poverty, than to put down or abate the nuisance of a savage mendicity; and that the right of the poor of this country to parochial aid, is a right of precisely the same description, and having the same origin, as the right of the clergy to the tithes. We adduced these considerations, not as absolute and sufficient reasons for the continuance of the present system at all events, but as throwing some light on its original design, and on what was then at least the only alternative. An Edinburgh Reviewer, whom common report identified at the time with the reverend Author of the present volume on the *Economy of Towns*, did not scruple to avow his preference of 'mendicity' in its very worst form of unlicensed vagrancy, to the system of assessment: and he gave it moreover as his deliberate opinion, that 'the zeal of regulation against the nuisance of public begging, is a violation of one of the clearest principles both of nature and of Christianity.' This we deemed at the time, and we still deem it, an extravagant and unwise

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\* Eclectic Review. Sept. & Nov. 1818. (Vol. X. N. S.)

assertion. We meet with nothing quite so eccentric in the present volume ; but Dr. Chalmers has fallen into the common error of totally misrepresenting the design and origin of the law of relief.

‘ That act of Elizabeth,’ he says, ‘ which has been extolled as a monument of English feeling and English wisdom, is a monument of the legislature’s fears, that neither feeling nor wisdom was to be found in the land. It is, in fact, the cruellest reproach which the government of a country ever laid upon its subjects. It is an enactment founded on a distrust of the national character—or, an attempt to supplement by law, an apprehended deficiency in the personal, and the domestic, and the social virtues of Englishmen. And never did an assembly of rulers make a more unfortunate aberration across the rightful boundaries of the province which belongs to them. Never did legislation more hurtfully usurp the prerogatives of Nature, than when she stretched forth her hand to raise a prop, by which she has pierced the side of charity, and did that with an intent to foster, which has only served to destroy.’ p. 260.

We are quite astonished that Dr. Chalmers should suffer himself to write in this random manner, when it required so little research to discover that this representation is palpably incorrect. Did not his practical knowledge far exceed his historical knowledge in reference to this subject, we should only have to regret that he had meddled with it. Whether the implied deficiency in the personal, domestic, and social virtues of Englishmen, was, or was not, reasonably ‘ apprehended’ by the statesmen of the day, can be determined only by considering what Englishmen were in the reigns of the Tudors. It is very possible, that an enactment founded on a distrust of the national character, might, in those days, be a very wise and necessary enactment. But the statute of Elizabeth was not founded on mere distrust, but on an apparent and urgent necessity. The system of voluntary contribution, the good old Scotch plan of collection at the church doors, had been resorted to so far back as the reign of Henry the VIII., and had failed. The attempts made to evade the contribution, together with its inadequacy, first led to the act of the Vth Elizabeth c. 3, which gave the justices the right to assess any inhabitants who refused to contribute, in any weekly sum they thought fit. The act of the xliiid. Elizabeth was only a consolidation of the pre-existing laws, which had been gradually called for.

Of the state of society out of which grew the necessity for these enactments, we have many indications in the Statute Book. So early as the reign of Henry VII., it had been found requisite to enact, that all vagabonds and persons living sus-

piciously, should be set in the stocks, and put out of the district, and that all beggars should be sent to their last or usual residence, or place of birth\*. The prohibitions levied against the large retinues and liveried retainers of the nobility, during that and the preceding reign, had probably led to the increase of unemployed and idle persons; and the distress which prevailed among the lower orders, is indicated by the attempts made to regulate the prices of labour†. ‘To check the growing evil of pulling down towns and laying lands into pasture, by which, in many parts, two or three herdsmen only were living where two hundred persons had pursued their lawful labours, it was enacted, that all owners of houses with twenty acres of land, should maintain the houses and buildings necessary for tillage.’‡ The wisdom of these provisions is not now to be inquired into: they sufficiently shew the state of disorder into which the country had been thrown by the civil wars of the Roses. The dissolution of the monasteries in the following reign, though those institutions have justly been considered as fostering mendicity, must have tended, in the first instance, to throw a fresh portion of helpless pauperism upon the public. The seizure of the church property dried up one fruitful source of eleemosynary aid. It was trenching upon the system of voluntary contribution for which Dr. Chalmers contends, and naturally hastened the introduction of legal assessment. The expedient, however, was first tried of legalising mendicity, by granting licences, under seal from a justice, to beg. This lasted but for a few years, and then the Sunday collections were resorted to. Mendicity was in the mean time acquiring the character of a gigantic evil too mighty to be coped with except by the strong arm of the law; and that ‘unlicensed vagrancy’ which, in its very worst form, the Edinburgh Reviewer would prefer to a poor’s rate, was striking at the safety of society. Begging and thieving are always found to go together. We have, on a former occasion, adverted to Strype’s statement, that there were at least three or four hundred able-bodied vagrants in every county, who lived by theft and rapine; to the computation made, that Henry VIII. in the course of his reign, ‘hanged threescore and twelve thousand great thieves, petty thieves, and vagabonds;’ and that, in the reign of Elizabeth, the annual executions of thieves amounted to about four hundred; and to the statement of Fletcher of Saltoun, that, in his day, there were in Scotland,

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\* Statutes of the Realm. Vol. II. p. 569. † Ibid. 542.

‡ Turner’s History of England, Vol. III. p. 637.



‘ besides a great many poor families very meanly provided for by the Church boxes, 200,000 people begging from door to door.’ Let these statements be taken in connexion with the population of the Island at that time, and then we shall have a tolerable idea of the injury inflicted on the English people, and the unreasonable distrust of the national character implied, and the cruel reproach laid upon his Majesty’s subjects, by that unfortunate aberration of the Legislature, which gave birth to the law of relief. The comfortable state of society under the system of ‘unlicensed vagrancy,’ must be obvious; and therefore the vagrant laws, not less than the poor laws, which were but a collateral branch of the same system, must fall under the same condemnation, as hurtfully usurping the prerogatives of Nature.

Dr. Chalmers’s account of the ‘benevolent purpose’ for which poor’s rates were instituted in England, is as follows:

‘ A fund is raised in each of the parishes, by a legal and compulsory operation; out of which a certain quantity of aliment is distributed among those residents who can substantiate the plea of their wants, to the satisfaction of its administrators.’.....‘ The invention of pauperism, had it been successful, would have gone to annihilate the state of poverty, as well as its sufferings.’ pp. 52, 3.

It would be hard to say which this representation is wider of, the fact as regards the ‘invention’ or original institution of the poor’s rate, or the fact as respects the modern practice. To both must this intelligent and benevolent Writer have shut his eyes, when he penned these paragraphs. The principle of the institution is thus correctly stated by the Author of the Letter to Mr. Canning.

‘ The principle of the English poor system is, that necessary relief shall be given to the impotent, old, blind, and others who are poor and not able to work; and that those who are able to perform work, and cannot find any, shall neither necessarily starve nor be maintained in idleness, but have employment provided for them; and that a sufficient fund shall be levied by rate on the property of every parish, where the necessity of the case may require it, for effecting these joint purposes. This is the spirit and intent of the 43 Eliz. cap. 2. and it is still the law of the land. A variety of statutes have been subsequently passed on the same subject, professing to define the circumstances under which claims shall be made on the fund, and to regulate and control its administration, but leaving the original principle untouched.

‘ A common complaint against this Act is, that it created a poor population, and laid the foundation of a burden from which no subsequent ingenuity has been able to relieve the country. We might from what we historically know of Elizabeth and her ministers, have



suspected that they were not such infants in legislation, or such novices in political economy, though they dabbled in the one and talked of the other less than we do, as to tempt her subjects to prefer idleness and dependence to a creditable and useful course of industry, not so abundant in riches as to invite a demand on the resources of the country for any cause less imperious than that of necessity.

‘ If the policy of this Act had been originally bad, it must have yielded long ago to the hostility it has met with. It must have a principle of vitality in it, to have survived incessant attacks for upwards of two centuries, which will rescue its advocate from the imputation of wishing, for the sake of singularity, to maintain a paradox, or recommend by sophistry what is radically wrong.

‘ The fact is, that for a century preceding the year in which the 43 Eliz. was passed, the country had been overwhelmed with beggars. During that period very severe laws had been passed against vagrancy and mendicity; and if enacting, that fines should be the reward for giving, and branding, chains, slavery and death, the punishment for receiving alms, would have suppressed the practice, the evil would have been remedied before Elizabeth’s reign. Into the causes which produced this state of beggary and vagrancy, it is not my business at present to inquire. I refer to the preambles and the enactments of the statutes on this subject of the four reigns anterior to that of Elizabeth, to shew, that the evil was intolerable, and had been found irradicable by any measures that had been adopted prior to the 43d of that queen. The error of preceding statutes and the cause of their failure, was in their proceeding on the supposition that legislative restraints could master the natural desire of self-preservation. The parent statute of the present system wisely accompanied the prohibition to practise what it condemned, by a provision which took away its only plea, necessity.

‘ Elizabeth’s Act, as it established a local provision for impotent indigence, had a right, on equitable principles, to enforce the suppression of vagrancy and mendicity.

‘ Whilst a large class of subjects were troublesome to the community and a nuisance to the government, a race of sturdy, insolent, and disorderly beggars, too apt to take what was never intended to be given to them, unproductive as to finance, and useless for defence, they were maintained upon funds accumulated from the labour and industry of others; but from this era every parish had the power, at least by law, to set to work all who were able to perform it, and thus compel them to contribute wholly or in part to maintain themselves.

‘ In many respects England has a reputation in common only with that of other countries, but in manufactures and commerce she enjoys a pre-eminent distinction. It would be difficult to guess in what proportion, conjointly with other means, her trade since 1601 has contributed to support her expenditure and maintain her credit; but it is evident, I think, if we inquire what has been the policy of other nations on this point, and what is their present condition, that if, during the last two centuries, she had contented herself with keeping up an ineffective legislative struggle with her poor population, these two in-

dications of national prosperity would have been on a very diminished scale. Manufactures cannot be carried on to any great extent but by a concentrated and tranquil population. We have towns of immense extent, nine out of every ten of the inhabitants of which are labouring mechanics, unavoidably subject to alternations of super-abundance and want from the fluctuations of trade. Could any thing have persuaded so many families to congregate in one place, but the prospect of maintenance from labour, or, in case of its insufficiency, the known existence of a special substitute for it? When irritated by a sudden diminution of wages or a temporary suspension of employment, could any police or any army compel them to respect the rights of property, or submit to the artificial restraints of society, without an offer of the means of subsistence? It is the reasonableness of such an offer that causes even a constable's staff to be respected among the dense and informed masses which our manufacturing towns contain.

'In defining the outline of the grounds on which parochial relief may be given, I think Elizabeth's Act unexceptionable. I am aware, however, that heavy charges have been brought against the principle which it has made the law of the land. It is specifically charged with tempting men to seek their own degradation, with removing the chief stimulus to industry, with generating improvident habits, with forcing population beyond the demand for it, with wasting the resources of the country, and with enforcing charity by legislative authority.

'If these consequences, or any of them, have resulted from the system of parochial relief, as practised in this country, they cannot, with any colour of justice, be charged to that statute which recognizes no case, as entitled to assistance, which does not imply entire or partial helplessness, and which gives the power of compelling voluntary idleness to provide for itself by its own exertions. If subsequent statutes have sprung from this parent stock, which thwart its object, it may indignantly disown the bastard progeny. If ignorance or corruption have been allowed, in administering its provisions, to mistake or pervert its views, and the mischievous effects of a weak or vicious practice have inconsiderately been attributed to the principle, it may repel the obloquy by appealing to the utility and propriety of its object, the benevolence of its intention, and the simplicity and precision of its language.' pp. 22—27.

But, with regard to the application of the fund, the Dr.'s representation of English pauperism is still more at variance with accuracy. We are utterly astonished to find him taking no notice, throughout his present volume, of the main feature in the modern practice,—that abuse which presents the most serious obstacle to any remedial measure, and which has been so frequently adverted to in Parliamentary documents as calling for redress; the practice of mixing relief with wages, or, in the words of the Commons' Committee, 'the practice of defraying what should be part of the wages of labour, out of the poor's rate.' A large proportion of the sum raised by

assessment in England, is actually bestowed as the wages of labour. What an absurdity, then, is it to represent as misplaced benevolence, what is, in fact, selfish injustice! How idle to complain of an 'unfounded distrust' of the national character, in the face of facts so amply testifying that that character is not to be trusted! Dr. Chalmers may say, that, if there had been no poor's rates, the depression of wages which has led to this practice, could not have taken place. But this does not lessen the existing difficulty, nor alter the character of the fact. Besides, he has to shew that this practice is an essential part of the poor system, before he can fairly charge upon that system the consequences of this abuse; for it is plain, that the depression of wages has not resulted from the law of relief, but from the modern practice of perverting that relief to the use of the employer. The poor's rate, which was designed to relieve the distressed, and to support the impotent, has been extensively applied to the relief of the farmer or of the manufacturer, at the expense of the community, by enabling him to purchase a given quantity of labour at a lower price. And these are the men whom it will be necessary to conciliate and persuade into the plan of supporting or relieving the indigent by voluntary contributions.

With this previous difficulty, Dr. Chalmers does not attempt to grapple. He takes no notice of the effect of this practice, in giving to the application for relief the character and tone of a demand, and in destroying all that was once disgraceful in pauperism. What can the labourer feel, who is paid 5s. a week for labour which ought to fetch 10s., but that he is cheated of the difference by his employer, and that he has a right to claim compensation of the parish? Private charity, voluntary contributions, might possibly meet the case of the old and the impotent; but what is to meet the case of partial employment and half-paid labour? If it be said, the church-door collections and sacrament money, what security can we have that these will not be misapplied in the same manner as the assessments? The mode of raising the money would not secure its equitable appropriation. What is chiefly requisite, is, to provide, that neither parochial aid nor private charity should have the effect of abridging the labourer of his just wages, by coming to him in lieu of part of his earnings. This we do not consider as an impossible consummation under the system of assessment; but if it be, then such impossibility lies clearly in the way of abandoning that system for the one proposed, that of voluntary contribution. The evil to be remedied is, the transmutation of agricultural wages into poor's rate; and the only remedial process must involve the convert-

ing back a portion of that rate into wages. But a rise of wages is the last measure to which the farmer will lend his concurrence. And yet, it is in order to this rise of wages, and after wages shall have risen to the fair market price of labour, that you are to call upon him at the church door for his voluntary contribution. Truly, in the present state of things, nothing could be more visionary, in reference to a very large proportion of the parishes in England, than Dr. Chalmers's scheme for dispensing with the assessment.

In manufacturing parishes, we do not deny that the case is somewhat different; inasmuch as the depression of wages is less systematic and less permanently implicated with the parochial administration. The payers of wages, that is to say the purchasers of manufacturing labour, are not identified with the payers of the rate. It would, therefore, be more practicable for a Vestry to oppose some check to the abuse in question, by refusing aid, except in extraordinary cases, to the labourer in full employment. We know not what has been the state of wages in Glasgow during the progress of Dr. Chalmers's experiment, nor how far the practice has obtained in Scotland, of mixing parochial relief with wages. We looked for information on this point from the Author, but have been disappointed. We find him incidentally admitting, however, that the diminution in the expenditure of the Town Hospital, was, in the main, referrible 'to the improved condition of our operative classes and the fall in the price of necessaries.' There had taken place, it seems, what is equivalent to a rise in wages, as well as an increase of employment; and under such circumstances, we conceive it to be very practicable to make an immense reduction of the rate. If the improvement in the circumstances of the manufacturing labourers has had no share in reducing the amount of pauperism within the parish of St. John, Dr. Chalmers has omitted to bring forward a fact which would greatly enhance the value of the experiment. If, on the contrary, the times have been greatly in his favour, he was bound to state it. We are warranted in taking it for granted, that, at present, manufacturing labour in Glasgow fetches a *living price*. We should like to know how he would meet the supposable case of a depression of wages below that living price. For a case of temporary emergency,—the sudden failure of any branch of trade, he is prepared to recommend an appeal to public benevolence, which, he thinks, would promptly and infallibly supply the *extra* contribution to meet the *extra* distress. He contends that, in such circumstances, there is every reason to believe, that the total distress without a poor's rate, would fall short in its amount of the surplus distress with a poor's

rate. He thinks, nevertheless, that it lays for the most part within the means of the labouring classes themselves, to save, in good times, as much as would enable them to weather the distress. Dr. Chalmers, then, would have wages in good times at a rate which should enable the labourer to save; and in this we agree with him. But suppose the reverse of what is taken for granted, and that wages have become permanently depressed below the price at which the labourer can maintain his family; how would his economy provide against this case? Will he say, This cannot take place in Glasgow, because we have no poor's rate, and the labourer will not consent, therefore, to such a reduction of the price of labour! We wish above all things to know how, when the demand for labour slackens, and the supply becomes redundant, such a determination on the part of the labourer could be enforced, and the price of labour be kept from falling below the *minimum* of a living price. If the labourer has saved, he may stand out for a while, provided he does not render himself obnoxious to those laws against combinations among workmen, to which our most zealous advocates for the *Laissez-faire* policy have never objected as over-legislating. But if he has not saved, what is his resource? Must he accept of the low wages, and throw himself upon the Kirk Session or upon private benevolence for the supply of the deficiency? Then would such alms operate precisely as the poor's rate does now, in favouring the injustice and oppression of the manufacturer, and in contributing to keep down the price of labour. Let us suppose that the manufacturer is not disposed to take any unfair advantage of this state of things; he will not be able to employ so many hands. Then the surplus hands must be provided for:—by what means? Will the Kirk Session find them employment? Or must they follow their countrymen across the Tweed? We are already over-stocked. But we must suppose that this depression of wages is common to both countries in that particular branch of industry. Can the Glasgow manufacturer continue to afford to give a living price to the labourer, when, by means of the depression of labour in other districts, the market prices of the article shall have fallen below what it would cost him? If wages are kept up in Glasgow, will the capital employed remain there? If they fall below the supposed *minimum* of a sufficiency for the labourer, can the labourer remain there?

Now this is the problem which we wish to have solved. The present circumstances of Spitalfields give it a peculiar interest. Our readers are aware that the wages of the Spitalfields weavers are regulated by a Local Act, and that petitions for and against the repeal of that Act, have been recently pre-

sented to both Houses of Parliament. That Act stands at present as an anomaly in the Statute-book, and it seems to be absolutely necessary, either to extend its application to other districts, or to erase it from the Statutes. It has unquestionably served as a protection to the labourer, but it has occasioned the transfer of a great part of the trade to the country, where some branches of work can be executed at two thirds of the London prices. The same consequence must follow any attempt artificially to keep up the rate of wages in any particular locality; and thus the poor's rate, by pressing upon wages in one part of the kingdom, must ultimately affect the price in every other. Now it will hardly be disputed, that, in times of general slackness or stagnation, it is the existence of the legal provision, which enables the manufacturer to obtain the labour of the workman at a rate far below the means of subsistence. The plea for such a reduction is, that otherwise most of the hands must be turned off, that half a loaf is better than no bread, and that every sixpence received by the workman as wages, is so much saved from the poor's rate. And accordingly, in the year 1818, the poor's rates were, in Coventry, 19s. in the £1. This reasoning we consider as quite unsound. In such times, the lowest reduction of wages that stops short of making the labourer a pauper, still leaves him in possession of a boon; and every individual kept from the parish, is a saving to the community. But the moment that the practice is established of making up deficient wages from the poor's rate, a step is taken towards the *permanent* depression of wages, which must issue in the degradation of the labouring classes. Henceforth the free labourer is undersold by the pauper; and the capitalist is enabled to supply himself, by this means, with a portion of labour, the payment of which he devolves on the parish. And this pauper machinery being brought into operation at Manchester, for instance, the rate of wages will require to be lowered at Macclesfield; so that, till some extraordinary demand shall occasion a rise in the price of labour, pauperism will form the standing condition of all the hands employed in that branch of industry.

The original principle of the English poor laws knows nothing of such a system as this. It supposes every labourer in full employment to live by his labour. It recognises only the cases of such as are unable to work, and such as are able to work, but are out of employment. It does not attempt to provide against every case of hardship or distress, but simply against the necessity for vagrant mendicity and the danger of absolute starvation. If the poor laws had never had an existence, the case, however, would have occurred, of a stagnation



in trade, attended by a consequent depression of wages, and that depression lasting through a period more than sufficient to exhaust the utmost savings of the most thrifty and provident labourer, and requiring, in order to carry him through it, regular and systematic relief. In such times, there is always an apparent excess of population, and an actual excess of labour as measured by the demand, owing to the interruption in the operations of capital. This excess produces of course a competition highly unfavourable to the labourer; and the inevitable result is, the fall of wages to the *minimum* at which labour can be afforded. The single man can afford to sell his labour the cheapest, and that at which he can subsist, will become the market price. Consequently, the man with a family, not being able to command the more on that account from his employer, will not have enough to subsist on. It is quite idle to represent this state of things as the result of the Poor Laws, because, mischievous as may be their operation in many respects, the circumstances to which we are adverting, might all take place in the absence of any legal provision; and those who are for the abolition of the legal provision, are bound to shew how the indigence which must necessarily ensue, is to be disposed of.

The revival of trade and manufactures has already had the most beneficial effect in raising the price of manufacturing labour, and consequently lightening the burden of pauperism. What is at such a time especially called for, is the utmost vigilance on the part of the parochial administrators, that the existence of the legal provision shall not retard the rise of wages, and thus operate to the disadvantage of the labourer. Nothing can be much worse than the *administration* of the English poor-laws; and it is upon this that we wish Dr. Chalmers had let fall the whole weight of his indignation. What has been done in his own parish of St. John's, and in that of the Outer Kirk, might, we doubt not, be successfully attempted in many of our assessed parishes, with this non-essential difference; that, in the one case, the church-door collections, in the other, the original principle of the poor-laws, should be made the point to which the practice should be brought back. This constitutes in our view the chief value of his experiment; that its application extends to the reduction of pauperism under the one system as well as under the other. 'It is on this account,' to use our Author's words, 'that the method of conducting a Scottish parish, which has admitted the compulsory principle into its administrations for the poor, back again to that purely gratuitous system out of which it had emerged, should not be regarded with indiffe-



'rence by the philanthropists of England.' We think that it is deserving of the most attentive consideration, not with the view of assimilating an English parish to a Scottish one, (for this would be a chimerical attempt,) but with the view of reforming, in like manner, the administration of the poor-laws in our own country. The compulsory principle needs not be abandoned, and yet, most of the measures which have been resorted to, in order to the abolition of the assessment in Scotland, may be made available for its reduction. Dr. Chalmers admits this. He goes so far as to express his opinion, 'that 'two thirds of the paupers' now in this country, might, by a rigorous execution of the present laws, 'be thrown back upon 'their own resources, and yet be landed in a state of as great 'comfort and sufficiency as, with their present allowances, 'they at present enjoy.' And this opinion of his is countenanced by the fact, that, in some instances, the poor's rate has suddenly subsided to one third of what it was before\*. But then, he contends, 'this requisite degree of rigour will,

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\* We take the following instances of reduction of expenditure from the notes to Dr. Chalmers's volume.

Expenditure of	In 1816-17.	In 1821-2.
Manchester - - - - -	£66,525 18 6	£39,044 6 0
Stockport - - - - -	11,377 12 1	5,446 4 9
St. Cuthbert's, Wells - - -	1,830 0 0	795 0 0
Westham, Essex - - - - -	11,846 0 0	5,818 0 0
Broadwater, Sussex - - -	3,383 19 5	1,641 8 2
	In 1817-18.	In 1820-21.
Bingham, Nottingham - - -	1,206 0 0	400 1 9
	In 1818.	In 1821.
Thatcham, Berks - - - - -	3,742 7 0	1,552 9 0
Englefield - - - - -	596 19 0	200 16 0
East Hendred - - - - -	1,265 3 0	616 6 0
Cheadle Bulkeley, Cheshire -	1,096 0 0	458 7 0
Macclesfield - - - - -	5,165 12 0	2,686 18 0
St. Erth, Cornwall - - - - -	1,047 9 0	471 6 0
Melbourn, Derby - - - - -	1,727 11 0	811 4 0
Stanton and Newall - - - -	1,133 14 0	418 16 0
Cullompton, Devon - - - -	2,075 8 0	836 2 0
Bourton, Dorset - - - - -	2,273 13 0	477 1 0
	In 1819-20.	In 1821-2.
St. Mary's Within, Carlisle -	3,039 19 6	1,436 1 11

(We add from the Letter to Mr. Canning.)

	In 1818.	In 1822.
Putney - - - - -	4,846 19 2	2,423 6 9
Wandsworth - - - - -	9,497 19 1	4,866 16 5

' in the first place, not be adopted in most parishes; and  
 ' secondly, in those parishes where, under a strong temporary  
 ' impulse, it has been resorted to, and with great immediate  
 ' success, it will not be persevered in: the pitch and the ten-  
 ' sion to which it has been wound up, will relax again.' (p. 277.)  
 To this it is obvious to reply, that, in the first place, the abo-  
 lition of the assessment is still less likely to be attempted in  
 the parishes where no effort is made to reform the administra-  
 tion; and therefore, if parishes are to be left, as Dr. Chalmers  
 recommends, to adopt or reject the provisions of any new  
 enactment at their option, the progress of his new scheme is  
 not likely to be at all more rapid than that of the Select Vestry  
 Act has been, which, he alleges, has not yet been proceeded  
 upon, in more than 2145 instances. And secondly, as to the  
 probable relaxation of the administration, when the first im-  
 pulse shall have spent itself, we admit the danger, and the  
 necessity of providing against it as far as possible; but we do  
 not see how it is completely obviated even in Dr. Chalmers's  
 own case. A relaxation of the present energetic administra-  
 tion in his late parish, would no doubt lead to increased de-  
 mands upon the voluntary collections, and these might, in  
 times of distress, rise to a height which would endanger a  
 recurrence to the assessment. The lax or indiscriminate ad-  
 ministration of any means of relief, whether parochial or pri-  
 vate charity, would lead to an increase of pauperism. The  
 abolition of every kind of provision for the poor, presents, there-  
 fore, the only security against the possible abuse of such pro-  
 vision under a lax administration. This Dr. Chalmers is aware  
 of, and he is prepared to go this length on paper. We are  
 quite persuaded that it is neither possible nor desirable to go  
 this length in practice.

Those persons who regard the Scotch mode of raising funds  
 for the relief of the poor, as a model to which it were desir-  
 able to conform the English practice, seem to us strangely to  
 overlook the widely differing circumstances of the population  
 in the two countries. Whatever be the general merits of Mr.  
 Sturges Bourne's Act, (and its merits are great and well-tried,)  
 the Select Vestry is but a bungling imitation of ' the plan gene-  
 rally prevalent in Scotland.' There is little analogy, as we  
 have before remarked, between an English vestry and a Kirk  
 session,—between the ordained elders of the Scottish Esta-  
 blishment, and the churchwardens and overseers of an English  
 parish. The main advantage of the Select Vestry Act, is the  
 limitation it has put upon the power of the magistrates, who  
 have been the chief authors or abettors of the abuses which  
 have crept into the administration of the poor-laws. But an

English parish can never be assimilated to a Scotch one. Dr. Chalmers recommends, that, in lieu of a rate, in order to provide for new cases,

‘ The minister and churchwardens may be empowered to have a weekly collection at the church doors ; or what is now gathered in the shape of sacrament money, may be made over to it ; or donations may be received from individuals ; in all which ways the revenue of a kirk session in Scotland is mainly upheld. The fund could be still further, perhaps, reinforced in England, by an act of parliament, empowering this new destination to those charitable donations which abound over the whole country, and to the extent of nearly half its parishes. We do not think this indispensable, though it might give a little more confidence, at the outset, of a prosperous result.’ p. 322.

The probable efficiency of the church collections may be reasonably estimated by the amount of what is now raised by *briefs*. Admitting that the appeal would be stronger, when the object of the collection should be the relief of distress nearer home, few persons, we imagine, would place much reliance on its adequacy ; and the auxiliary expedient is obviously liable to great objections. Dr. Chalmers forgets that the English are not, like the Scotch, a church-going population. This circumstance, we have no doubt, was one cause why assessments were originally adopted. In the reign of Elizabeth, a large proportion of the population were papists, who could not otherwise be effectually reached ; and in the present day, it is but a fraction of the population who are found regular attendants at church. Of these, we should fear that very many would be deterred from attending, by the mere circumstance of a weekly collection. Measured by the population, there is a deplorable want of church-room : estimated by the attendance at church, there is little or none. A very large proportion of those who attend Divine worship at all, are found worshipping within licensed places ; and of the sums raised for benevolent and religious purposes, a very considerable share is contributed by the Dissenters. Would Dr. Chalmers then recommend collections at the doors of chapels and meeting-houses also ? This would require one of two regulations : either that each sect or denomination should bear the burden of its own poor, as the Jews and Quakers do now ; or that a common fund should be raised, subject, as a matter of obvious equity, to a common management. The latter regulation would give rise to numberless jealousies, unless the sums raised came up to some agreed proportion ; and it would be resisted by the clergy. The former would be unjust, because the stronger claim of the poor man is not on his sect, but on his employer,

in whose service he has spent his strength, and to whose wealth his labour has contributed; and that employer may be of a different sect. There are parishes in which one denomination comprehends all the rich, and another consists only of the poor; and the throwing the relief of the latter, upon the collections made at the doors of their own place of worship, would be in effect to punish them for not going to church. Parochial relief is too frequently withheld on this ground, though illegally, to render this supposition an invidious one. And though there are persons in this country, to whom such an arrangement would appear most desirable on account of its operating to the discouragement of sectarianism, Dr. Chalmers would, we are well persuaded, reprobate and abhor the expedient.

We must avow, then, our fixed opinion, that the total abolition of the Poor Laws of this country is neither compatible with justice, humanity, nor sound policy; that the original principle is unobjectionable; and that what ought to be attacked, is the modern practice, which is, in almost all its details, vicious and demoralizing. Our limits will allow only of our glancing at the means available for the effectual reduction of the present amount of pauperism, without disturbing the law, or oppressing the poor.

The first suggestion, in point of importance, respects the *agency* employed in the administration. 'If,' says the Author of the Letter,

'the principle of the English poor laws can be successfully defended, the agency which the law has provided for their administration, cannot be too decidedly condemned. It is altogether so imperfect, so inadequate to its object, as to insure a mischievous result. From two to four inhabitants are to be annually elected in vestry, for the gratuitous performance of this service. Their business is to make the assessment, and collect the rate; to provide supplies for, and superintend, the workhouse; to relieve the out-door poor, giving to all enough, and to none more than enough; to provide work for the unemployed; to investigate cases of settlement; and to keep an account, which will bear a minute examination, of their receipts and disbursements. To perform the duties of an overseer of the poor, with any tolerable success, would require a union of qualifications which few possess. From the manner in which the office has generally been filled, and the duties executed, the very acceptance of the appointment is, in general estimation, attended with certain loss of character. So much misrepresentation is attached to the motives, and so much obloquy to the actions, of an able and conscientious overseer, that the office is shunned by all for whom either the influence of station, or pecuniary sacrifice can procure exemption from the appointment. It is by persons in the rank of tradesmen that the

office is generally held. Men in that station of life have not leisure from other occupations to attend to the duties of the office. A situation of embarrassment between the conflicting claims of private and public duty, is one in which no man ought to be compulsorily placed. If he neglect his private concerns, he may be tempted indirectly to indemnify himself at the expense of the public; if the sacrifice be made in his official capacity, a wasteful expenditure ensues, and that of which we all justly complain, a spirit of idleness, insolence, and extortion is thereby fostered among the poor. If a tradesman should be found who could, without personal inconvenience, devote sufficient time and attention to the duties of an overseer, he would fail in other qualifications equally necessary, impartiality, firmness, and independence. It is an every-day occurrence for an overseer, carrying on a trade or business in the parish, to be pressed by a rich neighbour or a good customer to give the parish money to a family of which he knows nothing, or whom, from what he does know of them, he had not thought entitled to any assistance. Is it to be expected, that a man, so circumstanced, whose best recommendation in his private concerns is a spirit of accommodation, will resist such importunities? The poor themselves have also a mode of reducing an overseer when in trade, to compliance with their demands, which they well understand and constantly practise. Mothers, accompanied by their children, will enter his shop in such a state of squalid wretchedness as effectually to deter any other description of people from approaching a place so occupied. It will not avail him to shew that they are not, or ought not to be, in want. Such intruders, presuming on the peculiarities of his situation; come steeled against the power of argument or entreaty: to have them ejected by force would subject the overseer to the charge of wanting the common feelings of humanity, but their retreat will be easily purchased by a compliance with their demands. If he were to act with more firmness than I am disposed to give him credit for, an appeal would be made from his opinion to that of a magistrate, with whom no representation made by him of the idleness and improvidence of the paupers would weigh much against their declaration of absolute want; and this proceeding would only subject him to an additional loss of time, and the mortification of defeat. A few weeks experience of this sort will reduce a tradesman with the very best intentions to the common standard of overseers. Another consideration equally fatal to economy will have its weight with a tradesman in office; he will have to submit his accounts to the scrutiny of a vestry at the end of his year; in order to pass easily through this ordeal, he must purchase the supplies, which he will have to provide on the parish account, of such persons and at such prices as will secure the approval of his money transactions, by a majority of such characters as usually attend and influence public vestries. Of their presence at the annual audit he is sure, but of that of no others. If they have been properly conciliated, he passes his accounts with credit; if not, he retires with the character of a convicted peculator. In a parish vestry, party feelings or interested motives almost always decide the question, though that question may vitally affect the cha-

racter and credit of an individual ; and so strong is the reluctance, except from selfish considerations, to attend a vestry, that it is seldom that a decision, however iniquitous, can be either prevented or reversed. Is it to be expected, then, that a respectable tradesman, when he contemplates the possibility of a disgraceful result, after a year of gratuitous and vexatious toil in the service of the public, will voluntarily accept the office ; or, if forced into it, will render disgrace certain, by an incorrupt execution of its duties ? In these cases I have supposed the officer to have the will, and only to want the power, of acting justly ; but every man, who has paid attention to the subject, knows, that in many parishes, the office is filled by a few men in rotation, who seek it for purposes undeniably corrupt. In agricultural districts, where a few large occupiers of land gain an ascendancy in the vestry, it is a common practice for labourers to be paid by their employers less than half the ordinary wages of other places, and to receive the difference from the poor rates. Waiving the consideration of the pestilent effects which such a practice must have on the spirit and feeling of the labouring class, it is not using too strong a term to say, that it is a direct robbery, under a pretended legal sanction, upon all who contribute to the rates, and do not employ labourers. Though the great employers of labour are not only indemnified by the lowness of wages for their extra contributions to the rates, but are pecuniarily benefited by this practice, yet the amount of the assessment is used as a pretence for seeking a reduction of rent and tithes. It would be a poor consolation to shew, as might easily be done, that such conduct is illegal ; redress would not be obtained without more trouble and expense than any individual would willingly incur.' pp. 51.—56.

The remedy suggested by our ' Vestryman,' is, that every parish should be compelled to confide the concerns of their poor to a select vestry, annually chosen, who should have the power of appointing and dismissing their own assistant ; that the select vestry should be accountable to the parish, and the assistant overseer, who is to be salaried, accountable only to the select vestry ; that all demands against the parish should be paid *monthly*, and a monthly publicity be given to their accounts and transactions. If this select vestry were fairly and properly constituted, no measure would be more likely to ensure the desired reform of the parochial agency.

The next suggestion is one for which Dr. Chalmers and the Vestryman alike warmly contend : it is, that ' the special power ' of justices to order relief, should be altogether taken away.' The vexatious interference exercised by magistrates, is the subject of general complaint. Clerical magistrates are stated universally to favour paupers, because they do not feel the burden they impose, and the shortest way to get rid of the applicant, is to give an order for his relief. The select vestry would be a far more competent tribunal ; and their decision,



both as to relief and the amount of it, should be final. On this subject, we must refer our readers to Dr. Chalmers, pp. 317—21, and to the Letter, pp. 63—66. We only add the remark, that were this vexatious appeal to the justices taken away, the effect would naturally follow, even on the present system, which Dr. Chalmers represents as one 'marvellous' operation of doing away with the rate. 'What is now demanded 'as a right, will then be preferred as a request:' it will be in either case, 'just the difference between the claiming and the 'asking of a thing.'

The withholding of all parochial allowance on the account of illegitimate children, or at least, in every instance of a second offence, would be another important step taken towards the reduction at once of pauperism and of vice. On this delicate subject, we shall content ourselves with transcribing a very important note from Dr. Chalmers's volume.

'There is nought which more strikes and appals the traveller who is employed in a moral or philanthropic survey of our land, than not the gradual, but really instant transition which takes place,' (in regard to the habit of making parochial provision for illegitimate children,) 'when he passes out from the unassessed parishes of Scotland. The mischief done by the allowances of pauperism, is not merely that they hold out to crime a refuge from destitution, but that they, in a certain measure, shield it from disgrace. A family visitation, that would otherwise be felt as an overwhelming calamity by all its members, falls lightly upon their feelings; and one of the greatest external securities to female virtue is demolished, when the culprit, protected by law from the need of bringing a bane and a burden upon her relatives, is thus protected from that which would give its keenest edge of bitterness to their execrations. There can be no doubt that, if you withdraw the epidemic bounty which is thus granted to vice, you would at least restrain its epidemic over-growth, which is now so manifest throughout the parishes of England; that you would enlist the selfishness of parents on the side of the purity of their own offspring. The instant that it was felt to be more oppressive, it would also be felt more odious: and as an early effect of the proposed reformation, should we witness both a keener popular indignation against the betrayer of innocence, and a more vigilant guardianship among families. As it is, you have thwarted the moral and beneficent designs of Nature—you have expunged the distinction that it renders to virtue, because you have obliterated the shame and the stigma affixed by it to vice; you have annulled the sanctions by which it guards the line of demarcation between them.

'Accordingly, in all parts of England, the shameless and abandoned profligacy of the lower orders is most deplorable. It is perhaps not saying too much, to say, that the expense for illegitimate children forms about a tenth part of the whole expense of English pauperism. We do not deduct, however, the sums recovered from the



fathers, our object not being to exhibit the pecuniary burden that is incurred, but, what is far more serious, the fearful relaxation of principle which it implies. Looking over the accounts that are before us at random, we find one year's expense of Sheffield, for this head of disbursements alone, to have been £1388.3.10.; for Leeds, £1062.12.3.; for Bedford, £141.2.0.; for St. Mary's, Nottingham, £1043.14.2.; for St. Mary le Bone, £2865.5.; for Hulme, £83.17.6.; for Stockport, £764.5.6.; for Manchester, £3378.5.0½.; for Salford, £761.7.2.; for Liverpool, £2536.6.4. But it may serve still more accurately to mark the dissolution of morals, that we present the number of such cases in certain parishes. In the parish of Stroud, Gloucestershire, whose population is 7097, there now reside 67 mothers of illegitimate children who are of an age or in circumstances to be still chargeable on a poor-rate. In the parish of St. Cuthbert, Wells, with a population of 3024, there are 18 such mothers. In St. Mary's within Carlisle, a population of 9592, and 28 such mothers. In St. Cuthbert's within Carlisle, a population of 5884, and also 28 mothers of illegitimate children now on the parish. In Horsley, Gloucestershire, a population of 3565, and 29 illegitimate children regularly provided for. In St. Mary le Bone, the number of these children on the parish is 460. But it were endless to enumerate examples: and perhaps the far most impressive evidence that could be given of the woful deterioration which the Poor Laws of England are now working on the character of its people, is to be gathered, not from the general statements of a political arithmetic on the subject, but from the individual displays that are afforded either in parish vestries, or in the domestic habitations of the peasantry; the unblushing avowals of women, and their insolent demands, and the triumph of an imaginary right over all the tremors and delicacies of remorse, which may be witnessed at the one; and, in the other, the connivance of parents, and sisters, and natural guardians, at a prostitution now rendered creditable, because so legalized as at least to be rendered lucrative. Instances do occur, of females who have so many illegitimate children as to derive a competency from the positive allowance given for them by the parish.

There is a sensitive alarm sometimes expressed lest, on the abolition of legal charity, there should be no diminution of crime, while the unnatural mothers, deprived of their accustomed resource, might be tempted to relieve themselves by some dreadful perpetration. It might serve to quell this apprehension, and to prove how Nature hath provided so well for all such emergencies, as that she might safely be let alone, to consider the following plain but instructive narrative from the parish of Gratney, contiguous to England, and only separated from it by a small stream. The Rev. Mr. Morgan, its minister, writes me: "To females who bring illegitimate children into the world we give nothing. They are left entirely to their own resources. It is, however, a remarkable fact, that children of this description with us, are more tenderly brought up, better educated, and of course, more respectable and more useful members of society, than illegitimates on the other side of the Sark, who, in a great

many instances, are brought up solely at the expense of their parishes."

' The comparison of parishes lying together in a state of juxtaposition, and differing only in regimen, proves with what fearlessness a natural economy might be attempted ; not, we admit, in reference to cases which already exist, but certainly in reference to all new cases and new applications. The simple understanding that, in future, there was to be no legal allowance for illegitimate children in a parish, would lay an instantaneous check on the profligate habits of its people. The action of shame, and prudential feeling, and fear from displeased because now injured and oppressed relatives, would be restored to its proper degree of intensity,—would be surely followed by a diminution of the crime. And as to any appalling consequences that might be pictured, on the event of crime breaking through all these restraints, for this too, Nature has so wisely and delicately balanced all the principles of the human constitution, that it is greatly better to trust her, than to thwart and interfere with her. She hath provided, in the very affection of the guilty mother for her hapless child, a stronger guarantee for its safety and its interest, than is provided by the expedients of law.' pp. 238—240.

The reformatory efficacy of *labour*, when made the inseparable condition of relief in the case of persons alleging a want of employment, is very strikingly illustrated in the Putney experiment. This expedient for discouraging pauperism, is strictly in unison with both the letter and the spirit of the law of Elizabeth. The objection to this mode of relief, which has been urged by our wise men, is, that it is unphilosophical. The want of employment, they argue, arises from the diminution of capital, which is the only fund for supporting labour ; and you only add to the evil, by diverting what would go to increase that fund into the channel of parochial charity : you rob the honest labourer by finding employment, at a greater expense, for the pauper. The same specious but hollow reasoning has been urged against introducing labour into penitentiaries. It were a sufficient reply, that the moral benefit far outweighs the incidental disadvantage, whatever view we take of it. It might be added, that a deficiency of capital on the large scale, is not the reason, in all cases, of a temporary want of employment, though capital is admitted to be the only fund for employing labour. But, in point of fact, it has been found very possible to furnish employment, as well for the pauper as for the convict, without at all prejudicing the labourer. Two things should be kept in view. One is, that it should be the object of the vestry, not to employ the applicant for a continuance, but, while relieving the parish from the burden of his maintenance, to force him to seek employment for himself, by rendering it his interest to do so. The other

condition to be borne in mind, is, that the labour be performed by the piece, not by the day, and that the remuneration be below the average wages of ordinary labour in the neighbourhood. The employment of paupers as day-labourers on the roads, without any inspection, it is justly remarked, is worse than useless.

‘ It confirms the paupers in their idle habits. It is little less than a sinecure appointment to men whose crime is laziness, and to whom compulsory labour would be the severest punishment. It is neither more nor less than an artificial and indirect, and at the same time a most expensive mode of maintaining them out of the poor-rates. Applying their labour to objects that do not require it, will indicate a degree of weakness and embarrassment on the part of a parish, at which they will rejoice; nor can a plan of supporting them without forcing them to an inconvenient degree of mental or bodily exertion, ever induce them to acquire those qualities which alone can recommend them to other masters.’ pp. 92, 3.

The success of the Putney experiment appears to have been complete. Upon introducing employment into the work-house, the Vestry witnessed the retirement of many whom neither their advice nor any other expedient they could devise, had been able to dislodge. It operated as a ‘marvellous charm,’ as Dr. Chalmers would say, on the minds of its inmates. The house was at the time crowded almost to suffocation, with paupers of all ages and characters,—a very castle of indolence; and the consequence was most distressingly visible in the morals and habits of the paupers. But, under the new regime,

‘ Not many months elapsed before they found the house tenanted only by the legitimate objects of such an abode,—age, infirmity, and infancy; and they had then no difficulty in rendering it what they wished it to be, a wholesome, comfortable, and peaceful retreat for the old, and a school of morals and industry for the young.’

As the general result of the new system which has been adopted, it is stated, that, during the last year,

‘ not an individual, capable of labour, was maintained at the parish expense; nor was an inhabitant known to become a beggar or a vagrant, or to have been brought into a court of justice on a felonious charge.’

As to the best method of relieving the out-door poor, there will be found many highly valuable suggestions, both in the Letter of the Vestryman, and scattered through Dr. Chalmers's volume; but our limits will not admit of our entering into the details. The reduction of expenditure effected by many of the parishes under the Select Vestry system, has been owing in a

great measure to the vigilant and patient inquiry, discretion, and firmness, which have been called into exercise in this important branch of parochial administration. But, in the "Letter," we meet with this important remark.

*'The practice of arbitrarily lowering the rate of wages, and supplying the difference out of the poor-rate, or of employing the poor as roundsmen, so grievously complained of in agricultural districts, has never been attempted here.'*

It remains, therefore, to be seen, with what success a similar attempt to bring back the practice to the original principle, can be made in an agricultural parish, where the custom of mixing relief with wages has established itself. Perhaps, the present moment is not the most favourable for such an experiment; for though the farmer now pays less in money, both for wages and poor's rate, than he did, he has, in many cases, to pay more in wheat; and till the markets begin to 'look upward,' he would be found very indisposed to listen to any proposal for relieving the rate by higher wages. A very brief statement is given in Dr. Chalmers's volume, (p. 353.) of the manner of relieving the poor of White Waltham, Berks, which, had it been more explicit, would have been peculiarly instructive. In that parish, (comprising a population of 795,) the whole of the weekly pensioners, who were generally old and infirm, were taken off the parish books, and undertaken to be supported by private benevolence; the gentlemen and farmers voluntarily agreeing each to support a poor pensioner; or, where their occupations were small, several were joined together. The rate of expenditure was by this plan brought down to less than a sixth of the former average. Where the poor's rate falls almost entirely on farmers and land-holders, we have no doubt that, by a similar agreement, but extending to the families of all their respective labourers, the pauperism of the parish might be almost annihilated, and more hands be employed with an actual saving to the farmer. All that would be necessary in addition, would be, a common fund to meet the county rates, allowances to non-resident paupers, and other unavoidable expenses, and to set to work on the roads, or in other beneficial labour, the idle, wandering hands that are apt to find their way back to the parish in winter.

One word on the subject of alms-giving and private benevolence, and we have done. Throughout Dr. Chalmers's volume, it is represented, that legislation has, by assigning a legal provision for the poor, stifled the sympathy of the wealthier for the poorer classes, and sealed up the fountains of private benevolence. Pauperism, he says,

' has transformed the whole character of charity, by turning a matter of love into a matter of litigation ; and so, has seared and shut many a heart out of which the spontaneous emanations of good-will would have gone plentifully forth among the abodes of the destitute. We know not how a more freezing arrest can be laid on the current of benevolence, than when it is met in the tone of a rightful, and perhaps indignant demand for that wherewith it was ready, on its own proper impulse, to pour refreshment and relief over the whole field of ascertained wretchedness. There is a mighty difference of effect between an imperative and an imploring application. The one calls out the jealousy of our nature, and puts us upon the attitude of surly and determined resistance. The other calls out the compassion of our nature, and inclines us to the free and willing movements of generosity. It is in the former attitude, that, under a system of overgrown pauperism, we now, generally speaking, behold the wealthy in reference to the working classes of England. They stand to each other in a grim array of hostility—the one thankless and dissatisfied, and stoutly challenging as his due, what the other reluctantly yields, and that as sparingly as possible. Had such been a right state of things, then pity would have been a superfluous feeling in our constitution, as its functions would have been nearly superseded by the operation of law and justice.' p. 58.

' The law has both augmented human want, and it has enfeebled human sympathy. After all, it has not so overtaken the field of indigence as to supersede the need of individual humanity, while, by its very nature, it has stifled the principle of humanity. Had there been no law of pauperism, the unimpaired economy and relative virtues of the people, would, on the one hand, have kept the territory of want within its proper limits ; and, on the other hand, would there have been a more alert and vigilant benevolence in society for the discharge of that function which the legislature has so unfortunately taken into their own hands." pp. 227, 8.

Coming from Dr. Chalmers, these brilliant and well-intentioned misrepresentations will have a pernicious effect in misleading the public. What England was, when the law in question was first enacted, Ireland is now. There, in the unbridled mendicity of a starving population, may be seen how far the 'unimpaired economy and relative virtues' of the lower classes, are competent to keep the territory of want within its proper limits. Is it not astonishing that, with Ireland before him, Dr. Chalmers can charge the augmentation of want in this country on the English poor-laws? We repeat it, society is in every respect the gainer, morally, politically, and economically, by having pauperism substituted for mendicancy as the condition of its indigent population. The pauper, degraded as he may be, is less degraded than the mendicant. Society has less to fear from him, for his condition is less desperate : he is under restraints which lie not on the beggar, and he has more

to connect him with society. As to the tone of his demand, it is not more apt to assume the insolence of challenge and defiance, than that of the vagrant. And there is this remarkable difference between the two cases; that the one stands on his rights, and appeals to the laws as his protection, and it is therefore his interest not to forfeit their protection; while the other stands on his alleged necessities, and, owing nothing to the laws, is ready, when opportunity offers, to bid them defiance in enforcing his claims: in doing so, he but obeys the higher law of self-preservation.

But this is not the only flaw in Dr. Chalmers's statement. He writes as if there were in England no poor who are not paupers; as if the law of relief was designed to supersede altogether the exercise of individual benevolence. That that law may be made a pretence for disregarding the claims of the poor by the selfish and unfeeling, is very supposable; but no one in their senses can imagine that the parish pittance supersedes, in even the particular instances, the need of private benevolence. The poor have wants of which the law takes no cognizance. It gives their children bread: it does not pretend to give them either meat, clothing, or instruction. Surely here is room enough for private benevolence to expatiate. But pauperism has not yet absorbed the whole of the English poor. There is a large class, elevated in feeling above the parish pauper, but scarcely, if at all, above him in their means of comfort, who have the strongest claims on private benevolence. They are known to derive no aid from the parish, although they might as reasonably claim it as many others. Their wants are apparent, or may be concluded from the largeness of their family, the presence of disease in some of its members, or other sources of expense. Now these are the most proper and worthy objects of an alert and vigilant but secret benevolence. And there is an obvious policy to second, with regard to such poor, the dictates of humanity; because, by means of private relief, they may, perhaps, be withheld from passing the line of pauperism. It is the palpable interest of the wealthy, to keep every individual they can, off the parish. Many a poor man's family has thus been upheld; and, but for the detestable practice of mixing parochial relief with wages, thousands of families might have been saved from sinking into pauperism. But there are still the independent, respectable, and suffering poor, to whom the law holds out no relief, because they have not sunk to the level of indigence at which its relief begins to operate. Let not the law be held up as the cause that they are greatly neglected. It cannot form, in the mind of any rational person, the shadow of a reason for neglecting them;



nor can it furnish any apology for stifling with regard to them; the principle of humanity. These are not thankless and dissatisfied; they do not clamourously challenge our sympathy; and therefore, Dr. Chalmers has done very wrong in putting down to the account of the Poor Laws, the selfishness and inhumanity of the rich generally towards the working classes. The Legislature has *not* taken into its own hands the functions of benevolence: it has but cleared the way for their operation. The man who would dismiss an old servant to the parish, when he might by a trifling pension maintain him in an honourable dependence,—or who would refuse his aid to a poor neighbour, because there is the overseer for him to apply to,—such a man may possibly rank his poor-rates among his alms deeds, and his tithes among his religious doings; but he is not a man on whom any principle of humanity or religion would operate in the absence of compulsory enactments. It is not the law which has seared and shut his heart. He is to be dealt with only by appealing to his sordid interests or to his fears; and on the same principle on which he now pays his rate, he would give to the beggar, or to the highwayman; because he is compelled—and on no other.

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**Art. III. *Sabbaths at Home* : or a Help to their right Improvement ; founded on the Forty-second and Forty-third Psalms. Intended for the Use of Pious Persons when prevented from attending the Public Worship of God. By Henry March. 8vo. pp. viii., 272. Price 7s. London, 1823.**

**N**EITHER Augustine, nor Thomas à Kempis, nor Gregory Lopez, nor Fenelon, nor Guion, nor the French Jansenists, nor the English Puritans, nor Law, nor Rowe, will satisfy the taste or the judgement of well-informed Christians of the present day, who seek the aid of books in the closet for exciting and elevating the religious affections. Must it be granted, that the purity of Christian doctrine has rarely shone in the pages of those whom one must name first in the class of *devotional* writers? There are bright exceptions; but we think the affirmative is generally true. Many of these eminent persons lived in times when the light of truth was almost totally eclipsed. The orb still shewed a radiant nimbus in the heavens; but healthful light and heat were sensibly diminished. The voice of devotion was sepulchral;—its life was chilled by needless penury, its strength wasted in profitless labours, and, for the garment of praise, it was clad in the spirit of heaviness. Others of this class of writers have been too nearly surrounded



with the heated and acrid atmosphere of sectarianism, to escape the bad influence; or their manner has been rendered highly unpleasing, and, to modern ears, almost insufferable, by the prevalence of a trivial taste for antithesis or for far-fetched analogies. Of some who stand in the foremost rank on account of their elevation of soul or their genius, it must be allowed, that, while the genuineness of their piety is unquestionable, they were, in the properest sense of the term, enthusiasts. The stupendous revelations of Christianity seem as much to have frenzied their imaginations, as to have warmed their hearts. The tone of their expressions perpetually excites in the mind of the judicious reader, the apprehension of an approach towards fanaticism, or what we know not how otherwise to designate, than by the phrase—*spiritual voluptuousness*. When sensibilities, too acute to consist with soundness of mind, and perhaps recently torn away from some earthly attachment, are sublimed by strong religious impressions, the most pitiable perversions are to be feared; and any thing is to be expected, sooner than the joy, the sorrow, the peace, the love, the zeal, which are the proper fruits of the Spirit.

While speaking of writers from whom the devout Christian will seek spiritual direction, there is a name which must already have occurred to the recollection of the reader,—the name of Leighton. In fact, it was the name of Leighton, suggested to us by the perusal of the volume before us, which has led us to refer to the writers with whom he is often associated, and in comparison with whom his meek, pure, apostolic spirit will appear to great advantage. We have mentioned Leighton, not, indeed, with a view to institute a comparison between him and the Writer before us; for, even supposing the existence of the best grounds of comparison, it could not, in the present instance, be made with any fairness to the party at whose hazard it must be instituted. A work of this class is not to be judged of by picked paragraphs, but by the high, happy, and salutary impression left upon the mind, if rightly disposed, by the whole. Fine writing,—passages high-wrought for effect, lofty diction, the rhythm of words, or elaboration of any kind, the object of which is to gratify taste, would be miserably misapplied if made the vehicle of consolation or advice to the wounded spirit. Under the pressure of substantial affliction, nothing will reach or satisfy the heart, but the brief and perfectly artless expression of feelings of the same class with those which occupy the mind. None but a sufferer speaks comfort to a sufferer: none but a Christian sufferer, who has himself found consolation, can administer Christian consolation. The qualifications, therefore, of a spiritual ad-

viser, will be estimated, less by his intellectual gifts, or even by his natural wisdom, and the amenity of his temper, than by the elevation, the purity, the fervency, the humbleness of his personal character as a Christian who has himself been thoroughly '*exercised*' unto godliness.

By what we have said, we have wished to attract the especial attention of the pious reader to the volume before us. Its Author appears from the character of the book, to be eminently qualified, by the ardour of his mind, the fervency of his feelings, the soundness of his judgement, by personal experience in the only school of true wisdom, and by the discharge of the most difficult branch of pastoral duty, to enter the chamber of affliction, and to speak those words in due season, which, with a Divine influence, at once cheer and heal the troubled soul. He incites the mind, not to dote upon itself, but to look upward and forward to the great objects of Christian faith and hope. He is not one of those speakers of peace who make it their business to aid the worldly-minded professor, when scared by a sudden sickness, to draw from his past experience, vague, unsubstantial evidences, upon which to found the comfort and immunities of a state of grace. Of this kind of disguised antinomianism, the volume is entirely innocent. When the Author discriminates between the true and the false in religious character, it is not with the view of shewing *how little* of the true will serve to redeem much of the false, and make *all safe*, but to awaken a salutary alarm wherever the false and the true seem to be doubtfully balanced in the character.

On the principle that privileges are most highly prized during a temporary deprivation of them, Mr. March endeavours again and again to heighten his reader's estimation of the happiness and the advantages of public worship. The appointment of public worship is, he shews, not merely a recognition and a sanctioning of an essential principle of human nature—its social affections; but tends to give to these sympathies their highest perfection and most delightful exercise.

'Religion,' he remarks, 'makes no change in this principle of the human nature, but only gives it a new and high direction. That which was before only the intercourse of men, becomes the communion of saints—that spiritual fellowship which exists between real Christians, and which is certainly the noblest intercourse of rational and immortal beings with one another that can be known on this side the society of "the spirits of just men made perfect." The fellowship of a merely human friendship may be strong, where there is a likeness of disposition and of pursuit in the individuals associated; but since its aims and its plans are all bounded by earth, there

must necessarily be attached to it an unspeakable littleness and meanness, when compared with the sublime fellowship of holy minds, whose views stretch beyond the present world, and whose thoughts and converse have for their objects, things of infinite excellence and of eternal duration. And indeed, no ties known among men, whether those of kindred or affection, can possibly be so binding as well as lasting, as those which knit together the hearts of believers. "For by one Spirit are they all baptised into one body, and have been all made to drink into one Spirit. There is one body and one spirit, even as they are all called in one hope of their calling; one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in them all." Now, let the mind imagine an assembly of persons to whom these passages are applicable;—persons who, in addition to the sympathy of the human nature, are influenced by one Spirit; who trust, love, and obey one Lord; who have one Faith, believing in the same great, essential truths; and who are animated by one hope, having all the same delightful expectation of the external blessedness:—let the mind imagine an assembly of such persons employed in raising their hearts together in common supplication to the one Father and God of their salvation, through the one Mediator,—or in lifting up their united voices in adoration, thanksgiving, or praise,—and a picture will be beheld bearing the nearest possible earthly resemblance to the society of the blessed in Heaven! Who then shall wonder that David, passing by the recollections of private joys, should fix on the seasons when he went with the multitude to the House of God—with the multitude that kept holy-day, as the brightest and happiest of his life? In truth, the disposition of mind that he here discovered, proves that his religion was not only genuine in its nature, but exalted in its degree. Every where in the Scriptures we are taught that the delighting in the company of the saints—especially when associated for worship—is an eminent sign of grace. And in David, it is evident that this gracious disposition was so raised as to include in it that sublime love which embraces in its arms the whole church of God as one body, and which makes the interest and happiness of the body, to be cared for, or rejoiced in, as its own. This noble affection of the soul is a distinguished part of true religion, evidenced to be so both by its likeness to the mind of Christ, and by its being so opposite to the selfishness of depraved man, which is a corruption so strong within him as greatly to overcome even the social tendency. Hence pious persons of the more spiritual and elevated cast have always been remarkable for their fervent concern for, and love to the Universal Church;—while professors of a lower and more doubtful description have been *as* remarkable for the contrary. In *thém*, Self, that enemy to all that is truly great and good, seems to be the chief prompter of their thoughts, and cares, and conversation; and *their own experience* to be nearly their all in all. How it fares with *the rest*, is to them a matter of little concern. In proof of this, they will *do*, and they will *give*, as little as possible to promote the general welfare of the Church, or the extension of Christ's kingdom upon

earth. How different were the feelings of David towards the Church : " Because of the House of the Lord our God, I will *seek thy good*." In the same Psalm he says, " They shall *prosper* that *love thee*." A great truth this, which is found ever to hold good. Hence the Selfists do *not* prosper. Their souls are lean ; their spirits, sour ; their voice, complaint. How can *they* love Zion, whose endless employment it is to hunt for faults in the Ministers of God, in religious societies, in other professors ; and when they have found them, or fancied they have, to trumpet them abroad ? They love not : but neither do they *prosper*. How righteous a retribution ! But the temper of David was the temper of the Gospel ; that temper to which it is the very design of the Gospel to reclaim men from the dominion of Self. " *By this* shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another." But it is in social worship especially that this love is called into lively exercise—when heart mingles with heart, and the offering of many is as the offering of one. It is then that the soul hath its highest elevation, when it feels its own cares and affections forgotten in the nobler care and affection for the whole. Thus, by becoming little, it becomes really great ; and triumphs in the consciousness of its oneness with the redeemed, mystical body.' pp. 77—80.

This volume is especially characterized by its constant inculcation of that spirit of Praise, which ought to be considered as the first and principal branch of Christian feeling.

' Oh, how excellent and lovely, how sublimely spiritual is the glorying in God of the holy Psalmist ! His soul " made her boast in the Lord," and felt her selfish cares and sorrows, her lower aims and all her meaner joys absorbed in Him, beheld and adored " in the beauties of Holiness." " The Lord is great, and greatly to be praised : He is to be feared above all gods. Honour and Majesty are before Him : Strength and Beauty are in His Sanctuary. Give unto the Lord, O ye kindreds of the people, give unto the Lord glory and strength. Give unto the Lord the glory due unto His Name :—bring an offering and come into his courts." How many come into His courts, but bring no offering ! Not so David. A careful examination of his Psalms will shew that though, from his circumstances, he was often led to pour out his complaint before God, to tell his wants, and to beg relief and consolation,—yet, that the prime joy and glory of his soul was, to " go into His Tabernacle" that he might " worship at His footstool ;" that there, " in the congregation of saints," he might fulfil that vow of his heart—" I will extol Thee, O God, my King, and I will bless thy name for ever and ever. I will speak of the glorious honour of thy Majesty, and of thy wondrous works." Certainly, of all the privileges vouchsafed to the redeemed on earth, not one is so exalted as that of giving glory to God in His Sanctuary. And be it observed, that to *this end* are they redeemed. " Ye are bought with a price ; therefore glorify God in your body and in your spirit, which are God's." And let it be considered how little honour the blessed God receives from His creatures

in this world; and what abundant reason there was that our Saviour should teach us to pray, "Hallowed be thy Name." Sunk in selfishness and sin, they praise one another, and they praise themselves, but not the God who made them. If then the Lord of Life were not to receive a revenue of honour from his own servants, no offering would ascend to Him at all from our guilty world. Let the thought of this, while it serves to admonish and rebuke past omissions, kindle in the souls of the faithful an ardent flame of zeal to magnify the name of the Lord. Let this be the vow of each: The world forsake their Creator, dishonour his Sabbaths, and renounce his praise, "but *as for me*, I will come into thy House in the multitude of thy mercy; and in thy fear will I worship toward thy Holy Temple." ' pp. 44-46.

We cannot extend our quotations; but we recommend the volume with unqualified pleasure to the pious reader. We recollect no work of recent date, which we should think better suited to aid the Christian in his efforts to revive and rectify the religious affections, either in the closet, or in the chamber of affliction. The volume is divided into ten chapters, under the following titles. Desire. Mourning. Retrospection. Conflict. Anticipation. Expostulation. Reliance. Appeal. Intercession. Conquest. Each chapter is subdivided by three or four general observations, in which are condensed the prominent ideas contained in the verses which serve as the text; and the chapter is closed with a meditation in the person of the reader, and sometimes with an original Hymn.

Art. IV. *Journal of a Voyage to the Northern Whale-Fishery*; including Researches and Discoveries on the Eastern Coast of West Greenland, made in the Summer of 1822. in the Ship *Baffin*, of Liverpool. By William Scoresby, jun. F.R.S.E. M.W.S. &c. &c. Commander. 8vo. pp. 515. Edinburgh, 1823.

**W**E have never been more completely under the influence of astonishment at the recklessness with which men will cheerfully put their lives in jeopardy for an inducement altogether inadequate, than while reading Mr. Scoresby's account of the Arctic navigation. In almost every other form of human daring, there is some excitement from without, added to the common internal motive; but, in the instance before us, there seems to be no other impulse than the feeling of danger overcome by energy and dexterity, in addition to the obvious attractions of increased pay and long intervals of safety and repose. Constantly surrounded with perils against which knowledge and skill are not always efficient guards; exposed not only to the hazards and terrors of the ocean, but to the countless va-

anxieties of danger which the phenomena of the Frozen Sea present, we can conceive of nothing more dreary, nothing more appalling, than the existence of a seaman engaged in the Greenland trade. The drift-ice, impelled by a strong wind, may sink his vessel in an instant. Entangled among fields and floes, in hazy weather, he is in constant apprehension that the closing masses may crush the timbers of his ship. There is, moreover, an uncertainty in the movements of these enormous bodies, which frequently baffles his calculations, and renders the manœuvre on which he relied for extrication, the cause of increased jeopardy. Assuredly, then, we can fully believe, that the feelings of the captains of whalers, when they break through the last barriers of ice, and fairly leave behind them this scene of intricacy, anxiety, and ever-imminent danger, are of no ordinary kind; though we should fear that comparatively few would experience the same emotions of pious gratitude which Mr. Scoresby never fails to express on occasions of providential deliverance.

In his former publication, Mr. S. collected and condensed an important and most interesting variety of information respecting the Arctic regions. Still maintaining the character of an intelligent and scientific observer, he now claims the applause due to the discoverer, or rather the enterprising and accurate re-discoverer of lands long reported inaccessible, and of which the outline has hitherto been obscurely and incorrectly defined. A long line of indented shore between the parallels of 69 and 75 has, through his exertions, been ascertained by actual survey; and the hazardous presumptions of former hydrographers, have been removed from the chart of the Hyperborean Sea. It will be in the recollection of our readers, that, so far back as the tenth century, the eastern coasts of Greenland were colonized by settlers from Norway.

‘The colonies are stated by Crantz, and others, to have extended from Cape Farewell, the southern point of Greenland, five or six degrees of latitude towards the north, both on the east and west side of the country. About sixteen churches are mentioned as having been built on these coasts. Crantz informs us, that there were nineteen bays or inlets, that were inhabited on the east side. On these were planted a hundred and ninety farms or hamlets, constituting twelve parishes, with the Bishop’s see, and two convents. And, on the west side, it appears that there were nine cultivated inlets, on which ninety, or, as some say, one hundred and ten hamlets were built, that constituted four parishes.’—Preface, p. xxi.

About the year 1408, the communications between the colony and the mother country ceased; and considerable uncertainty



still hangs over the causes which led to this disastrous event. It has been supposed, that it could have been occasioned by nothing short of the extermination of the settlers; and this has been variously attributed to the inroads of the Skrællings (native savages), or the ravages of that remarkable pestilence, known by the appalling name of the *Black Death*, which depopulated the countries of Europe in the fourteenth century. The general opinion, however, seems to have been, that this cessation of intercourse was compelled by the accumulation of the ice on the eastern shores of Greenland; and it appears to be confirmed by the ineffectual attempts which have been since made, at intervals, to penetrate the frozen barrier. The most urgent inquiry which arises out of these facts and inferences, relates to the present circumstances of the settlements. Are the descendants of the colonists still in existence, or have the consequences of their seclusion from European commerce and support, been fatal? Capt. Scoresby has opened the way to the complete solution of this important question, and it will, doubtless, ere long, be set entirely at rest, either by himself, or by some official expedition.

The voyage which gave the opportunity for these important discoveries, took place in 1822. On the 27th of March, Mr. Scoresby sailed from Liverpool in the ship *Baffin*, built under his own inspection for the Northern whale-fishery, and on the 14th of April, he came in contact with the ice in the unusually low latitude  $64^{\circ}. 30'$ . This first obstacle was easily broken through; but more difficult and perilous circumstances awaited the voyagers. On several occasions, these are strongly described in language which not only expresses the extreme dangers which beset the navigators, but the intense and even gratifying emotion communicated by the excitement of the mental and bodily powers to their full stretch.

‘ Most of the masses of drift-ice, among which we had to force a passage, were at least twenty times the weight of the ship, and as hard as some kinds of marble; a violent shock against some of them might have been fatal. But the difficulties and intricacies of such situations, affording exercise for the highest possible exertion of nautical skill, are capable of yielding, to the person who has the management of a ship, under such circumstances, a degree of enjoyment, which it would be difficult for navigators, accustomed to mere common-place operations, duly to appreciate. The ordinary management of a ship, under a strong gale, and with great velocity, exhibits evolutions of considerable elegance; but these cannot be comparable with the navigation in the intricacies of floating-ice, where the evolutions are frequent, and perpetually varying,—where manœuvres are to be accomplished, that extend to the very limits of possibility,—



and where a degree of hazard attaches to some of the operations, which would render a mistake of the helm, or a miscalculation of the powers of a ship, irremediable and destructive.' pp. 46, 47.

Mr. Scoresby employed the seasons of unavoidable inaction, in scientific pursuits. On one occasion, while the ship was inextricably beset with ice, he undertook a series of important experiments on the polarization of steel. The processes by which Capt. S. succeeded in developing a very high degree of magnetic power by percussion, are clearly described in the volume; and the satisfactory results from simple means, shew the facility with which an efficient substitute for a compass may be constructed from a penknife, a pair of scissors, or even from an iron nail, suspended by a thread. Circumstances frequently occur, in which the most injurious consequences arise from accidents, irreparable but by some such plan as that now suggested. Lightning has been known sometimes to destroy, and sometimes to invert the polarity of the magnet. When vessels founder at sea, it frequently happens that, in the hurry and confusion of taking to the boats, the compass is forgotten. In all cases of this kind, any conveniently proportioned mass of iron or steel will, by simply hammering it while held in a vertical position on any hard substance, acquire sufficient magnetism for nautical direction. The experiments of Capt. Scoresby were varied and repeated: by hammering soft steel, held vertically on an iron bar in the same position, in combination with other methods of increasing the magnetic force, he succeeded in manufacturing a compound magnet of great power. For practical purposes, however, simple percussion is quite sufficient.

After having, in search of whales, unsuccessfully explored the northern ocean as high as  $80^{\circ}.34'$ , Mr. S. determined on trying a lower latitude in the direction of the 'West Land.' The whales are either capricious or cunning; they seem to frequent particular stations for certain periods, and when driven from them, either by scarcity of food, or by the pursuit of man, they retire to others where it requires a long search to detect them. Baffin's Bay is in disrepute at present, on account of the heavy losses in shipping which have been sustained there of late years, and the Spitzbergen fishery has been the favourite resort of the whalers. Subsequently to the season of 1814, however, the higher latitudes became less productive. But, though the principal exertions were made in a more southerly direction, there were difficulties in the way of decided and protracted efforts, which rendered them but partially successful. Those ships which have been able to penetrate the ice, and approach the eastern coast of Greenland, have ob-

tained the best cargoes. In fact, had it not been for the discovery of the 'southern fishery,' the Greenland trade would probably have been discontinued; nor is the new station as yet sufficiently investigated to warrant any thing beyond conjecture as to its future productiveness. Whether it be always accessible, or whether the present channel between the ice and the shore be accidental and temporary, and, in either case, how far it may extend, are points not yet ascertained. The greatest destruction of shipping, and the most tragical events which have taken place in the Greenland fishery, have occurred when vessels have been beset by the ice, and forced upon this coast; and hence had very naturally arisen strong apprehensions of danger, and a prudential avoidance of so hazardous a navigation. The present opinion of experienced men is much more favourable; but, before the questions which we have just put, can be satisfactorily answered, several more seasons must elapse.

Having run along the western edge of the icy barrier for a considerable distance, and having reached  $75^{\circ}.43' \text{ N.}$ , the *Baffin* entered the ice where appearances were favourable, followed by only one of nine or ten ships which were on the spot. The hazards of such a situation soon began to press around the vessel; but the repeated sight of 'fish' justified the forecast of her enterprising Commander. One was caught, and another fell a prey to the harpoons of the other whaler, a foreigner. A tantalizing scene occurred at this time. Capt. Scoresby is a decidedly religious character, and acts up to his profession with a firmness and decision which are highly honourable to him. He hallows his sabbaths, and on those days will not allow the pursuits of any but indispensable avocations. In his present situation, he was surrounded by whales, and the *Altona* trader had all her boats in chace; while such was the impatience of his own men, that he was 'obliged to run the ship 'out of the way.' On the following day, a 'good prize' was secured.

'On the 7th of June, such finely marked ice-blinks appeared in the atmosphere, in connection with the horizon, as to present a perfect map of all the ice and openings of water for twenty or thirty miles round. The reflection was so strong and definite, that I could readily determine the figure and probable extent of all the fields and floes within this limit, and could distinguish packed or open ice, by its duller and less yellow image; while every vein and lake of water, producing its marked reflection by a deep blue, or bluish-black patch, amid the ice-blinks, enabled me to ascertain where the most water lay, and the nature of the obstacles that intervened. By this means only, I discovered a large opening immediately to the north-westward

of the lake we had so long navigated, with a considerable expanse in the same direction, at a greater distance, bounded by sheets of ice that appeared to be of prodigious magnitude. This induced me to examine the ice very closely in this quarter, when, in the very spot marked by the blink as being the narrowest, the ice was found to be in the act of opening, so as to permit our passing through towards the north-west. At the extremity of the first opening, or lake, there was a compact barrier of floes, wherein, however, after a few hours detention, we discovered a narrow dubious channel, that eventually conducted us into the expanse of water pointed out by reflection in the atmosphere.' p. 80.

' The next day, in latitude  $74^{\circ} 6'$ , the eastern coast of Greenland was discovered. Capt. S. gazed on it with 'intense interest,' and with the hope of landing 'on some of its picturesque crags, where European foot had never trod.' The northmost point of the coast now seen, was in the latitude usually assigned to Gale Hamkes's land; but the longitude, as accurately calculated by Capt. Scoresby, differs from the vague estimate of the best charts, about *seven degrees*, and from the strange blundering of the charts published for the use of the whale-ships, not less than *820 miles of longitude*, or nearly *fourteen degrees*! The weather was fortunately so favourable as to permit observations for the longitude of the most satisfactory kind, which, observes Mr. S.,

' enabled me to ascertain the exact effect, in a particular case, of the extraordinary refractive property of the atmosphere in the Arctic Seas, which, without such proofs, would scarcely have been credible. The coast that has just been described, is in general so bold, as to be distinctly visible in the ordinary state of the atmosphere, at the distance of sixty miles; but on my last voyage into these regions, one part of this coast was seen, when at more than double this distance. The particulars were these:—Towards the end of July 1821, being among the ice in latitude  $74^{\circ} 10'$ , and longitude, by lunar observation and chronometer, (which agreed to twenty-two minutes of longitude, or within six geographical miles,)  $12^{\circ} 30' 15''$ , W., land was seen from the mast-head to the westward, occasionally, for three successive days. It was so distinct and bold, that Captain Manby, who accompanied me on that voyage, and whose observations are already before the public, was enabled, at one time, to take a sketch of it from the deck, whilst I took a similar sketch from the mast-head, which is preserved in my journal of that year. The land at that time nearest to us was Wollaston Foreland, which, by my late surveys, proves to lie in latitude  $74^{\circ} 25'$  (the middle part of it), and longitude  $19^{\circ} 50'$ : the distance, therefore, must have been at least 120 miles. But Home's Foreland, in  $21^{\circ}$  W. longitude, distinguished by two remarkable hummocks at its extremities, was also seen; its distance, by calculation, founded on astronomical observations, being 140 geographical, or 160 English miles. In an or-

dinary state of the atmosphere (supposing the refraction to be one-twelfth of the distance), any land to have been visible from a ship's mast-head, an hundred feet high, at the distance of 140 miles, must have been at least two nautical miles, or 12,000 feet in elevation; but as the land in question is not more than 3500 feet in altitude, (by estimation,) there must have been an extraordinary effect of refraction equal to 8500 feet. Now, the angle corresponding with an altitude of 8500 feet, and a distance of 140 miles, is  $34^{\circ} 47''$ , the value of the extraordinary refraction, at the time the land was thus seen; or, calculating in the proportion of the distance, which is the most usual manner of estimating the refraction, it amounted to one-fourth of the arch of distance, instead of one-twelfth, the mean quantity.

' That land was seen under these circumstances there cannot be a doubt; for it was observed to be in the same position, and under a similar form, on the 18th, 23d, 24th, and 25th July 1821, when the ship was in longitude from  $12^{\circ} 30'$ , to  $11^{\circ} 50' W$ , and on the 23d it remained visible for twenty-four hours together; and though often changing its appearance, by the varying influence of the refraction, it constantly preserved a uniformity of position, and general similarity of character. In my journal of this day, I find I have observed, that my doubts about the reality of the land were now entirely removed, since, with a telescope, from the mast-head, "hills, dells, patches of snow, and masses of naked rock, could be satisfactorily traced, during four and twenty hours successively." This extraordinary effect of refraction, therefore, I conceive to be fully established.' pp. 106—108.

The wary and accurate habits of this intelligent observer, place the correctness of these facts beyond dispute. Other curious instances of the effects of refraction are described, and several of the plates represent some of the most singular phenomena. The level ice in the distance assumed at such times the most grotesque forms: towers, spires, and minarets rose on the horizon, and, in many places, were reflected in the atmosphere at several minutes elevation. When the coast view was under the influence of unequal refraction, the effects were extremely singular: they frequently present the aspect

' of an extensive ancient city, abounding with the ruins of castles, obelisks, churches, and monuments, with other large and conspicuous buildings. Some of the hills often appear to be surmounted with turrets, battlements, spires, and pinnacles; while others, subjected to another kind of refraction, exhibit large masses of rock, apparently suspended in the air, at a considerable elevation above the actual termination of the mountains to which they refer. The whole exhibition is frequently a grand and interesting phantasmagoria. Scarcely is the appearance of any object fully examined and determined, before it changes into something else. It is, perhaps, alternately a castle, a cathedral: or an obelisk: then expanding and coalescing

with the adjoining mountains, it unites the intermediate valleys, though they may be miles in width, by a bridge of a single arch of the most magnificent appearance.' pp. 166, 7.

When vessels were in sight, they assumed the most grotesque appearances. The hulls were expanded into castles, or the sails lengthened into columns; the image, sometimes doubled, was seen in the air inverted; and on one occasion, writes Captain Scoresby, when

the night was beautifully fine, and the air quite mild, the atmosphere, in consequence of the warmth, being in a highly refractive state, a great many curious appearances were presented by the land and icebergs. The most extraordinary effect of this state of the atmosphere, however, was the distinct inverted image of a ship in the clear sky, over the middle of the large bay or inlet before mentioned, —the ship itself being entirely beyond the horizon. Appearances of this kind I have before noticed, but the peculiarities of this were, —the perfection of the image, and the great distance of the vessel that it represented. It was so extremely well defined, that when examined with a telescope by Dollond, I could distinguish every sail, the general "rig of the ship," and its particular character; insomuch that I confidently pronounced it to be my father's ship, the *Fame*, which it afterwards proved to be; —though, on comparing notes with my father, I found that our relative position at the time gave our distance from one another very nearly thirty miles, being about seventeen miles beyond the horizon, and some leagues beyond the limit of direct vision. I was so struck by the peculiarity of the circumstance, that I mentioned it to the officer of the watch, stating my full conviction that the *Fame* was then cruising in the neighbouring inlet.' pp. 189, 90.

June 20th was a day of calamity. Whales were seen; the boats were despatched in pursuit, but without success; and when the last two returned, it was found that one of the harpooners, 'a fine, active fellow,' was drowned. He had struck a fish, and was stooping to adjust the line which had been drawn out of its place, when at this moment his arm became entangled, and he was instantaneously drawn under the water. The only man of the boat's crew, who actually witnessed the circumstance, 'observed, that it was so exceedingly quick, that although his eye was upon him at the instant, he could scarcely distinguish the object as it disappeared.' This unfortunate event marred the whole business. The fish which might have been secured, escaped, and others which appeared of easy seizure, succeeded in getting away; while several ships within sight were observed to make captures, and one foreign vessel hoisted the mortifying signal of a '*full ship*.'

On the 23rd they were more fortunate, and obtained a 'valuable prize.'

July 24th was the date of Capt. Scoresby's first landing on this dreary coast, hitherto unknown to Europeans. The landscape was interesting only to scientific observers, but evidences of occasional residence were found in Esquimaux huts and fragments of rude manufacture. Similar traces were remarked at other places where the boats were sent on shore; and at one spot, they discovered the remains of a hamlet, consisting of the regular Esquimaux excavations, with underground passages in the declivity of the elevation on which the huts were constructed. Graves and human bones were found in the vicinity. Near the dwellings, the ground was luxuriantly covered with grass; and at some distance inland, were considerable tracts 'of as fine meadow land as could be seen in England.' Mr. Scoresby, in the true spirit of a virtuoso, complains heavily, that the sailors, having succeeded in lighting a fire, cooked and devoured sundry fine specimens of ducks, partridges, &c., instead of preserving them as scientific specimens. He was much assisted in his explanations by his father, and by Capt. Lloyd, of the *Trafalgar*.

Having quitted the immediate neighbourhood of the coast in quest of whales, without success, it was resolved by the captains of the three vessels, to stand again in shore, which gave a fresh opportunity for observation. In one of his excursions, Mr. Scoresby was in considerable danger. He had scrambled up a chasm between two 'prodigious pinnacles,' with the soil and stones giving way at every step he took.

'At the top, I expected to find at least some portion of flat surface that I hoped would repay me by its productions, for the hazardous exploit into which my anxiety for specimens of minerals, plants, and animals, had unexpectedly betrayed me. But, to my surprise, the top proved to be a ridge (with the sea on both sides) narrower and sharper than the top of the highest pitched roof. Here I rested for a few minutes, seated on the ridge, with a leg over each side, pointed to the water, under two terrific vertical pinnacles, between two and three hundred feet in elevation. These actually vibrated with the force of the wind, and appeared altogether so shattered and unstable, that it was astonishing how they remained erect. I was far from being at ease in such a threatening situation, and therefore made a hasty retreat, by sliding down the side opposite to that by which I had ascended, a good deal rejoiced to find that this, being less steep, and not so dangerously interrupted by precipices, afforded a much safer descent than the other.' p. 250.

On the night of the 12th of August, the ships were in circumstances of extreme peril. The *Baffin* and the *Fame* were



extricated by admirable seamanship, by crowding canvas in a heavy gale; but the Trafalgar was embayed by one erroneous manœuvre, and in the morning was closely beset. It was by a striking interposition of Divine Providence, that Capt. Scoresby was enabled to extricate his ship. He had retired to rest after a most exhausting day, and started from a perturbed slumber on perceiving—such is the effect of habitual vigilance—that the vessel was twice tacked within five minutes; and by his personal directions and efforts, the whole of their subsequent manœuvres were regulated. On this promptitude turned, possibly the personal safety of the crew, certainly the ultimate success of the voyage, since the delay of a few minutes more would have endangered the whole.

After a cruize thus marked by disaster, disappointment, enterprise, and partial success, Captain Scoresby resolved on persevering in this quarter, the only one where a possibility of further acquisition remained, until the latest period of the season. In this determination he was partly influenced by the situation of the Fame and the Trafalgar, both 'beset' in his immediate neighbourhood. He was amply rewarded for his resolution, by encountering, on the 15th of August, a 'run of fish,' of which his harpooners struck five, and captured three: their united value was not less than £2,100, thus, exultingly writes Capt. S., raising 'us at once to the level of the most successful fishers of the season.' In the meantime, the Fame and the Trafalgar escaped, but too late to share in the 'run;' the latter had been in great danger. The perils of the voyage had not, however, yet ceased, and on the 23rd of August, a heavy gale placed the ship in circumstances of imminent hazard. Several icebergs drove directly towards the vessel. The first

passed within a few feet of the rudder; and, when at a very little distance, divided into two, and both parts upset with a terrible commotion. Had it broken against the ship, its effects might have been destructive. The fragility of icebergs, at this season, is well known, and their liability to break and turn over, quite notorious. In the summer of 1821, the captain of a whaler that had been wrecked in Baffin's Bay, wishing to make himself useful in the ship that he had fled to for refuge, offered to assist in fixing an anchor in an ice-berg, to which it was expedient that the ship should be made fast. He was accompanied by a sailor to the berg, and began to make a hole for the reception of the ice-anchor; but almost the first blow that he struck with the axe, occasioned an instantaneous rent of the mass of ice through the middle, and the two portions fell in opposite directions. The captain, aware of his danger, the instant the ice began to move, ran up the division on which he was situated, in the contrary direction of its revolution, and fortunately succeeded in balanc-

ing himself on the changeable summit until it attained an equilibrium. But his companion fell between the two masses, and would probably have been instantly crushed or suffocated, had not the efflux of water produced by the rising of the submerged parts of the ice, heaved him from between them, almost alongside of a boat that was near the place.' pp. 300, 1.

Two others came in contact with the *Baffin*; the first without doing any injury, and the latter with but slight damage. The scene which followed, was of a most alarming kind; but for its extreme length, we would cite the whole passage as a striking example of coolness, skill, and perseverance. The ship was moored to a 'floe,' or large sheet of ice, of considerable though extensive dimensions; and two others made their appearance, bearing down upon her from different quarters. To prevent their first crush, a large piece of ice was, by means of a hawser, warped into such a situation as to interpose between the masses on their approximation; and the last mentioned iceberg having 'placed itself across the bows,' apparently presented an additional security. All these arrangements were, however, rendered ineffectual by a sudden and unforeseen change in the motion of the floes. The iceberg was thrust back upon the vessel, forcing it upon a 'broad tongue, or 'under water,' of the floe, until she was fairly a-ground on the ice.

'When the pressure ceased, we found that the ship had risen or eight feet forward, and about two feet abaft.

'The floe on the starboard side was about a mile in diameter, forty feet in thickness, having a regular wall-side of solid ice, five feet in height above the sea; on the tongue of this the ship was grounded. The iceberg on the larboard side was about twenty feet high, and in contact with the railing at the bows, and with the gun-wal and channel-bends amidships. This berg was connected with a belt of floes to the westward, several leagues in breadth. The only opening was directly astern, where a small interstice and vein of water was produced, by the intervention of the bergs. Any human exertion for our extrication, from such a situation, was now in vain; the ship being firmly cradled upon the tongues of ice, which sustained her weight. Every instant we were apprehensive of her total destruction, but the extraordinary disposition of the ice beneath her, was the means of her preservation. The force exerted upon the ship by her place in such a situation, must evidently have been very violent. Two or three sharp cracks were heard at the time the ship was grounded, and a piece of plank, which proved to be part of the false keel, was torn off and floated up by the bows; but no serious injury was discovered. Our situation, however, was at this time almost as dangerous and painful, immediate hazard of our lives excepted, as possible. Every moment threatened us with shipwreck; while the r

of the storm,—the heavy bewildering fall of sleet and snow,—and the circumstance of every man on board being wet to the skin, rendered the prospect of our having to take refuge on the ice most distressing. Our only hope of safety in such a calamity, was the supposed proximity of the *Fame*. Yet we well knew that she must also be in danger; and, perhaps, in a situation as bad as our own.'

\* \* \* \* \*

' We remained in this state of anxiety and apprehension about two hours. On the one hand, we feared the calamity of shipwreck; on the other, in case of her preservation, we looked forward to immense difficulties, before the ship so firmly grounded could be got afloat. While I walked the deck under a variety of conflicting feelings, produced by the anticipation of probable events, and under the solemnizing influence natural to a situation of extreme peril, I was suddenly aroused by another squeeze of the ice, indicated by the cracking of the ship and the motion of the berg, which seemed to mark the moment of destruction. But the goodness of the ALMIGHTY proved better to us than our fears. This renewed pressure, by a singular and striking providence, was the means of our preservation. The nip took the ship about the bows, where it was received on a part rendered prodigiously strong by its arched form, and the thickness of the interior "fortifications." It acted like the propulsion of a round body squeezed between the fingers, driving the ship astern, and projecting her clear of all the ice, fairly afloat, with a velocity equal to that of her first launching !

' Fortunately the ropes and anchors held until her stern-way was overcome. As soon as she was brought up, our attention was instantly turned to more dangers; and our previous state of anxious inaction instantly gave place to the most persevering and vigorous exertions for our preservation.' pp. 305—8.

Behind them was a clear 'vein' of water; but the ice was rapidly closing in, and every thing depended on dropping\* to leeward with sufficient velocity, since there was no room to swing the ship round so as to get under way. Not a moment was to be lost; and if the ropes or anchors had given way under the strain, wreck was nearly certain. The two nearest points were cleared at the moment when they had closed within two or three feet of the ship's breadth. In five minutes afterwards,

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\* ' To *drop* a ship is a nautical phrase, expressive of the operation of removing under the simple action of the wind, by veering out the ropes by which the ship is moored. Thus, in the present example, the wind, blowing directly down the channel betwixt the two floes where the ship was moored, forced her to leeward along the channel, whenever the ropes were slackened.' p. 308.

they dashed together, forcing up under the tremendous pressure some hundreds of tons of ice. Before the rope and hawser could be disengaged, two other points of the revolving ice appeared astern, rapidly approaching each other.

Remaining where we were, though but for five minutes, was an inevitable shipwreck; and to trust to the strength of a warp of five inches circumference, the only mooring rope we had now at command, afforded but small hope of a better fate; for, in the event of the ship breaking adrift, as there was not breadth between the floes to swing, she must fall astern with such a shock against the ice, as could scarcely fail to be destructive. Possible safety, however, we preferred to certain destruction. We now slacked astern by the warp fastened to the second hawser, which, to our astonishment and delight, sustained the prodigious strain; and although it was not capable of bringing the ship up, yet it so far resisted her velocity, that at the moment when it came to an end, a hawser, that was meanwhile hauled on board, was fastened to another anchor placed for its attachment, whereby the motion astern was suspended. On this occasion, we again escaped the nip by only three or four feet, and the floes came in contact with unabated violence, scarcely a ship's length ahead. But more and more approximating points appearing astern, we dropped the ship the whole length of our last hawser, with the hope of avoiding them; but it only carried us clear of the first. We were then brought to a stand: for the other hawsers and warp, forming a continuous line of 700 yards in length, got entangled, and nipped by the floes, so that we were under the necessity of slipping the end and fastening it to the ice. As we had now no rope left of sufficient strength with which to shift the hawser, our progress would have been suspended, and our previous exertions rendered nugatory, had we not brought into use a small mooring chain that was fortunately at hand. Before the hawser was again fastened, however, the hook of the chain broke, and the ship was entirely adrift. But it providentially happened, that the people who were on the ice, having seized upon the end of the hawser, were enabled to cast it over an anchor that an officer was engaged in setting, at the very last moment that could have served for our preservation! The severe strain to which this hawser was subjected, broke one of its strands, and called for the instant renewal of the chain. This was a most narrow escape; but there was another that succeeded, which was equally striking. When slacking astern by the hawser, the ship swung alongside the eastern floe into a little bight, and the rudder unfortunately caught behind a point which projected some feet to windward. The floes were so nearly close, that we had not time to heave ahead, had this measure been practicable under such a storm. We were in a state of extreme jeopardy. One of the after-sails was instantly loosed, and hauled over to the starboard quarter; the action of this, happily coinciding with a momentary diminution of the wind, when the tension of the ropes drew the ship ahead, turned her stern clear

of the point. We instantly slacked astern and dropped beyond this danger. pp. 309—311.

Other obstacles of equal magnitude were overcome by the same skill and perseverance, though many of the manœuvres were effected by means of a doubtful chain and a stranded rope, the wind blowing such a hurricane that a speaking-trumpet would scarcely carry the voice from the companion to the windlass. The narrow channel down which the *Baffin* dropped, was a mile in length, and there was not in it a single interval where a delay of ten minutes would not have caused the ship to be crushed to splinters. The floes between which she was entangled, were in a state of counter-revolution, grinding against each other in opposite directions, like a pair of cogged wheels; nor was any respite obtained until their rotatory motion had ceased.

We have little room for comment on the general results of this interesting voyage; nor, in fact, does any seem called for beyond the general statements which we have given. Mr. Scoresby has made a regular survey of a large extent of unknown coast; he has examined its productions, mineral, vegetable, and animal; he has proved at least its occasional accessibility; and he has ascertained the existence of human residents, as well as the probable dissimilarity of some of their habits from those of the Esquimaux.

We have still to add to the detail of disaster, an event which took place towards the close of the voyage. After having, on the 30th of August, passed through the 'sea-stream' of ice, and spread their canvas joyously for their homeward course, on the 11th of September, the *Baffin's* crew were exposed, on a lee-shore, to a fearful storm; 'by far the heaviest,' writes Captain Scoresby, 'I ever encountered.'

'No water had yet been shipped, though the tremendous sea that was running, was received upon the ship's quarter, or beam, being in a direction of all others the most dangerous. A fatal wave, however, at length struck the quarter, with tremendous violence, and throwing up a vast weight of water, carried along with it, in its passage across the deck, one of our harpooners, or principal officers (who, along with several others, was employed on the weather-rail endeavouring to secure one of the boats hanging over the side) quite over the heads of his companions, and swept him overboard! Most of the crew being under water at the same time, his loss was not known until he was discovered just passing under the ship's stern, but out of reach, and lying apparently insensible upon the wave. He was only seen for a few seconds, and then disappeared for ever.

'For some minutes, it was not known who the sufferer was. Every one was greatly distressed; and each, in his anxious exclamations, re-

revealed his fears for his friend. "It is Shields, Jack," cries one. "No," replies a voice of feeling self-congratulation, "I am here."—"It is Jack O'Neill," exclaims another;—"Aye, poor fellow,—it is Jack O'Neill." But a dripping stupor-struck sailor, clinging by the weather-rail, comes aft at the moment, and replies, "No, I am here." After a pause of suspense, one adds, "It is Chambers."—"Ah! it must be Sam Chambers," cries another; and no voice contradicted the assertion,—for his voice, poor sufferer, was already choked with the waters, and his spirit had fled to meet its God! Happily he was an excellent man; and there was no doubt with those who knew his habitual piety, and consistency of conduct, that he was prepared to die. His conduct, in every case, was worthy of his profession; and was a sufficient proof, if such proof could be necessary, that religion, when real, gives confidence and courage to the sailor, rather than destroys his hardihood and bravery. He was always one of the foremost in a post of danger, and met with his death in an exposed situation, to which duty called, where he had voluntarily posted himself.

pp. 575—577.

The conclusion of the journal is most affecting. When Captain Scoresby reached port, he was stunned by the unexpected news of the death of his beloved wife. Our readers will be at no loss to conceive how so severe a blow would affect a man such as these pages have described.

*Art. V. Matins and Vespers: with Hymns and occasional Devotional Pieces.* By John Bowring. Foolscap 8vo. pp. 256. Price 6s. London. 1823.

**M**R. Bowring's elegant and spirited translations from the Russian and the Spanish, entitle him to a higher rank among the poets of the day, than he would have obtained by his original compositions. The public are under obligations to him for having enlarged the range of our literature, by the new province of which he has, as it were, taken possession in the name of his country. He has struck out a new path for literary enterprise; and though the field upon which he has entered, is a very limited one, his importations are of a highly interesting character. Mr. Bowring's talents seem to qualify him more especially to succeed in poetical translation. He has great facility and command of language, great dexterity of imitation, and versatility of mind, together with no small portion of poetic feeling. But the instances are very rare, in which an able translator has distinguished himself as an original poet. The habit, and perhaps the turn of mind, required and exercised in translation, is not favourable to the cultivation of the self-dependent power of thinking and the native sources



of poetic emotion. Pope can scarcely be admitted to be an exception, for his *Iliad* is an original poem, rather than a translation. As a translation, it is a failure. The Author of the best poetical version in the English language, the Translator of Dante, is unknown as an original poet; and from the heaviness of his prose, we should not expect him to succeed in a different walk of composition. To excel as an engraver, requires genius, not less than to succeed as a painter, but genius of a different kind; and so it is with respect to poetical transcripts of the designs of others. The translator, like the engraver, deservedly ranks as an artist; and when we consider how extremely few are the instances of success in this species of composition, we can scarcely consider as inferior, though confessedly different, the talent which the art requires.

The present volume is of that mixed character which belongs equally to the departments of poetry and theology. Its Author would not be satisfied, nor could we satisfy ourselves, were we to treat it simply as poetry. These Hymns, he tells us,

‘ were not written in the pursuit of fame or literary triumph. They are full of borrowed images, of thoughts and feelings excited less by my own contemplations than by the writings of others. I have not sought to be original. To be useful is my ambition—that obtained, I am indifferent to the rest.’

In reviewing works of taste, it is a rule which we are not aware that we can be accused of violating, to know nothing of the Author's private sentiments, either political or religious, beyond what appears in his performance. And had not Mr. Bowring come before us as a hymn-writer, we should not have felt it to be our business to take cognizance of his theological opinions. But, in this volume, he stands prominently forward as the poet of Unitarianism; and its literary merits become a quite subordinate consideration, when we view it as the anomalous product and rare specimen of Unitarian devotion. The impression it has left on our minds, is painfully decisive. Before, however, we offer any remarks on these compositions, we shall enable our readers to judge of them by a few specimens.

The *Matins* and *Vespers* consist of a series of morning and evening hymns, or addresses to the Deity, for four weeks; each week being a different season. We take the following from the first week: it is headed, ‘Tuesday Morning.’

‘ When the arousing call of Morn  
Breaks o’er the hills, and day new born  
Comes smiling from the purple East,

And the pure streams of liquid light  
Bathe all the earth—renew'd and bright,  
Uprising from its dream of rest—

‘ O how delightful then, how sweet,  
Again to feel life's pulses beat ;  
Again life's kindly warmth to prove ;  
To drink anew of pleasure's spring ;  
Again our matin song to sing  
To the great Cause of light and love.

‘ To Him, whom comet, planet, star,  
Sun, moon, in their sweet courses far,  
Praise in eternal homage meet ;  
While thousand choirs of seraphs bring  
Their sounding harps of gold—and fling  
Their crowns of glory at his feet.

‘ Thou ! who didst wake me first from nought,  
And lead my heaven-aspiring thought  
To some faint, feeble glimpse of Thee :  
Thou ! who didst touch my slumbering heart  
With Thy own hand—and didst impart  
A portion of Thy deity :

‘ O teach me, Father ! while I feel  
The impress of Thy glorious seal—  
And whence I came—and whither tend :  
Teach me to live—to act—to be  
Worthy my origin, and Thee,  
And worthy my immortal end.

‘ O not in vain to me be given  
The joys of earth—the hopes of heaven !  
O not in vain may I receive  
My master's talents—but, subdued  
And tutored by the soul of good,  
To God—to bliss—to virtue live !

‘ Heaven's right-lined path may I discern,  
Nor, led by pride or folly, turn  
A handbreadth from the onward road ;  
Fight the good fight—the foe subdue,  
And wear the heavenly garland too—  
A garland from the hand of God !’

pp. 16—18.

‘ Wednesday Evening’ of the same week, has assigned  
it the following lines.

‘ Almighty Being ! wise and holy,  
Who hast to each his portion given ;  
To the poor worm his station lowly,  
And to the choirs of angels—heaven ;

My fate is in Thy righteous keeping,  
 Ruler of worlds! unbounded One!  
 While to weak man, in error sleeping,  
 Thy awful course is all unknown:  
 Far from Thy light immortal streaming,  
 From heaven,—resplendently afar,  
 Man's ray is but the feeble gleaming  
 Of evening's palest, farthest star.  
 With hope upon his path descending,  
 Life's darkness soon gives way to light;  
 Some holy sunbeams hither tending,  
 Chase the dark clouds of doubt, of night.  
 O, had our journey, wasting, weary,  
 No ray like these to gild the gloom,  
 Life were a desert dark and dreary,  
 A midnight prison-house—a tomb!  
 Merciful Being! friend and father,  
 To Thee I look, to Thee I call;  
 On Thee I rest my spirit, rather  
 Than on this transient world, or all  
 The world's foundations. Thou, who kindly  
 Smil'st on my path, conduct me still;  
 Conduct me, while fatigued and blindly  
 I climb up life's deceitful hill;  
 Wave Thy pure wand of mercy o'er me;  
 And form me to Thy holy will:  
 Thy hope shall sweetly play before me,  
 Thy light my little lamp shall fill.  
 Could I control my future being,  
 No thought of pride should e'er rebel;  
 Thou, all-designing—guiding—seeing,  
 Wilt direct all things wisely, well.  
 Disturb not, dreams of care! to-morrow:  
 Enough the evil of to-day:  
 My destined sum of joy and sorrow  
 The scales of perfect wisdom weigh.  
 He, for ten thousand worlds providing,  
 Yet condescends to think of me!  
 My little skiff securely guiding  
 O'er Time's now still, now troubled sea;  
 Calm as the night, and soft and vernal  
 As the spring's breath, my bark shall move,  
 Till, launched into the gulf eternal,  
 It anchors in a port above.

pp. 26—8.

We select from the third week, the hymn for Friday Morning, on account of its being one of the very few that contain y reference to the Saviour.

' This is the day, when prejudice and guilt  
 The blood of innocence and virtue spilt!

'Twas in those orient Syrian lands afar,  
 O'er whose high mountains towers the morning star:  
 Lands now to tyranny and treachery given,  
 But then the special care and charge of heaven:  
 Lands, now by ignorance and darkness trod,  
 Then shining brightest in the light of God!

' Holiest and best of men! 'twas there thou walkedst,  
 There with thy faithful, privileged followers talkedst,  
 Privileged indeed, listening to truth divine,  
 Breath'd from a heart, and taught by lips, like thine!

' He that from all life's strange vicissitude  
 Drew forth the living hidden soul of good;  
 And in the strength of wisdom, and the might  
 Of peaceful virtue fought, and won the fight:  
 His armour righteousness—his conquering sword  
 A spiritual weapon—his prophetic word,  
 The arms of truth,—his banners from above—  
 His conquests meekness, and his warfare love.  
 He stands a pillar 'midst his children; grace  
 And majesty and truth illumine his face;  
 He bows his head, and dies! the very rock  
 Is rent, and Zion trembles at the shock!  
 But, tho' he dies, he triumphs—and in vain  
 Would unbelief oppose his conquering reign;  
 A reign o'erspreading nature—gathering in  
 Kindreds and nations from the tents of sin  
 To virtue's temple. O how calm, how great,  
 A death like this!—come, then, and venerate  
 Your Saviour and your King. All hail! All hail!  
 The songs of gratitude shall fill the vale,  
 And echo from the mountains, and shall rise  
 In one consenting tribute to the skies.

' Sow then thy seed—that seed will spring, and give  
 Rich fruits and fairest flowers, that will survive  
 All chance, all change: and though the night may come,  
 And though the deeper darkness of the tomb,  
 A sun more bright than ours shall bid them grow,  
 And on the very grave hope's buds will blow,  
 And blow like those sweet flowers that, pluck'd, ne'er lose  
 Their freshness, or their fragrance, or their hues.  
 Now the day calls us with its eloquent ray;  
 O let us toil unwearied while 'tis day,  
 For the night cometh, all enveloping—  
 But virtue, that on spiritual soaring wing  
 Flies to its rest! 'tis but a pilgrim here,  
 Shaping its course towards a better sphere,  
 Where its own mansion is; yet, in its flight,  
 Dropping from its pinions healing and delight;

And from the darkest shades, like some fair star  
Of midnight, scattering beams of light afar.' pp. 137—9.

We take one more specimen from the fourth week ; it is  
Tuesday Morning.

- ' Almighty One ! I bend in dust before Thee :  
Even so veil'd cherubs bend ;—  
In calm and still devotion I adore Thee,  
All-wise, all-present friend !  
Thou to the earth its emerald robes hast given,  
Or curtained it in snow ;  
And the bright sun, and the soft moon in heaven  
Before thy presence bow.
- ' Thou in Thy wisdom spread'st the map of nature,  
That map so fair and bright ;  
Reared'st the arch of heaven—on every creature  
Pouring its streams of light.  
Thou feed'st with dew the early spring-rose glowing,  
Quickenest the teeming sea :  
Thine is the storm through the dark forest blowing,  
Thine, heaven's soft harmony.
- ' Thine is the beam on ocean's bosom glancing,  
Thine is the thunder-cloud,  
Thine are the lamps that light our steps, advancing  
To the tomb's solitude.  
Thou speakest—and all nature's pregnant bosom  
Heaves with Thy mighty breath ;  
Thou frownest—man, even like a frost-nipp'd blossom,  
Drops in the lap of death.
- ' A thousand worlds which roll around us brightly,  
Thee in their orbits bless ;  
Ten thousand suns which shine above us nightly,  
Proclaim Thy righteousness.  
Thou didst create the world—'twas Thy proud mandate,  
That woke it into day ;  
And the same power that measur'd, weigh'd, and spann'd it,  
Shall bid that world decay.
- ' Thou Power sublime ! whose throne is firmly seated  
On stars and glowing suns ;  
O could I praise Thee—could my soul elated  
Waft Thee seraphic tones,  
Had I the lyres of angels—could I bring Thee  
An offering worthy Thee,  
In what bright notes of glory would I sing Thee  
Blest notes of ecstasy !
- ' Here is my song, a voice of mortal weakness  
Just breathing from my breast ;

A mingled song, of worthlessness and meekness,  
 And feeble hope at best.  
 In heaven that voice, up to Thy throne ascending,  
 Should speak as angels speak,  
 And joy and confidence and glory blending,  
 Thy seat of light should seek.  
 ' Eternity ! Eternity !—how solemn,  
 How terrible the sound !  
 Here, leaning on thy promises--a column  
 Of strength—may I be found !  
 O let my heart be ever Thine, while beating,  
 As when 't will cease to beat ;  
 Be Thou my portion—till that awful meeting,  
 When I my God shall greet.' pp. 164—6.

Considered as poetry, there is much that is pleasing, and melodious, and occasionally striking in these matins and vespers ; although they are not free from marks of carelessness and false taste, and the rhymes are sometimes inadmissibly defective and quite below the dignity of serious poetry. But, as the Author has reminded us in his Preface, that ' the substance ' of piety is of higher interest than any of its decorations, we waive all further criticism on the composition, and ask, the Bible being the rule and arbiter, *Is this ' piety ?'* Had we been told that these hymns were free translations of some Greek or Latin odes to the Father of gods and men, which modern researches had brought to light from among the unrolled treasures of Herculaneum,—we should have been led to believe that, like the hymn of Cleanthes, they were probably imitations, rather than relics, of the poetry of the ancients ; but, were it not for a few exceptions, there would have been nothing to forbid the idea, that they might possibly be the production of some later Platonist or Eclectic philosopher, whose mind had admitted a still further portion of the borrowed light of Christianity, than shines in the pages of Plotinus, or occasionally lights up the eloquence of Tully. An enlightened Deist of any school, whether Western or Eastern, might certainly have been the author of almost any and every matin and vesper in the present collection. And had they been the production of some Persian Soofi or some old classical theist, we should have been ready to say, This man wanted but the knowledge of the Bible, to be a Christian.

We could not have desired a better illustration, though it is a melancholy one, of the remarks we offered on true and spurious devotion, in treating of love to God\*, than is supplied

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\* Eclectic Review, Feb. 1823. pp. 103—5.



by these poems. We had not then read them—we believe they were not published—or it might have been supposed, that we had some allusion to the Author when we remarked, that men will admit nothing more readily than the doctrine of the general benevolence of God; will descant, with a refined and delusive sentimental pleasure, on the power, and wisdom, and beneficence of the Creator; while yet, the God of the Bible is so far from being recognised by them, that the most illustrious manifestation which he has made of his character in the redemption and reconciliation of the world to himself through a Mediator, is viewed with indifference or distaste. These poetical ‘contemplations’ on the Deity, what are they, but the philosophic musings of a speculative mind, which has embraced its own deified ideal as the object of a sentimental worship, in lieu of the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ?

The feature which will probably first strike most of our readers, is the irreverent and repulsive familiarity with which the Divine Being is addressed in some of the passages above cited. Mr. Bowring seems to wish to make it appear, that he does not feel to stand in need of a Mediator in drawing near to the Divine Majesty; that he has no occasion for the doctrine, to enable him to come ‘boldly’ to the throne of grace, for it is not mercy he comes to supplicate. He calls the Supreme Being his ‘all-wise, all-present friend,’ with an assurance which savours of any thing rather than “reverence and godly fear;” and speaks, with an awful misappropriation of language, of *greeting* God at the day of judgement. Surely, his song breathes the reverse of ‘meekness:’ it is the haughty spirit of a guilty worm paying compliments to its offended Maker. The volume is full of expressions partaking of this unhallowed familiarity. Who would imagine that it is the Creator of all things, whom he thus addresses?

‘Wave thy pure *wand* of mercy o’er me’—

‘Thy hope shall sweetly play before me.’

—a style of invocation only adapted, one would have thought, to some allegorical personage, some guardian spirit of the fancy. But the volume contains things much worse than this—phrases in which irreverence touches on blasphemy. Our readers will have noticed the expression, ‘proud mandate.’ This is either nonsense, or it is worse. But what will they think of the following lines, which we feel that we ought almost to apologize for transcribing into our pages?

‘Thy name, Thy glories, they rehearse,  
Proud Spirit of the universe!

Sense of all sense and soul of soul,  
 Nought is too vast for Thy control.  
 Beneath Thy all-directing nod,  
 Both worlds and worms are equal, God.'

Wretched, wretched is the delusion of the man who mistakes this, the very rant of pantheism, for piety or worship.

Such is Unitarian piety!—we entreat our readers to mark it well—a piety that knows of no repentance towards God, no faith in the Mediator; a piety without humility, without contrition, without love. For love to God is not the true character of our Author's panegyrics on the Creator. There is no recognition of the revealed character of God, no gratitude expressed for his manifestation of Himself in his holy word, no corresponding sense of the Divine attributes. If the Poet were met with the exhortation, "Be ye reconciled to God," he would doubtless answer, that he had never offended him, that he stood in no need of the great means of reconciliation. Now men may call this state of mind love to God, but the Scriptures term it "*enmity*."

The want of reverence betrayed in the Author's expressions, is the more remarkable, because it has been a frequent charge against orthodox hymn writers, that they have fallen into this impropriety; and we are far from thinking that the charge has been wholly without foundation. There are passages in the hymns of Watts and Wesley, which we consider as very reprehensible in this point of view. Our readers will have in recollection one line in particular, which is chargeable with this improper familiarity.

' Dear God! the treasures of thy love!'

But, in that instance, as in most others, the scope and tenor of the hymn, if they do not redeem the expression from impropriety, prevent it from being misunderstood as proceeding from any want of devout reverence. But, in Mr. Bowring's poetry, the name of the Divine Being is invoked with more than equal familiarity, but without any epithet of affection, and in connexion with no redeeming sentiments; with the familiarity, not of humble affection, but of a presumption that makes one shudder.

It is quite unnecessary to remark on the almost total avoidance of the dialect of Scripture, which distinguishes these hymns. There is a version of the 104th psalm among the matins, and, among the other pieces, a versification of Psalm xc., Habakkuk, chap. iii. and the 13th chapter of 1 Corinthians. But these comprise nearly all our Author's obligations

to the Bible, while his general cast of expression is at the furthest remove from the language of the inspired writers. It could not be otherwise: no one could have composed these poems, who believed that all Scripture was given by inspiration of God.

Pure devotion can have but one source. It may be aped with more or less success by the poet or the philosopher; and as the *to do* of the heathen philosopher was the object of a certain intellectual worship, so now, the Divine Being may be made the theme of complimentary addresses and sentimental melodies, and such poems may be chanted, with a delusive emotion of pleasure, in the chapel or in the drawing room. Mr. Bowring's matins and vespers, though of a different character, may very naturally rank in the polite world, with the Hebrew Melodies of Lord Byron, and the sicklier strains of Anacreon Moore. But give us, we say, Sternhold and Hopkins, or the Scotch Psalms, rather than such melodramatic devotion as this. Christian worship disclaims alike the offering and the priest. The character of a psalmist is a sacred character; and his lyre, more especially, to 'fix his fame,'

' must be the poet's heart.'

We regret that Mr. Bowring has attempted this style of poetry. We presume not to call in question his right to hold the sentiments he has adopted, and to give them expression as he may please; nor do we doubt his sincerity or the honesty of his purpose. But we regret that he should have deceived himself by imagining, that he could either do his Maker service, or himself honour, or his fellow creatures good, by such effusions as these. We regret the moral delusion under which he labours, and the misapplication of his talents, occasioned by a blighting, heart-withering creed. If his volume answers any useful purpose, it will be by illustrating the indissoluble connexion between the faith of Christ and the love and worship of the Father. When Socinianism can bring forth devotion, then may men gather grapes from thorns and figs from thistles. But how then should the declaration of our Lord hold good, that "He that honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father who hath sent him?"

**Art. VI. *A Present for the Convalescent* : or for those to whom it is hoped, some recent Affliction has been attended with a Divine Blessing : and for new Converts to Religion in general. By the Rev. John Fry, B. A. Rector of Desford, Author of "The Sick Man's Friend," &c. &c. 12mo. pp. xii. 254. Price 4s. London. 1823.**

**A**N EXTRACT from the Introduction to this little work, will best explain its design, and indicate the truly Christian spirit which pervades it.

‘ The favourable reception of a small work of the Author, entitled *The Sick Man's Friend*, has led to the following publication. Its aim is, to follow up the advice that has been given on the sick-bed, when returning health appears likely to restore the patient to the world and its temptations; and thus, in hope of the Divine blessing, to throw another handful of seed into the soil that has, perhaps, in some measure been softened and loosened in affliction, before it shall again resume its wonted hardness, or stiffen under the incumbent harvest.

‘ The friends of religion, whose warning and consoling voices are heard at the bed of sickness, are often compelled to witness the dispersion of their fairest prospects of good, at the period of returning health, or when the spirits that had been depressed, are raised again to their former elevation. Alas!

How soon

*Doth* height recal high thoughts, how soon unsay  
What feign'd submission swore ! Ease doth recant  
Vows made in pain as violent and void.

Indeed, I can appeal to the best practised in the works of charity, whether, notwithstanding all their acquired knowledge and experience, they are not sometimes much surprised at the results of a recovery from a sick-bed. The penitence seemed so true and earnest, the welcome given to the tidings of a Redeemer's mercies seemed so hearty, so much was said, so much was promised, so much seemed to be felt, that charity retained no doubt; and, had the expected death ensued, would triumphantly have inscribed the memory of the deceased as a monument of converting grace. But your sick man recovered, and all his religion was gone ! He awoke as from a pious dream, and returning to the realities of life, was the same wicked and careless man as ever. Your heart mourns at this : you feel disappointed. Perhaps a temptation is at hand, that you should relax in your labours of love, since means so well adapted, so well-timed, so morally powerful on every feeling of the human breast, are all as nothing before the returning tide of human corruption.

‘ But recal these thoughts. Your “labour of love” was the same. “It is well that it was in thine heart” to carry the balm of salvation to that bed of sickness. “Thy work shall have its reward.” And the case, however extraordinary and discouraging, will some way or

redound to the glory of God, and to the illustration, perhaps, of his manifold grace ; “ be not then weary in well doing.”

to assist the pious and friendly visiter in this charitable ; these addresses have been drawn up. They are fourteen in number. The first, founded on John v. 14, is particularly simple and striking. The next three are on John viii. 31, 2 ; John viii. 18 ; and 1 Pet. ii. 2. These are followed by seven addresses on “ the first principles of the doctrine of Christ,” the danger of apostacy, founded on Heb. vi. 1—6. The subjects of the last three are taken from 2 Cor. vii. 1 ; Tit. ii. and Eph. vi. 10. The topics are extremely well chosen, the style is simple, practical, and affectionate.

In noticing a work of this kind, we purposely waive minute criticism. We regret, however, that our Author has deemed expedient to touch (at p. 112,) on the Church of England doctrine of baptism. The tenor of his general remarks on this subject is excellent, but he has hazarded a few disputable positions, which we could wish omitted in a work adapted for general circulation. Our objection applies, however, to only a few sentences. Mr. Fry takes the words—“ the doctrine of baptisms and of laying on of hands,” as intending the doctrine of regeneration and of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. In support of this opinion, he may cite highly respectable authorities. But we incline to believe with Calvin, that the words are to be read as in a parenthesis: “ not laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works and faith towards God, *which* is the doctrine of baptisms,” &c. that is, the initial doctrines of Christianity, those into which the catechumens are instructed. This appears to us by far the more natural construction, and it gives a better sense.

Mr. Fry has judiciously appended to each address a short preface. The volume has our cordial recommendation : it cannot fail to be useful. The first address, if printed separately, would form an excellent tract for more enlarged circulation.

L. VII. *Memoirs of a Captivity among the Indians of North America, from Childhood to the Age of Nineteen : with Anecdotes descriptive of their Manners and Customs. To which is added, some Account of the Soil, Climate, and vegetable Productions of the Territory westward of the Mississippi.* By John D. Hunter. 8vo. pp. x. 448. Price 12s. London. 1823.

THIS very entertaining narrative will not fail to strengthen the growing interest which, we are happy to find, is awakened on behalf of the North American Indians. The inter-

nal marks of authenticity are so strong, that we entertain no suspicion whatever of its substantial genuineness and accuracy. At the same time, it would have been more satisfactory to be informed, by what means the work fell into the hands of the publishers. If, as we suspect, it be a reprint of an American edition, we know of no purpose that can be answered by the suppression of the fact. The Preface, which is without date or address, states, that a Mr. Edward Clark, a friend of the Author's, has had the revisal and arrangement of the manuscript. Mr. Edward Clark may be very well known at New York; but we in London, should have liked to learn something about him also: his endorsement of the Manuscript would have been worth something, could he have referred us for his character, to any good house in town. As it is, we must receive the story on the faith of the Narrator, and Messrs. Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green.

The individual whose Indian *nomme de guerre* has supplied him with so familiar and British a surname, in addition to his baptismal appellative, and whom we are now to call Mr. John Hunter,—was captured, in his infancy, together with another white boy and a little girl, by a party of Kickapoo Indians, who attacked the residence of his parents, which was doubtless some remote settlement. His very early age at the time, precludes his having any recollection of the circumstances attending his capture, of the situation of the settlement, or of the name and person of his parents, who, in all probability, were massacred. Of his infant fellow prisoners, the girl was afterwards despatched, and the boy was attached to another party. Hunter was adopted into the family of one of the principal warriors, in whose squaw he found a kind and affectionate foster-mother. While, however, he was still very young, the party of Kickapoos among whom he had become naturalized, in the course of their migrations, fell in with a hostile party of wandering Pawnees, who massacred and scalped nearly all their warriors, and made prisoners of the remainder. With them he had remained only a few months, when they were, in their turn, attacked and vanquished by the Kansas, or Konzas, on whose hunting-grounds they had trespassed; and Hunter was again fortunate in being transferred to the family of one of the chiefs. While among this more civilized tribe, he was accustomed, in company with the Indian boys, 'to listen with incredible satisfaction, to the sage counsels, inspiring narratives, and traditionary tales of Tshut-che-nau.' (Defender of the People.)

'This venerable worn-out warrior would often admonish us for our

faults, and exhorts us never to tell a lie. "Never steal, except it be from an enemy, whom it is our duty we should injure in every possible way. When you become men, be brave and cunning in war, and defend your hunting-grounds from encroachments. Never suffer your squaws or little ones to want. Protect the squaws and strangers from insult. On no account betray your friend. Resent insults; revenge yourselves on your enemies. Drink not the poisonous strong-water of the white people, which is sent by the Bad Spirit to destroy the Indians. Fear not death, but be not out cowards fear to die. Obey and venerate the old people, and love your parents. Fear the Bad Spirit, that he may do you no harm. Love and adore the Good Spirit, who made us all, and supplies our hunting-grounds, and keeps us alive."

Now, looking around on his auditors with an indescribable expression of feeling in his countenance, and pointing to the green fields of corn, and to the stores collected from the hunting-grounds, he would continue: "For the peaceful enjoyment of all these, you are indebted to myself and to my brave warriors. But now they are all gone, and I only remain. Like a decayed prairie tree, I stand alone: the companions of my youth, the partakers of my sports, my toils, and my dangers, recline their heads on the bosom of our Mother. My sun is fast descending behind the western hills, and I feel that it will soon be night with me."

Finally, his heart overflowing with gratitude, with uplifted hands, and eyes directed heavenwards, he would close the interesting scene, by thanking the Great and Good Spirit, for having been so long spared as an example to point out to the young men the true path to glory and fame. I loved this old man; the Indians all loved him; and we always listened to his wise counsels with the greatest satisfaction and delight. I am convinced that much of this venerable chief's character would have adorned the proudest age of civilized life. Surely, it was a bright example, in the western wilds, of uneducated virtue and practical piety.' pp. 21, 2.

Hunter was yet a boy when he first experienced the most poignant grief, which, however, he bore in silence as became an Indian, on account of the death of his Kansas foster-mother, who was accidentally drowned. The manner in which he adverts to this circumstance, does great credit to his feelings.

'I cannot,' he says, 'even at this late day, reflect on her maternal conduct to me, from the time I was taken prisoner by the Kansas, to her death, without the association of feelings to which, in other respects, I am a stranger. She was indeed a mother to me; and I feel my bosom dilate with gratitude at the recollection of her goodness and care of me during this helpless period of my life. This, to those who have been bred in refinement and ease, under the fond and watchful guardianship of parents, may appear gross and incongruous. If, however, the imagination be allowed scope, and a lad ten or twelve years of age, without kindred or name, or any knowledge by which he could arrive



at an acquaintance with any of the circumstances connected with his being, he supposed in the central wilds of North America, nearly a thousand miles from any white settlement, a prisoner or sojourner among a people on whom he had not the slightest claim, and with whose language, habits, and character, he was wholly unacquainted, but who nevertheless treated him kindly; it will appear not only natural, but rational, that he should return such kindness with gratitude and affection. Such nearly (qu. really?) was my situation, and such, in fact, were my feelings at that time. And however my circumstances have since changed, or however they may change in the future, I have no hope of seeing happier days than I experienced at this early period of my life, while sojourning with the Kansas nation, on the Kansas river, some hundred miles above its confluence with the Missouri.' pp. 26, 7.

In the following spring, he was taken for the first time on a hunting expedition. The party ascended the Platte river several hundred miles, to the mouth of the Dripping Rock, near which there is stated to be a very remarkable cavern, formerly used as a cemetery by a tribe of different customs from any of the Indians who now traverse the district, as the latter bury their dead in an altogether different manner. This geological phenomenon is always visited with great reverence and dread; and our Author describes himself as retreating from it, half inclined to believe the tradition which represents it as the aperture through which the first Indian ascended from the bowels of the earth. Soon afterwards, the whole party were reduced to the necessity of surrendering themselves to the protection of a tribe of Osages, between whose nation and the Kansas a war had broken out since they left their village. They were received in the most generous and friendly manner; and before he had been long with them, the young White was received into the family of a distinguished Osage warrior, at the instance of his wife, who had recently lost a son in battle. This good woman used every method to engage his affection and esteem.

'She used,' he says, 'to weep over me, tell me how good her son had been, how much she loved him, and how much she mourned his loss. "You must be good," she would say, "and you shall be my son, and I will be your mother." The daughter in many respects imitated the mother; and the greatest care was taken to supply my wants with the choicest things they had in their power to bestow. They made and ornamented mockasins and leggings for me, and furnished me with a beaver cap and buffalo robe; habiliments not usually worn by the Indian boys.....I sincerely loved and respected them, as much, it appears to me, as if they had really been allied to me by the strongest ties of consanguinity.' pp. 35, 6.

He was not, he thinks, more than fifteen, when his skilful use of the rifle in the chase, obtained for him the name of *the Hunter*. His Indian sister would sometimes, when they were by themselves, make particular inquiries concerning his people, which of course he was unable to satisfy; but they led to a train of new reflections in his mind. On coming in contact with the Traders, he attracted their particular notice; and endeavours were made to induce him to visit the white people. But, after some consideration, the prejudices which the Indians had instilled into his youthful mind against the Whites, prevailed over the intense curiosity excited by the representations of the Traders. During a visit to a village of the Grand Osages, he saw, among other whites, a clergyman, who preached several times to the Indians, through an interpreter. The Indians treated him with great respect, and listened to his discourses with profound attention; 'but could not,' adds our Author, 'as I heard them observe, comprehend the doctrines which he wished to inculcate.' The politeness and deference of an Indian auditory, he thinks, have sometimes been mistaken by the missionaries, for conviction. In the following autumn, Hunter was engaged in a skirmish with a party of wandering Pawnees, and took a scalp; his 'first and last essay of the kind.' Some time after, he made one of a party of thirty-seven hunters, who started on an exploring and hunting expedition up the Arkansas. The account of this adventurous excursion, is one of the most interesting portions of the narrative. They ascended the Platte river nearly to its source among the Rocky Mountains; and their curiosity being stimulated by the account given of the great hills of the West, by an old Indian whom they met with, they resolved on crossing the mountain barrier. They were viewed at first with great suspicion and distrust by the tribes they encountered; but, as soon as the motives of their excursion were ascertained, and the remoteness of their hunting-grounds, they were as uniformly received with kindness and hospitality. With some of them, the party were able to 'hold talks.' Although their respective languages were found very dissimilar from the Kansas and Osage dialects, a few words were, in two or three instances, found to be precisely the same, and others had some similarity. With some of the tribes who resided high up the river, or among the mountains, they were obliged to communicate wholly by signs. These are described as generally well-made, robust, and peaceably disposed, not very cleanly or well provided, and apparently the remnants of once powerful nations. The complexion of our hero drew upon him the particular attention of the squaws. The Indians beyond the last range of

mountains were found exceedingly filthy and poor, subsisting chiefly on fish, roots, and berries, the soil being extremely sterile: they have a few horses and many dogs, holding the latter in much the higher estimation, and speak a singular, and, to the exploring party, wholly unintelligible dialect. Game was found every where scarce, fish being the chief dependence of the natives. The tribes were all at peace with each other, and seemed not to possess the warlike character of the Missouri and Mississippi Indians; a circumstance partly accounted for by their different mode of life and means of subsistence. Escorted from tribe to tribe by some or other of these friendly natives, and occasionally assisted with the use of their canoes or rafts, the party continued their route, sometimes over barren prairies or hills, sometimes through woods, till they arrived at the Pacific Ocean. 'Here,' says Hunter, 'the surprise and astonishment of our whole party was indescribably great.'

'The unbounded view of waters, the incessant and tremendous dashing of the waves along the shore, accompanied with a noise resembling the roar of loud and distant thunder, filled our minds with the most sublime and awful sensations, and fixed on them as immutable truths the tradition we had received from our old men, that the great waters divide the residence of the Great Spirit from the temporary abodes of his red children. We here contemplated in silent dread, the immense difficulties over which we should be obliged to triumph after death, before we could arrive at those delightful hunting-grounds, which are unalterably destined for such only as do good, and love the Great Spirit. We looked in vain for the stranded and shattered canoes of those who had done wickedly. We could see none, and we were led to hope that they were few in number. We offered up our devotions, or I might rather say, our minds were serious, and our devotions continued, all the time we were in this country; for we had ever been taught to believe, that the Great Spirit resided on the western side of the Rocky Mountains, and this idea continued throughout the journey, notwithstanding the more specific water boundary assigned to him by our traditionary dogmas.' p. 69.

They arrived at the ocean to the South of Columbia river, and coasted further southwardly to a small inlet, around which were found the scattered huts of another tribe of ichthyophagite Indians, small in stature, filthy in their habits, and differing from the Missouri Indians in being wholly regardless of the incontinence of their squaws. Wisely determining not to risk the passage of the Rocky Mountains in the winter, our adventurers encamped at their base, near a spring of temperature sufficiently high to have cooked food, where they amused and supported themselves during the hard weather, by means of their rifles and their bows. The game consisted of elk, black-tailed deer, a species of mountain goat, wild turkeys, and phea-

sants, so that they were in general well supplied, and passed a merry Christmas; only they had occasional visits from somewhat unwelcome intruders, consisting of the white and brown bears, panthers, and wolves, who, attracted by the scent of their kitchen and larder, prowled round their camp. At the breaking up of the winter, all the party visited the spring from which they had procured their supplies of water; and, according to the constant practice of the Osages, Kansas, and other western tribes, on striking their encampments, offered up their orisons to the Great Spirit for having preserved them in health and safety, and supplied their wants. They suffered much from the intense cold in re-crossing the mountains; but, after surmounting a variety of difficulties and perils, they at length found their way home, where the Osages, who had looked upon them as lost, greeted them with tumultuous joy, as if they had returned from victory.

Our Author had peremptorily rejected several overtures made to him by the white traders, to accompany them back to their settlements, when the incident occurred, which induced him violently to snap asunder for ever the ties which had hitherto attached him to his Indian connexions. He had joined a hunting party in an excursion up the Brushy Fork, which falls into the Arkansas, and six of the party had visited the main encampment of a Colonel Watkins, where they were unfortunately permitted to barter their peltries for too much whiskey. They returned infuriated with the liquor, having, on their way back, plundered and massacred a French trader; and distributing the poisonous spirit among the rest of the hunters, they soon wrought them up to the same pitch of frantic and blood-thirsty excitement as themselves. It was determined to spoil and exterminate the whole of Watkins's party. Hunter alone, retaining the possession of his reason, felt the most acute regret and horror at these proceedings; but his life depended on his dissimulating his sentiments. From the first proposal of the plan, he never hesitated as to the course which it became him to pursue. At his own solicitation, he was entrusted with the post of sentinel; and when the Indians had retired to rest under the stupefying influence of the whiskey, he silently removed all the flints from the guns, emptied the primings, and taking his rifle and other equipments, mounted the best horse that had been stolen on the preceding day, made his escape, and gave the alarm to Watkins and his party, whose lives he thus undoubtedly saved. To return to the Osages, was now impossible; yet, nothing could induce him to remain with the white party. Having received some valuable presents from Col. Watkins, he set forth alone in a northward direction

towards White River. He 'passed several moons,' as a solitary rover, but eventually joined a party of white hunters; and by degrees, and through a concurrence of circumstances, he was at length reconciled to the idea of remaining among the Whites. He acquired a rudimental knowledge of the English language in a respectable school at Cape Girardeau, and subsequently prosecuted his studies, during the intervals between the trading seasons, so as to make the whole period of his education amount to about two years and a half.

'For some time after I entered school,' he tells us, 'I experienced great difficulty in learning the pronunciation and meaning of words; this, however, being once partially surmounted, my progress was easy, till I could read, so as to understand all the common school books that were placed in my hands. During the recess of my school employments, I seldom went any where without a book. I had access to some respectable libraries, and became literally infatuated with reading. My judgement was so much confused by the multiplicity of new ideas that crowded upon my undisciplined mind, that I hardly knew how to discriminate between truth and fable. This difficulty, however, wore off with the novelty, and I gradually recovered, with the explanatory assistance of my associates, the proper condition of mind to pursue my studies.' p. 129.

We know not how far the volume is indebted for its literary respectability to the aforementioned Mr. Edward Clark; but it certainly bears the marks of extraordinary proficiency on the part of its Author, who left the Indians only in the spring of 1816, at which time he supposes himself to have been nineteen or twenty years of age. An ardent desire to become acquainted with some one of the learned professions, in concurrence with the advice of a venerable friend, to whom he appears to be indebted for his religious knowledge, induced him to take the step of journeying eastward as far as New York or Philadelphia, with a view to publish the history of his life, and such information as he possessed respecting the Indian nations west of the Mississippi. It was this friend, Mr. Wyatt, who had first explained to him the difference between the natural rights enjoyed by the Indians, and those which are essential to the harmonious preservation of religious society; and it was he, adds Mr. Hunter,

'who first satisfactorily unfolded to my benighted mind, the *identity* of the Great Spirit with the Creator of all things, and the *Salvator* of the human family. He also taught me rationally to unbend my selfish, evil propensities, and to gird on the armour of self-denial, charity, and truth, and to square my life by them, as acceptable offerings to the Great I AM.'

In the Autumn of 1821, he crossed the Alleghany mountains,

to commence, as it were, a new existence,—‘ unknown to a single human being,’ he says, ‘ with whom I could claim kindred, except from common origin, and even indebted to circumstances for a name.’ But he speaks with gratitude of the kindness and respectful attention he has every where met with. ‘ That I may merit their continuance,’ he says in conclusion, ‘ will be the high ambition and constant endeavour of my life.’

The account of the Indian tribes which is appended to the Narrative, occupies the greater part of the volume; but we have no room left to enter upon its contents. The information it comprises, will be found extremely interesting, agreeing generally with the statements of Dr. Edwin James, but, of course, much more copious, minute, and characteristic. Some of the observations demand especially the attention of the American Missionary Societies, who have taken up, with laudable zeal, the cause of this much injured and neglected portion of our race. It is impossible not to take a warm interest in the future fortunes and character of Mr. Hunter; and we trust he may live to pay back, in substantial benefits to the Indian family, the debt of kindness he lies under to the friends and protectors of his childhood, his red brethren, and ours.

Art. VIII. *Fables for the Holy Alliance, Rhymes on the Road, &c. &c.*  
By Thomas Brown, the Younger, Secretary of the Poco-curante Society, and Author of the *Fudge Family*, and the *Two-penny Post Bag*. f.cap. 8vo. pp. 198. Price 8s. 6d. London. 1823.

**T**HIS is enough: the ‘ Author of the *Fudge Family*, and the *Two-penny Post Bag*,’ says every thing that needs be said about the Book. Our readers will immediately know what to look for in these *Fables* and *Rhymes*; and we may as well proceed at once to our extracts, which must form, indeed, our apology for noticing a mere jest-book. We did intend to look very grave upon the levity, disloyalty, and other exceptionable features of the present merry and facetious publication. But what tender parent (we do not say schoolmaster) has never had his solemn pre-determination to administer chastisement to his offending subject, set aside by the irresistible archness or drollery of the young culprit? Besides, there are redeeming things in the volume; for instance, *Fable III.*

‘ THE TORCH OF LIBERTY.

‘ I saw it all in Fancy’s glass—  
Herself, the fair, the wild magician,  
That bid this splendid day-dream pass,  
And nam’d each gliding apparition.

• 'Twas like a torch-race—such as they  
Of Greece perform'd, in ages gone,  
When the fleet youths, in long array,  
Pass'd the bright torch triumphant on.

• I saw th' expectant nations stand,  
To catch the coming flame in turn—  
I saw, from ready hand to hand,  
The clear, but struggling glory burn.

• And, oh, their joy, as it came near,  
'Twas, in itself, a joy to see—  
While Fancy whisper'd in my ear,  
“ That torch they pass is Liberty !”

• And each, as she receiv'd the flame,  
Lighted her altar with its ray,  
Then, smiling, to the next who came,  
Speeded it on its sparkling way.

• From ALBION first, whose antient shrine  
Was furnish'd with the fire already,  
COLUMBIA caught the spark divine,  
And lit a flame, like ALBION's, steady.

• The splendid gift then GALLIA took,  
And, like a wild Bacchante, raising  
The brand aloft, its sparkles shook,  
As she would set the world a-blazing !

• And, when she fir'd her altar, high  
It flash'd into the redd'ning air  
So fierce, that ALBION, who stood nigh,  
Shrunk, almost blinded by the glare !

• Next, SPAIN, so new was light to her,  
Leap'd at the torch—but, ere the spark  
She flung upon her shrine could stir,  
'Twas quench'd—and all again was dark.

• Yet, no—not quench'd—a treasure, worth  
So much to mortals, rarely dies—  
Again her living light look'd forth,  
And shone, a beacon, in all eyes !

• Who next receiv'd the flame ? alas,  
Unworthy NAPLES—shame of shames,  
That ever through such hands should pass  
That brightest of all earthly flames !

• Scarce had her fingers touch'd the torch,  
When, frightened by the sparks it shed,  
Nor waiting ev'n to feel the scorch,  
She dropp'd it to the earth—and fled.



‘ And fall’n it might have long remain’d,  
But **GRACE**, who saw her moment now,  
Caught up the prize, though prostrate, stain’d,  
And wav’d it round her beauteous brow.

‘ And Fancy bidd me mark where, o’er  
Her altar, as its flame ascended,  
Fair, laurell’d spirits seem’d to soar,  
Who thus in song their voices blended :—

‘ “ Shine, shine for ever, glorious Flame,  
“ Divinest gift of Gods to men !  
“ From **GRACE** thy earliest splendour came,  
“ To **GRACE** thy ray returns again.

‘ “ Take, Freedom; take thy radiant round;  
“ When dimm’d, revive, when lost, return,  
“ Till not a shrine through earth be found,  
“ On which thy glories shall not burn !” ’ pp. 17—21.

‘ The Extinguishers’ deserves to be praised as much for the due of the moral, as for its wit. ‘ The Little Grand Lama,’ we would advise all those readers to pass over, who are afraid laughing at naughty things. The following is not quite exceptionable, but we will venture it.

‘ When Royalty was young and bold,  
Ere, touch’d by Time, he had become—  
If ’tis not civil to say *old*—  
At least, a *çi-devant jeune homme*,

‘ One evening, on some wild pursuit,  
Driving along, he chanc’d to see  
Religion, passing by on foot,  
And took him in his vis-à-vis.

‘ This said Religion was a Friar,  
The humblest and the best of men,  
Who ne’er had notion or desire  
Of riding in a coach till then.

‘ “ I say”—quoth Royalty, who rather  
Enjoy’d a masquerading joke—  
“ I say, suppose, my good old father,  
“ You lend me, for a while, your cloak.”

‘ The friar consented—little knew  
What tricks the youth had in his head ;  
Besides, was rather tempted too  
By a lac’d coat he got in stead.

‘ Away ran Royalty, slap-dash,  
Scampering like mad about the town ;  
Broke windows—shiver’d lamps to smash,  
And knock’d whole scores of watchmen down.

Brown's *Fables for the Holy Alliance*.

‘ While nought could they, whose heads were broke,  
Learn of the “ why ” or the “ wherefore,”  
Except that ’twas Religion’s cloak  
The gentleman who crack’d them, wore.

‘ Meanwhile, the Friar, whose head was turn’d  
By the lac’d coat, grew frisky too—  
Look’d big—his former habits spurn’d—  
And storm’d about as great men do—

‘ Dealt much in pompous oaths and curses—  
Said “ —— you ” often, or as bad—  
Laid claim to other people’s purses—  
In short, grew either knave, or mad.

‘ As work like this was unbecoming,  
And flesh and blood no longer bore it,  
The Court of Common Sense, then sitting,  
Summon’d the culprits both before it.

‘ Where, after hours in wrangling spent,  
( As Courts must wrangle to decide well )  
Religion to St. Luke’s was sent,  
And Royalty pack’d off to Bridewell.

With this proviso—should they be  
Restor’d, in due time, to their senses,  
They both must give security,  
In future, against such offences—

‘ Religion ne’er to *lend his cloak*,  
Seeing what dreadful work it leads to ;  
And Royalty to crack his joke,  
But *not* to crack poor people’s heads too.’ pp. 35—38.

There are certainly many things which we could wish out of the volume. But it will have only the life of an ephemeron. The following is a very neatly turned epigram.

## ‘ A SPECULATION.

‘ Of all speculations the market holds forth,  
The best that I know for a lover of pelf,  
Is to buy \*\*\*\*\* up, at the price he is worth,  
And then sell him at that which he sets on himself.’

The volume is exorbitantly dear.

**Art. IX. *The Bible Catechism*, arranged in Forty Divisions: all the Answers to the Questions being in the exact Words of Scripture: intended for the Religious Instruction of the Young, both in Families and Schools. By W. F. Lloyd. 24mo. pp. 170. Price 2s. London. 1822.**

**T**HE late Rev. Samuel Palmer, of Hackney, drew up, many years ago, a Scripture Catechism on a much smaller scale than this, which deserves to be better known than we apprehend it is. As Mr. Lloyd does not refer to it, we think it very likely that he was not aware of its existence. The idea was excellent; for if answers are to be put into a child's mouth, to questions which it is probable he cannot fully comprehend, it is most seemly and most advisable in every point of view, that they should be framed in the language of that perfect rule of faith which is of paramount and Divine authority. The habit of appealing to Scripture in support of our religious sentiments, is a most important one to be formed in the youthful mind; and the committing to memory so large a variety of texts, will in itself be useful.

This very copious collection of Scripture texts must have cost Mr. Lloyd considerable pains. They are arranged under the following chapters.

‘ Chap. I. The Holy Scriptures. II. The Young—Young or weak Believers—early Piety. III. Of God. IV. Of Jesus Christ. V. Of the Holy Spirit. VI. Of Sin. VII. Of the Pardon of Sin—the Atonement of Christ—Repentance. VIII. Of the Renewal of the Mind—Regeneration. IX. Of Faith. X. Prayer and Praise. XI. The Sabbath and the House of God. XII. Affliction—Persecution. XIII. Temptation. XIV. The Righteous and the Wicked. XV. Wisdom. XVI. The Kingdom of Christ—the Spread of true Religion. XVII. Humility and Pride. XVIII. Meekness—Forgiveness—Patience—Perseverance. XIX. Anger, Strife, Hatred, Malice, Revenge, and Envy. XX. Love—Benevolence—Sympathy—Mercy—Peace. XXI. Love of the World—Covetousness—Content. XXII. Honesty and Dishonesty—Justice and Injustice. XXIII. Diligence and Idleness. XXIV. Slander—Tale-bearing—Filthy Speaking. XXV. Truth and Deceit. XXVI. Cursing and Swearing. XXVII. Concerning the Tongue. XXVIII. Purity. XXIX. Company. XXX. Self-denial. XXXI. Self-examination and Watchfulness. XXXII. Duties of Children. XXXIII. Duties of Brothers, Friends, and Neighbours. XXXIV. Duties to Kings, to Masters, &c. XXXV. Life—Time. XXXVI. Death and the Grave. XXXVII. The Resurrection. XXXVIII. The Day of Judgement. XXXIX. Heaven. XL. Hell.’

Two morning and two evening prayers are added, in the exact words of Scripture.

This little work is particularly adapted to attract the attention of Sunday School Teachers. Its price will exclude it from very general introduction in its present form, but an abridgement is advertised, price four-pence. Mr. Lloyd, as the secretary to the Sunday School Union, must have had ample experience as to the capacities of children; but we should imagine that a greater simplicity of language in the questions would have been desirable. The very first question, 'Who inspired the Scriptures?' is not very clear or very happy. The more direct answer, too, would be supplied by the reply to the second question; and the text cited as an answer to the first, would with more propriety apply to the question, What is Inspiration? The sixth question will require to be accompanied with an explanation: perhaps, the Author intended that it should be so introduced by the teacher. But such phrases as the following would, it seems to us, stand not in less need of being translated to Sunday School children in general: 'Are the wisdom and piety of the young *intimately connected with the extension of the cause of Christ?*' 'What is the curse of the carnal, and the blessing of the spiritual?' 'What is said in the Revelations (Revelation) as to Christ's *subduing* his enemies, and his *supreme dignity?*' 'Does the *sympathy* of Christ as our high-priest, *encourage our confidence* in prayer?' 'What vision of the *gospel's extension* did St. John behold?' 'Should a *mature* understanding and a child-like disposition be joined together?' 'Are righteousness and judgement essential to the character of God.' This last, we think a very improper question to be put to a child. There are in all nearly nine hundred questions, many of which we should certainly strike out; and we should recommend, in the next edition, a severe revision of the phraseology, with a view to greater simplicity and correctness. As to the prayers, they prove that Scripture language is *not* the most suitable for the prayers of a child, if his prayer is to be a reasonable service. It is comparatively easy to make a child learn by rote, and go through a mechanical exercise with the utmost precision; but the grand object ought to be, to make them think, to gain access to their moral nature; and with this view, while we quite approve of their being taught a doctrinal catechism, we should rely more on the efficacy of the system which leaves the child to frame his own answer to the question put to him, whenever the subject admits of it. At the same time, the design of the Bible Catechism has our cordial approbation.

**Art. X. *A New Self-interpreting Testament* ; containing many Thousands of various Readings and parallel Passages, collected from the most approved Translators and Biblical Critics, including all those of the Authorized Version, and set under the Text in Words at length, so that the parallel Passages and various Translations may be seen and read at one View ; with introductory Arguments concerning the Origin, Occasion, and Character of each Book ; a Reconciliation of seeming Contradictions ; and the Meaning and Pronunciation of the Scripture Proper Names. Adapted to the Use of Reflecting Christians of every Denomination. By the Rev. John Platts. Part I. 8vo. Price 4s. 6d. London. 1823.**

**T**HIS long title wears too much the appearance of a puff. Very few words were requisite to explain the object of the publication, the utility of which is so obvious, that one is ready to wonder that it was left to the Rev. John Platts, whoever he may be, to undertake the present compilation. There are few persons, we apprehend, who are in the practice of making that use of the marginal references in our common Bibles, which it is desirable that every reader of his Bible should do. Want of leisure will often deter a person from doing this ; it is also an interruption by no means favourable to the immediate purpose of reading the Scriptures ; add to which, many of the references are of so little value as to produce a feeling of disappointment, upon consulting the passages referred to. A judicious selection of strictly parallel or illustrative passages, given at length, in the form of notes to the text, would, therefore, be of great assistance to private Christians, in the study of the sacred Scriptures. Fox's Testament, which was upon this plan, published in 1722, we have not seen : it has long been out of print and is very rare. The present Compiler has been fortunate enough to obtain a copy, and he acknowledges his obligations to its Author.

What is chiefly required in order to the satisfactory execution of such a work, is a sound discrimination. The materials are all ready to the Editor's hand : he has only to exercise his judgement in the selection. The labours of Thomas Scott and of the Editor of Bagster's Bible, more especially, have accumulated an immense mass of references, more than can possibly be made use of in such a work as the present : to these it would be difficult to add, but they require a great deal of sifting. Mr. Platts does not impress us, in the Preface, with a high idea of his judiciousness. It opens with the following selectable specimen of verbiage.

‘ The Holy Scriptures are the grand medium of communication

between God and man, heaven and earth. They reveal the Deity to the human intellect in all the treasures of His grace ; and exalt the human soul, far beyond the vanities of time and sense, to the glorious riches of eternity. In the Scriptures, the Sovereign of Nature draws aside the impenetrable vail which concealed Him from mortal ken, descends from His inaccessible throne, and converses with His creature man.' &c. &c.

There is more in this style, which had far better been withheld. If it is necessary to write a panegyric on the Bible, it is not every one who is competent to the very delicate task. Mr. Platts is certainly not the person to undertake it.

We cannot say that we are by any means satisfied with the selection of passages. Let us take for instance, the Lord's Prayer, Matt. v. 9—13. The only references given as illustrating the invocation, are Rom. viii. 15. Ps. xi. 4. cxv. 3. Isa. lxvi. 1. The first of these, so far from illustrating the words, is, we imagine, calculated to mislead. It was certainly in no such peculiar sense, that our Lord designed those words to be taken, "Our Father who art in heaven." It was among the Jews, a customary and general form of invocation ; and the texts directly bearing on the import of the expression, are Isa. lxiii. 16. lxiv. 8. Mal. ii. 10. John viii. 41. We have no fault to find with the passages arranged under the words, "Hallowed be thy name," except that half of them are irrelevant or unnecessary ; e. g. Psal. cxxxix. 20. (Mr. Platts might just as well have cited the third commandment.) Psal. cxiv. 10, 11. Isa. viii. 13. John xii. 28. As notes to "Thy Kingdom come," we have Isa. ii. 2, 3. Matt. xvi. 28. Rev. xi. 15. The application of the first of these references is far from direct. Dan. ii. 44. is much more to the purpose. But the following texts, or at least some of them, would have been given with much more propriety as shewing the true force of the expression. Matt. iii. 2. iv. 17. vi. 33. Luke xvii. 21. John iii. 5. Col. i. 13. Again, as notes to ver. 11. "Give us this day our daily bread," we have Gen. xliii. 25, 31—4 ; the relevancy of which we confess ourselves unable to perceive ; Exod. xvi. 21. Job, xxiii. 12. Prov. xxx. 8. Isa. xxxiii. 16. John vi. 33, 34. 1 Tim. vi. 8.—Psal. xxxvii. 3. 25. Phil. iv. 6. and Heb. xiii. 5. would have been more applicable than some of these. Once more, in illustrating the petition, "Lead us not into temptation," no reference is made to James i. 12. &c. by far the most important passage in such a connexion, nor to 2 Chron. xxxii. 31., and others bearing more indirectly on the subject of the petition. We have taken this passage at random ; but it will serve to shew that the task which Mr. Platts has undertaken, is one of considerable delicacy, and that to render the work really serviceable, more diligence and a sounder dis-

cretion are requisite than we regret to say we find exhibited in this specimen. We must also deprecate the introduction of passages from the Apocrypha, as by no means 'adapted to the use of reflecting Christians of every denomination.'

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Art. XI. *A Letter to the Rev. H. H. Norris, A.M. Perpetual Curate of Hackney, &c.* Containing Animadversions on his "Respectful Letter to the Earl of Liverpool," on the Subject of the Bible Society. By the Rev. John Paterson, D.D. St. Petersburg. 8vo. pp. 87. London. 1823.

**A**RCHBISHOP Leighton has furnished Dr. Paterson with a very suitable motto to this annihilating exposure of the wilful and malignant calumnies uttered by the Rev. H. H. Norris, against the Russian Bible Society. 'It is the bent of the basest and most worthless spirits, to be busy in the search and discovery of others' failings, passing by all that is commendable and imitable, as base flies readily sitting on any sore they can find, rather than upon the sound parts.' Dr. Paterson writes with the warmth inspired by irrepressible indignation at the conduct of this most incorrigible of men; but it is a warmth in which every reader must participate. The annals of controversy contain scarcely an instance of so many flagrant violations of candour, truth, and decency, as are here and elsewhere brought home to the Accuser of the Bible Society and his authorities. Our notice of Mr. Scholefield's Reply, supersedes, however, the necessity of again going over the disgusting details. By a singular fatality, Mr. N. blunders in the most simple and immaterial facts, not less than in more important matters. Thus, his circumstantial account of Drs. Henderson and Paterson, is incorrect throughout.

'You are very unfortunate,' says Dr. P., 'in making us emerge "from the Carron Iron Works at the call of the Edinburgh Missionary Society," as we were never within those works in our lives, and in truth scarcely ever saw them; and with the Edinburgh Missionary Society we never had the honour to be connected. I cannot conceive how you came to place the Carron Iron Works on the river Clyde. As you are a man of such profound research, it might afford you some useful employment, to find out, on what river in His Britannic Majesty's dominions the Carron Iron works are really situated. This would enable you to correct the Hackney map, which in this particular, as well as in many others, appears to be very erroneous.'

May all the enemies of the Bible Society be such men as H. H. Norris, and such only! Their number, happily, will then be few.



## ART. XII. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

*\*. \* Gentlemen and Publishers who have works in the Press, will oblige the Conductors of the ECLECTIC REVIEW, by sending information (post paid) of the subject, extent, and probable price of such works; which they may depend upon being communicated to the public, if consistent with its plan.*

Naturalist's Repository, or Monthly Miscellany of Exotic Natural History. An Order in the Council of the Linnæan Society has been lately passed, by which Mr. Donovan will be allowed to enrich his New Monthly Work, the "Naturalist's Repository," with the Icones of those choice and very beautiful species of the Psittacus and Columba Tribe, which are described in the thirteenth volume of the Linnæan Transactions; the greater part of which, if not the whole, are of such rarity, as to be found only in the Museum of the Linnæan Society. It may be further added, that the Entomological Papers, by the Rev. Mr. Kirby, in Linn. Trans. vol. 12, p. 2, will also, by the permission and favour of their author, receive the advantage of some further elucidation of the same nature in this new publication. The Ornithological Memoir on the Birds discovered in the late Northern Expedition, inserted in Linn. Trans. vol. 12; and that in the Narrative of the Expedition published by authority, will likewise engage attention in some future Numbers. The scientific development of the true characters of the ambiguous object which lately attracted much of the public notice under the title of the "Mermaid," is at press, and will appear very shortly. This last mentioned article is expected to prove of more than usual interest, as it will combine among other information some traits of Natural History upon this curious subject, collected by Professor Thunberg, the traveller, and successor of Linnæus to the Chair of Upsal, and by his pupil Dr. Suttner, from the books extant in Japan and China, in the respective languages of those Countries; authorities at this time, it is to be believed, exclusively in the possession of the Proprietors, and which it is presumed may be altogether unknown to any of the European Naturalists.

In the press, Sermons by the late Rev. T. N. Toller, of Kettering, with a memoir of the Author, by the Rev. Robert Hall, of Leicester. 1 vol. 8vo.

In the press, the Bible Teacher's Manual, part 2, containing Exodus. By a Clergyman.

Speedily will be published, Memoirs of Mrs. Eliz. Ann Ulyat, late of Sutton St. Nicholas, Lincolnshire, with extracts from her diary and letters, and a sermon on occasion of her death. By Thomas Rogers. 18mo.

Shortly will be published, Scripture Songs, being chiefly a versification of psalms, and other poems. By J. Cobbin, M. A.

In the press, and nearly ready for publication, in one vol. 8vo. (closely printed in double columns), with a frontispiece, and comprising nearly one thousand articles; the third London edition, greatly enlarged, of a Dictionary of all Religions, and Religious Sects, Antient and Modern; also, of Ecclesiastical History and Theological Controversy. Originally drawn up by Mrs. Hannah Adams, Author of a History of the Jews, &c. and compared with the fourth American edition of her work. Carefully revised and corrected to the present time, by Thomas Williams, Editor of the last edition; with Mr. Fuller's Essay on Truth, a brief Missionary Gazetteer, &c. &c.

In the press, the seventh edition, with considerable additions, of Mr. Fairman's account of the Public Funds. The work has been completely remodelled, and the accounts are corrected and brought down to the present times.

In a few days will be published, The Wandering Hermit. By the Author of the Hermit in London.

In the press, Memoirs of the Court of Louis XIV., and of the Regency: extracted from the German correspondence of the Dutchess of Orleans, mother of the Regent.

A translation of Les Hermites en Prison, (the last, and perhaps the most interesting of all his essays) of Monsieur Jouy, the French Addison, will be published in the course of a few days. This work was written in the prison of St.

Pélagie, where the author, with his friend Monsieur Jay, was recently confined for a political libel.

Preparing for publication, a second volume of the Village Lecturer: a se-

ries of original discourses, adapted to village congregations and families.

A new edition will shortly appear, of Sir W. Forbes's Life of D. Beattie. 2 vols. 8vo.

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## ART. XIII. LIST OF WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

### BOTANY.

*Flora Domestica*, or the Portable Flower-Garden; with directions for the treatment of plants in pots, and illustrations from the works of the poets. 8vo. 12s.

### FINE ARTS.

Views in Paris, &c. consisting of sixty scenes in that metropolis, and its environs. By Mr. Frederick Nash. 2 vols. royal 4to. 8l. 8s.

A Series of Illustrations of the Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott, Bart. from original paintings, by R. Smirke, R.A. beautifully engraved by the most eminent artists, to illustrate the foolscap, octavo, and quarto editions. foolscap 12s. 8vo. 18s. Proofs, 4to. 1l. 10s. Proofs on India Paper, imperial 4to. 1l. 18s.

The Italian School of Design, containing 84 plates; being a series of facsimiles of Original Drawings, by the most eminent painters and sculptors of Italy; with biographical notices of the artists, and observations on their works. By W. Young Ottley, Esq. Complete in one volume, super royal folio. 12l. 12s. in colombier folio, 18l. 18s. and proofs, 24 guineas.

### GEOGRAPHY.

The Geography and History of America, and the West Indies; exhibiting a correct account of the discovery, settlement, and progress of the various kingdoms, states, and provinces of the western hemisphere, to the year 1822. 8vo. 18s.

The Berwick New and Improved General Gazetteer, or Compendious Geographical Dictionary; brought down to the present time. Accompanied with twenty-six elegant maps, from the latest authorities, in three handsome vols. 8vo. 2l. 2s. or, in 16 parts, 2s. 6d. each.

### GEOLOGY.

Geological Evidences of the Deluge. Comprising an account of an Antedilu-

vian Den, discovered in Yorkshire, in 1821, in which were found the remains of the Hyæna, Bear, Tiger, Elephant, Rhinoceros, Hippopotamus, and many other animals, formerly natives of this country; with a comparative description of the caves and fissures containing bones in England and Germany; and a summary view of the evidences of a general inundation, afforded by beds of loam and gravel, containing similar bones; and by the actual state of hills and valleys in all parts of the world. By the Rev. W. Buckland, F.R.S. F.L.S. M.C.S. and Professor of Mineralogy and Geology in the University of Oxford. 27 Engravings. 4to.

### HISTORY.

The Campaign of the Left Wing of the Allied Army, in the Western Pyrenees and South of France, in the years 1813-14; under Field Marshal the Marquess of Wellington. With a plan of the Pyrenees and South of France, and 25 plates of mountain and river scenery, &c. Drawn and etched by Captain Batty, of the First, or Grenadier Guards, F.R.S. Member of the Imperial Russian Order of St. Anna. royal 4to. 2l.

Histoire des Français, Tomes, IV. V. et VI. Par J. C. L. Simonde de Sismondi. 8vo. 1l. 13s. This second portion of the work comprises the period from the year 987 to 1226, and is denominated by the Author, France Confederated under the Feudal System.

\*.\* The first three volumes may still be had, price 1l. 10s.

### HORTICULTURE.

*Sylva Florifera*, the Shrubbery; containing an historical and botanical account of the flowering shrubs and trees, which now ornament the shrubbery, the park, and rural scenes in general; with observations on the formation of ornamental plantations, and picturesque scenery. By Henry Phillips, F.H.S. 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 1s.

**MEDICINE.**

**Medical Jurisprudence**, comprehending Medical, Chemical, Anatomical, and Surgical Investigations, applicable to Forensic Practice; for the instruction and guidance of Coroners, Magistrates, Barristers, and Medical Witnesses. With a copious appendix of statutes, cases, and decisions. By John Ayrton Paris, M.D. F.R.S. F.L.S. Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, &c. &c. And John S. M. Fonblanque, Esq. Barrister at Law. 3 vols. 8vo. 11. 16s.

**MISCELLANEOUS.**

**The Footman's Directory**, and **Butler's Remembrancer**; or, the advice of Onesimus to his young friends: comprising hints on the arrangement and performance of their work, with respect both to time and manner; directions for setting out tables and sideboards; the art of waiting at table, and conducting large and small parties; directions respecting the cleaning of plate, glass, furniture, clothes, and all other things which come within the care of a man servant: also, advice respecting behaviour to superiors, trades-people, and fellow-servants. 12mo.

**Miscellanies**, on various Subjects, in prose and verse. By W. Hett, M.A. 12mo. 6s.

**An Epitome of Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding**, in Question and Answer; for the use of those who intend to enter on the study of Metaphysics. 12mo. 2s. 6d.

**THEOLOGY.**

**Bishop Hall's Sacred Aphorisms**, selected and arranged with the texts of scripture to which they refer. By Richard Brudenell Exton, Rector of Athelington, Suffolk. 12mo. 3s. 6d.

**The Words of the Lord Jesus**; or, the doctrines and duties of the Christian religion, as delivered in the discourses

and conversations of the Son of God, during his personal ministry upon earth: arranged from the records of the Four Evangelists. By John Read, 12mo. 4s.

**Devotional Exercises**; extracted from Bishop Patrick's *Christian Sacrifice*: adapted to the present time, and to general use. By Lætitia Matilda Hawkins. 12mo. 3s.

**An Inquiry into the Evidence of Christianity**; in Question and Answer. 9d.

**The State of the Metropolis**, or the Importance of a Revival of Religion in London. By the Rev. J. H. Stewart. 6d. or 25 for 11s.

**The True Pattern for Christian Teachers**. 12mo. 1s. 6d.

**Sermons on several Subjects**; with notes critical, historical, and explanatory; and an appendix. By the Rev. Charles Swan, late of Catherine Hall, Cambridge. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

**Nine Sermons**, preached on several occasions. By Hugh Wade-Gery, M.A. Rector of Thurning, in the county of Huntingdon. 8vo. 6s.

**Sermons, chiefly designed for the Use of Families**. By John Fawcett, A.M. Rector of Scaleby, &c. 2 vols. 12mo. 12s.

**Four Treatises on the following Subjects**. 1. *Mystery of Redemption*. 2. *Prayer of Moses*. 3. *Doctrine and Duty of Self-examination*. 4. *Faith*. By J. A. Haldane. 24mo. 2s.

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**\* \* \*** *Title, Contents, and Index to Vol. XIX. will be delivered with the next Number.*

# THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR SEPTEMBER, 1823.

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Art. I. *For the Oracles of God, Four Orations. For Judgement to Come, an Argument, in Nine Parts.* By the Rev. Edward Irving, M.A. Minister of the Caledonian Church, Hatton-Garden. 8vo. pp. xii. 548. Price 12s. London, 1823.

**M**R. IRVING is a bold man thus to descend, in the very zenith of his popularity, from the vantage-ground of the pulpit orator's chair, into the arena of literary competition. The press is a fierce and searching ordeal for the man of eloquence; nor is it, by any means, a fair test of the power of living oratory. Estimated by their speeches in the House, Burke, the most splendid of speech-writers, was immeasurably inferior to Fox, who, a giant in debate, was in composition a sciolist. Erskine, unrivalled at the bar, cannot rank higher than a third-rate writer. Whitfield, the most powerful of preachers, came forth from the press, stripped of every attribute of might or majesty. Those who have succeeded alike as speakers and as writers, are exceptions to what would seem to be the general rule; and Mr. Irving, with all his faults, must be added to this number. These discourses or orations, call them what you will, furnish abundant matter and provocation for criticism; and, says the Author somewhat loftily, 'I deprecate it not.' They are framed, however, of a stuff and texture which will endure the roughest handling. There is that stamp of intellectual energy on the volume, which will bear down the cavils and juster exceptions of those who may be disposed to quarrel with the Writer on the score of taste. His periods are of sterling weight, if not always of the finest mintage; and this will secure their being received as currency. Above all, there is throughout the volume an appearance of passionate earnestness, firmness of purpose, intrepid attachment to truth, and, if we may so express it, of magisterial commission, which, harmonizing with the infinite interest attaching to

the subject, renders it next to impossible for the reader to escape from the impression. The discourses will not *please* in the perusal, as they pleased in the delivery; for there is an interpretation of a speaker's meaning carried on through the medium of the eye, and a sympathy with the speaker, awakened by his tones, which very materially assist the prompt and easy reception of the communication, and preclude that mental fatigue which reading is apt to occasion. But, though they may not please as much, they cannot fail powerfully to interest; and the popularity of the Preacher will no longer appear, after the perusal, a fortuitous and unaccountable circumstance. Mr. Irving is no phenomenon, to be gazed at and forgotten. The light which he holds forth, is steady and pure; and whatever charm there may be in the vehicle or the medium through which it is transmitted, the illumination which it casts, is not that of a meteor, but of heaven's day-light. And the low-minded malignity and petulance with which he has been assailed, proceed, we are well persuaded, more than from any other cause, from a hatred of the light. "The Liberal," and the most infamous of public journals that ever disgraced the press of this country, have selected Mr. Irving as a fair mark for their infernal shafts. We think that this augurs well for his success. We like to hear the Devil cry out, What have we to do with thee? It looks as if some measure of the power of the Preacher's Master was resting upon him.

We must not pass over the designation of these Discourses, although their title is a small matter; but it has been considered as somewhat pedantic. Perhaps it is so; and the Author's reason for adopting the unusual terms, 'oration' and 'argument,' is unsatisfactory. He evidently wished to keep clear of that unpromising and unpopular word, sermon, and to substitute some other more specific and more attractive than the modest term *discourse*. The latter, however, we cannot but consider as the more eligible word. Mr. Irving says:

'I have set the example of two new methods of handling religious truth—the *Oration* and the *Argument*; the one intended to be after the manner of the ancient Oration, the best vehicle for addressing the minds of men which the world hath seen; far beyond the sermon, of which the very name hath learned to inspire drowsiness and tedium; the other after the manner of the ancient Apologies, with this difference, that it is pleaded not before any judicial bar, but before the tribunal of human thought and feeling.'

But are these methods new? Does not Mr. Irving deceive himself in supposing that he has set us in England an original example, because he has adopted new terms? We are at a loss to know what better claim his orations have to that appellation,

than the sermons of Mr. Hall, or the Missionary Discourse of Mr. Foster. We know not whether the sermons of Bishop Horsley would more deserve to be styled Orations or Arguments, for we are not clear as to the specific character of either; but sure we are, that a more masterly method of handling religious truth, or one better adapted to Mr. Irving's purpose, has not been exhibited, than that of which the learned prelate has set the example. The sermons of Bishop Butler deserve the name of Arguments, if any thing does. There was, moreover, a century or two ago, a bishop of the name of Jeremy Taylor, whose sermons sometimes approached sufficiently near to the character of orations; and a certain Richard Hooker has left behind him a discourse on Justification, which will not easily be surpassed in either eloquence or argument; and a greater in some respects than either, John Howe, has bequeathed to the world, a storehouse of all that is philosophical in thought, and noble in sentiment, and majestic in the march of language. We say nothing of foreign divines, whose compositions would furnish numberless specimens of this supposed new method, and who have found both admirers and imitators in this country. The fact is, that the word *sermon*, whatever ideas may be connected with it in certain circles, is the general name for a class of compositions infinitely varying in style and character, and comprehending some of the finest oratory and reasoning in the language; nor could Mr. Irving's ambition have aimed higher than to rank with those great English divines, who have not disdained the obnoxious designation. But he may imagine that, in the present day, the word sermon has acquired a more restricted and technical sense, and that the style of preaching which he has adopted, though not new, required to be revived. It would behoove him to have more extensive information, however, respecting the state of pulpit eloquence in England, than we would pretend to, in order to justify his taking this ground. But the more interesting question is, not the novelty, but the excellence of the method. In Mr. Irving's hands, we quite approve of it. In addressing such a congregation as that which he has collected in the Caledonian Chapel, no style of handling religious truth could be more proper or effective. And greatly should we rejoice, could we think that the mere adoption of a new method, was likely, when more extensively tried, to be attended with any thing like similar success. We should be delighted to believe that Mr. Irving's genius, and address, and powerful delivery had so much less to do with his popularity, than his style of preaching, and that his style was found attractive, less from its novelty, than from its adaptation to the conveyance of truth into the



minds of the people. We confess that our impression on this subject is different. Mr. Irving has committed the same modest error that his friend Dr. Chalmers has done with respect to his economic experiment at Glasgow. He too hastily assumes the practicability, in other hands and under quite different circumstances, of following out his example. He would reform our English theology and English preaching, in the summary way in which his excellent friend the Professor would reform our poor system. Now if, instead of obtaining mere imitators of his style, he could but inoculate our preachers with his zeal, his energy of character, his fearless decision and untrammelled spirit, then, indeed, he would render both 'the clerical order' and society at large an invaluable service. But we can conceive of nothing more insipid or inefficient, nothing more completely adapted to inspire drowsiness or tedium, than a cold Oration or a halting Argument. So far from the Oration being the best vehicle for addressing the minds of men, it is the one which depends the most absolutely on the use which is made of it. It is like an instrument whose whole power and music must be created by the modulations of the breath. Feeble declamation, into which the Oration is apt to sink, is of all styles the most unimpressive : its effect is perfectly narcotic. Nor is the best method determinable in any given case, simply by the gifts of the preacher : the character of his auditory requires to be taken into the account, in pronouncing upon the more excellent way. Orations and Arguments would be quite unsuitable to the mental habits of many, if not most of our congregations. Paul doubtless adopted different methods in the synagogue of Damascus and at Mars' Hill. We are not for exalting one method or one vehicle above another, but for the discreet and discriminative use of all rational methods of handling religious truth. But were we to express an opinion on the comparative recommendations of different modes, we should say, that, for general practice, the expository style is the most adapted for usefulness, and the essay style of preaching is the laziest and the worst. Yet truly, it holds good of preaching, if not of civil government, that 'whatever is best administered, is best.'

We have dwelt longer than we intended on the title of the work ; but our motive has been, to guard against the seductive influence of Mr. Irving's example, in quarters where the attempt to follow him, *haud passibus æquis*, as to his method, would not be likely to be productive of any good result. We shall now lay before our readers some specimens of the powerful character of his declamation, reserving till the close any further observations on his style, and the theological merits of the volume.



The *Oration*s are on the following subjects. I. The Preparation for consulting the Oracles of God.—II. The Manner of consulting them.—III. and IV. The Obeying of the Oracles of God. We take for our first extract, the conclusion to the second *oration*.

‘ Why, in modern times, do we not take from the Word that sublimity of design and gigantic strength of purpose which made all things bend before the saints, whose praise is in the Word and the Church of God? Why have the written secrets of the Eternal become less moving than the fictions of fancy, or the periodical works of the day; and their impressiveness died away into the imbecility of a tale that hath been often told? Not because man’s spirit hath become more weak. Was there ever an age in which it was more patient of research, or restless after improvement? Not because the Spirit of God hath become backward in his help, or the Word divested of its truth—but because we treat it not as the all-accomplished wisdom of God; the righteous setting works of men alongside of it, or masters over it, the world altogether apostatizing from it unto folly. We come to meditate it, like armed men to consult of peace—our whole mind occupied with insurrectionary interests; we suffer no captivity of its truth. Faith, which should brood with expanded wings over the whole heavenly legend, imbibing its entire spirit—what hath it become? A name to conjure up theories and hypotheses upon. Duty likewise hath fallen into a few formalities of abstaining from amusements, and keeping up severities, instead of denoting a soul girt with all its powers for its Maker’s will. Religion also, a set of opinions and party distinctions separated from high endowments, and herding with cheap popular accomplishments—a mere serving-maid of every-day life; instead of being the mistress of all earthly, and the preceptress of all heavenly sentiments, and the very queen of all high gifts and graces and perfections in every walk of life.

‘ To be delivered from this dwarfish exhibition of that plant which our heavenly Father hath planted, take up this holy book. Let your devotions gather warmth from the various exhibitions of the nature and attributes of God. Let the displays of his power overawe you, and the goings forth of his majesty still you into reverend observance. Let his uplifted voice awake the slumber of your spirits, and every faculty burn in adoration of that image of the invisible God which his word reveals. If Nature is reverend before Him, how much more the spirit of man for whom he rideth forth in his state! Let his Holiness, before which the pure seraph veils his face, and his Justice, before which the heavens are rebuked, humble our frail spirits in the dust, and awaken all their conscious guilt. Then let the richness of his Mercy strike us dumb with amazement, and his offered grace revive our hopes anew; and let his Son, coming forth with the embraces of his love, fill our spirits with rapture. Let us hold him fast in sweet communion; exchange with him affection’s kindest tokens; and be satisfied with the sufficiency of his grace; and let the

strength of his Spirit be our refuge, his all-sufficient strength our buckler and our trust !

‘ Then, stirred up through all her powers, and awakened from the deep sleep of Nature and oblivion of God, (which among visible things she partaketh,) our soul shall come forth from the communion of the Word, full of divine energy and ardour, prepared to run upon this world’s theatre the race of duty for the prize of life eternal. She shall erect herself beyond the measures and approbation of men, into the measures and approbation of God. She shall become like the saints of old, who, strengthened by such repasts of faith, “subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, and turned to flight the armies of the aliens.” ’ pp. 47—9.

In enforcing the awful alternative, ‘ Obey the Scriptures, or ‘ you perish,’ after describing the hopeless doom of the sinner, in a passage of considerable force and vigour, and, we doubt not, extremely impressive in the delivery, though in a style somewhat too florid for the press, the Preacher exclaims :

‘ ‘Tis written, ‘tis written, ‘tis sealed of heaven, and a few years shall reveal it all. Be assured it is even so to happen to the despisers of holy writ. With this in arrear, what boots liberty, pleasure, enjoyment—all within the hour-glass of time, or the round earth’s continent, all the sensibilities of life, all the powers of man, all the attractions of woman !

‘ Terror hath sitten enthroned on the brows of tyrants, and made the heart of a nation quake ; but upon this peaceful volume there sits a terror to make the mute world stand aghast. Yet not the terror of tyranny neither, but the terror of justice which abides the scorners of the Most High God, and the revilers of his most gracious Son. And is it not just, though terrible, that he who brooked not in heaven one moment’s disaffection, but lanced the rebel host to hell, and bound them evermore in chains of darkness, should also do his sovereign will upon the disaffected of this earth, whom he hath long endured and pleaded with in vain. We are fallen, ‘tis true—we found the world fallen into ungodly customs, ‘tis true—here are we full grown and mature in disaffection, most true. And what can we do to repair a ruined world, and regain a lost purity ? Nothing—nothing can we do to such a task. But God hath provided for this pass of perplexity ; he hath opened a door of reconciliation, and laid forth a store of help, and asks at our hand no impossibilities, only what our condition is equal to in concert with his freely offered grace.

‘ These topics of terror, it is very much the fashion of the time to turn the ear from, as if it were unmanly to fear pain. Call it manly or unmanly, it is Nature’s strongest instinct—the strongest instinct of all animated nature : and to avoid it is the chief impulse of all our actions. Punishment is that which law founds upon, and parental authority in the first instance, and every human institution from which

it is painful to be dismembered. Not only is pain not to be inflicted without high cause, or endured without trouble, but not to be looked on without a pang: as ye may judge, when ye see the cold knife of the surgeon enter the patient's flesh, or the heavy wain grind onward to the neck of a fallen child. Despise pain—I wot not what it means. Bodily pain you may despise in a good cause; but let there be no motive, let it be God's simple visitation, spasms of the body for example, then how many give it license, how many send for the physician to stay it? Truly, there is not a man in being, whom bodily pain, however slight, if incessant, will not turn to fury or to insensibility—embittering peace, eating out kindness, contracting sympathy, and altogether deforming the inner man. Fits of acute suffering which are soon to be over, any disease with death in the distance, may be borne; but take away hope, and let there be no visible escape, and he is more than mortal that can endure. A drop of water incessantly falling upon the head, is found to be the most excruciating of all torture, which proveth experimentally the truth of what is said.

‘ Hell, therefore, is not to be despised, like a sick bed, if any of you be so hardy as to despise a sick bed. There are no comforting kindred, no physician's aid, no hope of recovery, no melancholy relief of death, no sustenance of grace. It is no work of earthly torture or execution, with a good cause to suffer in, and a beholding world or posterity to look on, a good conscience to approve, perhaps scornful words to revenge cruel actions, and the constant play of resolution or study of revenge. It is no struggle of mind against its material envelopments and worldly ills, like stoicism, which was the sentiment of virtue nobly down-bearing the sense of pain. I cannot render it to fancy, but I can render it to fear. Why may it not be the agony of all diseases the body is susceptible of, with the anguish of all deranged conceptions and disordered feelings, stinging recollections, present remorse, bursting indignations, with nothing but ourselves to burst on, dismal prospects, fearful certainties, fury, folly, and despair.

‘ I know it is not only the fashion of the world, but of Christians, to despise the preaching of future woe; but the methods of modern schools, which are content with one idea for their gospel, and one motive for their activity; we willingly renounce for the broad methods of the Scripture, which bring out ever and anon the recesses of the future, to up-bear duty and down bear wickedness, and assail men by their hopes and fears as often as by their affections, by the authority of God as often as by the constraining love of Christ, by arguments of reason, and of interest no less. Therefore, sustained by the frequent example of our Saviour, the most tender-hearted of all beings, and who to man hath shewn the most excessive love; we return, and give men to wit, that the despisers of God's law and of Christ's gospel, shall by no means escape the most rigorous fate. Pain, pain inexorable, tribulation and anguish shall be their everlasting doom. The smoke of their torments ascendeth for ever and ever. One frail thread snapped, and they are down to the bottomless pit. Think of him who had a sword suspended by a hair over his naked neck while

he lay and feasted,—think of yourselves suspended over the pit of perdition by the flimsy thread of life—a thread near worn, weak in a thousand places, ever threatened by the fatal shears which soon shall clip it. You believe the Scriptures; then this you believe, which is true as that Christ died to save you from the same.

‘ If you call for a truce to such terrific pictures, then call for mercy against the more terrific realities. But if you be too callous or too careless to call for mercy and ensure repentance, your pastors may give you truce to the pictures, but God will give no abeyance to the realities into which they are dropping evermore, and you shall likewise presently drop, if you repent not.’ pp. 64—8.

It would not be difficult to select from this portion of the volume, other passages of equal force of thought and of expression; but Mr. Irving seems only to be trying his hand in the *Oration*s: he appears still more of the orator, as well as rises higher in the style of his thoughts, in the subsequent series of discourses. We subjoin the contents of the ‘ *Argument*.’

‘ Part I. The plan of the Argument; with an inquiry into Responsibility in general, and God’s right to place the world under Responsibility. II. and III. The Constitution under which it hath pleased God to place the World. IV. The good Effects of the above Constitution, both upon the individual and upon political society. V. Preliminaries of the solemn Judgement. VI. The Last Judgement. VII. The Issues of the Judgement. VIII. The only Way to escape Condemnation and Wrath to come. IX. Review and Application of the Argument.’

We shall not attempt an analysis of the ‘ *Argument*.’ The Preacher takes so wide a range, and his digressions from the main business are so frequent and so excursive, that though his general plan is sufficiently apparent in the discourses, the subjects of which he treats are often but remotely connected with Judgment to come. Mr. Irving displays more of the powerful pleader, than of the severe reasoner, and he may fairly claim, in his pleadings, the licence of the orator. It strikes us, however, that the whole of the fourth discourse, though containing much wholesome truth and noble sentiment, which we should warmly approve in their place, forms an episode rather too foreign from the drift of the Argument. We wish that, instead of being, as we think, injudiciously interwoven in this series, it had been reserved for distinct publication. In illustrating the mixed constitution under which men are placed by the Christian Revelation, Mr. Irving thus vindicates the doctrine of gratuitous Forgiveness from anti-evangelical objectors.

‘ If there had been any condition attached to this boon of forgiveness, we should have been in no better case than before. If it had been required that, anterior to any hope of pardon for past offences, we should be so far advanced in obedience as to be of a reputable character for honesty, or charity, or truth, or to be doing our best to attain it; then, verily, things would have been marred at the very commencement. For it would have been left to self to determine the measure of attainment upon which we could found a claim to the benefit; and the question would have been perplexed anew with that uncertain element of self-adjudication which we have already shewn is enough to shake the stability of any system. Besides, from the nature of man, which always founds a claim of right when a condition is present, it would soon have lost the character of a boon, and failed to make the impression of a free unmerited gift. But, above all, it would have opened the door to self-esteem and partiality, and every kind of palliation, to juggle us into the conceit of having reached the mark at which all was safe. And being persuaded that we were there arrived, all inducement to further efforts would have been taken away when there was no further advantage to be gained.

‘ Fortunately, however, there is no such condition attached. Every one, however enormous his sins, is invited without money, and without price, to enter under this constitution of which the very title is redemption or salvation. Any man who has come to think upon his transgressions, and found no method of escaping from the threatenings of the Divine law, hath here a city of refuge to flee to. Memory is not hindered from mourning over the past, but hope is hindered from ever despairing of the future. The time which might have been consumed in repining over the past not to be reclaimed, the load of unatoned guilt, the fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation, the strength of body and of mind which might have been exhausted in useless penance, are all annihilated at once, by the revelation of forgiveness through Jesus Christ; and we are left free to follow the new course under the full force of the new motives which may be impressed on us, being delivered not only from the impediments arising out of our own heavy conscience, but also from the discouragements which that timorous conscience conjures up in the nature of God. While yet we fear him, and see no common ground on which our sinfulness may meet with his purity and be at peace, there can be no heart in us to draw near. Nature shrinks and shudders at his inspection, while she sees no fair way to his favour. Even before a fellow mortal of great attainments, of severe justice, and of nice power to sift and scrutinize the heart, we shrink back, ~~shuddered~~ if we are conscious of crime, and fear to stand the penetration of his eye. What conscious criminal ever sought the judgment seat, or thought of the inflexible judge but with a shudder that they were to meet so soon? Did it ever happen that a man drowned in debt, could be but bowed down before the creditor to whom he owed it all? Nay, truly, the consciousness of obligation undischarged, of

duty unperformed, of offences done against any one, is like a case of cold steel around the heart, which will neither allow it to glow nor to expand. But if the unsatisfied, injured party should in mercy and in pity discharge the debt at once, then gratitude, admiration, and devotion come to take the place of overwhelming anxiety and fear. The heart is free again, and overcharged with the materials of love and lasting attachment—conscience is delivered of all but a debt of love—the breast is clear except of affection, and a dedication of a noble kind takes place of the slavery in which we were formerly bound. There ensues all the difference between a slave and a free-man, added to all the difference between a free man and a devoted friend. Even such a change, no less, but greater far, takes place upon the mind which hath not feigned a God from its own imagination, but taken him as revealed in his law, when it comes to understand that through Jesus Christ all is wiped into oblivion; that it is free to feel, free to love its Maker, the same as if it had grown up in filial affection, without once having done any offence.’

pp. 177—179.

The close of this discourse is very striking.

‘ Now, as to those who hold out against this constitution of grace and justice and mercy, refusing to shelter themselves beneath law and gospel, the two wings of his love, with which the Lord of Hosts overshadoweth the tabernacles of men, (though this is not the time to speak of judgment,) we cannot close without asking them what defence they can set up for themselves at all. They admire not the purity of the law, else they would long to reach as near to it as possible through the means of the Gospel; they fear not its undischarged demands, else they would flee to the cross of Christ for a ransom; they are not accessible to affection, else Christ’s charities would attract them; they are not grateful for favours, else Christ’s unspeakable gifts would ingratiate him with their souls; they care not for the favour of God, else they would revere its overtures; they are not afraid of judgment, else they would provide against its issues. Heaven they affect not, hell they dread not. The compass of God’s promises containeth no attraction; the scope of his power createth no awe; the magnitude of his threatening engendereth no terror. The past hath no sticking remorse, the womb of the future no fearful presentiments. The present world gloweth before them in all the glory of the New Jerusalem; time filleth their minds like the immensity of eternity; the favour of the world stands them in the stead of God’s. Some form of creation is their idol, some condition of earth their heaven.

‘ Men who have thus stood out against the overtures of God, and steeled their hearts to the noble and engaging sentiments of the Gospel, have made free choice of the fatal consequences, and have themselves alone to blame. They cannot dispute God’s right to place us under government, nor that the constitution of government under which he hath placed us, is well devised to please every good feeling, and to uphold every good interest. In rejecting it, there-



fore, they stand condemned at the bar of every good feeling which refused to listen to his voice, and of every good interest which refused to be built up by his power. And if it should appear, that God denudes their future being of those good feelings which would not hear his voice, and ships them far away from those good interests which would not be upheld by his power, can they have the boldness to complain? Why, the whole matter is before them! They can take or reject; and if they coolly reject, they must stand to the consequences of their choice.

‘No legislator ever pledged himself to make laws which no one would break: neither does God. The legislator makes the best he can devise, and assigns to the breaking of them suitable punishments: so doth God. A culprit may curse the law, but the law seizeth him notwithstanding: so doth God. This is universally held just, wise, and the greatest mercy upon the whole: why should not God have the same verdict of our mind? For no code was ever constructed on such principles of mercy and forgiveness as his, or took such pains to captivate its subjects to obedience. But have our verdict, or not have it, God careth not. He hath prepared a constitution upon which all men may be justified before all created intelligences, and upon which they may be condemned before all created intelligences; upon which he can justify himself to himself, and to the noble orders of creation, and even to our own conscience, reprobate and sunken though it be. That is all, and there needeth no more upon this head of our argument.’ pp. 214—6.

The most ingenious discourse is that on ‘the preliminaries of the judgement,’ and it contains some very striking illustrations of the condition of the separate spirit; but they will not admit of detached extracts. The comment on Matt. xxv. 31. &c. in the following discourse, is more ingenious than satisfactory, but we have not room to enter on the subject. We hasten to give one more extract, which we take from the concluding discourse, in which Mr. Irving has put forth all his strength.

‘Do you disbelieve it then? Do you think God will not be so bad as his word? When did he fail? Did he fail at Eden, when the world fell? Did he fail at the deluge, where the world was cleansed of all animation, save a handful? Did he fail upon the cities of the plain, though remonstrated with by his friend, the father of the faithful? Failed he in the ten plagues of Egypt, or against the seven nations of Canaan; or, when he armed against his proper people, did ever his threatened judgments fail? Did he draw off when his own Son was suffering, and remove the cup from his innocent lips? And think ye he will fail, brethren, of that future destiny, from which to retrieve us he hath undertaken all his wondrous works unto the children of men? Why, if it were but an idle threat, would he not have spared his only begotten Son, and not delivered him up to death? That sacred blood, as it is the security of



heaven to those who trust in it, is the very seal of hell to those who despise it.

‘ Disbelieve you cannot ; brave it out you dare not ; then you must hope, at some more convenient season to reform. So hoped the five virgins who slumbered and slept without oil in their lamps ; and you know how they fared. Neither have you forgotten how the merchant, and the farmer, and the sons of pleasure, who refused the invitation to the marriage feast of the king's son, were consumed with fire from heaven. What is your life, that you should trust in it : is it not even a vapour that speedily passeth away ? What security have you that heaven will warn you before hand, or that heaven will help you to repentance whenever you please ? Will the resolution of your mind gather strength as your other faculties of body and mind decay ? Will sin grow weaker by being a while longer indulged ; or God grow more friendly by being a while longer spurned ; or the Gospel more persuasive by being a while longer set at naught ? I rede you, brethren, to beware of the thief of time, Procrastination. This day is as convenient as to-morrow ; this day is yours, to-morrow is not ; this day is a day of mercy, to-morrow may be a day of doom.

‘ But the work is not the work of a moment, that it should be put off like the making of a will or the writing of a farewell epistle. It is the work of a lifetime, and too great a work for a lifetime. And if St. Paul, after such ceaseless labours and unwearied contentions with his nature, had still his anxieties, and speaks of the righteous\* as being hardly or with difficulty saved, how do you dare to defer it from time to time, as a thing that can at any season, and in any space, be performed ?

‘ And, oh heavens ! is God to be thus entreated by his creatures ? Are they to insist for their own convenience, and put off the honour of his friendship from time to time, preferring this indulgence, that engagement, and trifling downright with his proffered invitations ? And being thus put off, will the King of the Universe endure it patiently ? Yes, he endures it patiently—that is, he leaves you to yourselves, and does not cut you off with prompt and speedy vengeance. But he leaves you to yourselves, and every refusal hardens you a little more, and every resistance closes up another avenue of grace, and every postponement places further off the power of acceptance ; and though God changeth not his mercy, we change our capacity of mercy—cooling more and more, hardening more and more, till old age, with its lethargy and fixed habits, steals on apace, and feeble-mindedness, and sickness, which brings with it the routine of sick-bed attendance, but little or no repentance, no opportunity for new obedience, no space for trying the spirit we are of,—and death to such a penitent becomes a leap in the dark—but, as such penitents are rare or never, death to such procrastinators rivets up

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\* It should be, St. Peter—see 1 Eph. iv. 18.

the closing avenues of grace, and presents him to the judgment-seat, fixed, finished, and incurable!' pp. 545—7.

These extracts will sufficiently justify our high estimate of Mr. Irving's talents, while they at the same time exhibit him as the fearless advocate of Scriptural truth. No reader, we imagine, will call in question, after perusing them, the general correctness of the Author's theological creed. But, since the Preacher has discovered a marked solicitude to be considered as opposed, on some points, to his evangelical brethren, we should not be doing justice either to him or to our readers, to pass over those passages in his work which avow a supposed peculiarity of sentiment.

The first point of difference respects the early use of catechisms, which, 'however serviceable in their place, have,' he remarks, 'the disadvantage of presenting the truth in a form altogether different from what it occupies in the Word itself.' They are not, he says, 'good instruments of education, being above the level of youth and the most of men, addressing only the intellect, and that only with logical forms of truth, not with narrative, with example, with eloquence, or with feeling.' (pp. 11, 43.) We think that there is some truth in Mr. Irving's remark, as applicable to certain doctrinal catechisms. Indeed, we are disposed to go somewhat further than he does: he is 'proud to possess such catechetical books as' his 'church doth acknowledge,' though 'discontented that they should have stepped from their proper place of discerning heresy and preserving in the church a unity of faith.' We deny their adaptation or efficiency for this their alleged proper design, and are discontented altogether with their imposition as tests. And as to the Assembly's Catechism, highly as we venerate the memory of its Authors, we are far from proud of possessing it, its phraseology being, in our opinion, in several instances, highly injudicious, not to say inaccurate. We quite disapprove of it as an instrument of education. But the sweeping objection against Catechisms on the ground of their being above the level of youth, will not apply to many which are in general use among us; and it forms no argument at all against catechetical instruction when properly conducted. We cannot answer for the state of things in Mr. Irving's own country, but we are inclined to think, that a neglect of catechetical forms, and a withholding of doctrinal instruction from the young, is the extreme into which we in England are in much the greater danger of falling, at least as regards the middle classes. If Mr. Irving would discountenance any sort of catechetical instruction, we must protest against his notion

as at war with every rational principle of education. But we apprehend, that, though he has spoken unguardedly, he means only to deprecate the early initiation of children into metaphysical subtleties and controversial divinity. Candour requires us to put this construction on his meaning when taken in connexion with the following judicious remarks.

‘ If you would have your child to flourish in religious life, you must not sequester the subject of religion from your table or your household, nor keep him in the dark till he arrive at years of reflection; but from the first dawn of thought and effort of will, teach him with a winning voice, and with a gentle hand lead him into the ways of God. The raw opinion that a certain maturity of judgment must be tarried for, before entering into religious conference with our children, comes of that notion which pervades the religious world, that religion rests upon the concoction of certain questions in theology, to which mature years are necessary; whereas it rests upon the authority of God, which a child can comprehend so soon as it can the authority of its father; the love of Christ, which a child can comprehend so soon as it can the love of its mother; the assistance of the Spirit, which it can comprehend so soon as it is alive to the need of instruction or of help from its parents; the difference between right and wrong, which it may be taught so soon as it can perform the one and avoid the other. There is a religion of childhood, and a religion of manhood; the former standing mostly in authority, the latter in authority and reason conjoined; the former referring chiefly to words and actions, the latter embracing also principles and sentiments. But because you cannot instil into children the full maturity of religious truth, is no more argument for neglecting to travel with them on religion, than it would be to refuse teaching them obedience to yourself and respect of others, till they could comprehend the principles on which parental obedience and friendly respect are grounded.’ pp. 58, 9.

In this very sensible passage, however, our readers may have observed a reference to ‘ the religious world,’ wearing very much the appearance of contempt. This feeling breaks out, in another discourse, into haughty and unwarrantable aggression.

‘ I am convinced,’ says the Preacher, ‘ from the constant demand of the religious world for the preaching of faith and forgiveness, and their constant kicking against the preaching of Christian morals; the constant appetite for mercy, and disrelish of righteousness and judgment; or, if righteousness, it be the constant demand that it should be the imputed righteousness of Christ, not our own personal righteousness; from these features of the evangelical part of men, I do greatly fear, nay, I am convinced, that many of them are pillowing their hopes upon something else than the sanctification and changed life which the Gospel hath wrought.’ pp. 363.

whether he will hear, or whether he will forbear, we chiefly address Mr. Irving, on this very exceptionable in the language of no unkind remonstrance. We ask in the first place, what he means by 'the religious world,' or the evangelical part of men.' Here is a young man just brought us from Glasgow: what can he know of this re-world, that should justify him in making these general and unjust assertions? Is it seemly, or does it partake of the weakness of wisdom, thus rashly to generalize upon the basis of a few prominent facts, respecting the character of ministers on evangelical preaching? It is true, he does in his place charge the alleged distaste for Christian morals upon preachers; but, where they enjoy any measure of popularity, they must obviously be considered as answering the appetites and demands of their congregations. Taking, for example, the religious world of the metropolis, we would put the matter plainly to the Author's conscience, whether, within the establishment, the preaching of the Rev. Daniel Wilson, or the Hon. and Rev. Gerard Noel, or the Rev. Josiah Pratt or the late John Owen,—all of them deservedly popular ministers—will bear out his allegation. A similar appeal might be made with regard to the most generally known among the leading ministers, whose character Mr. Irving ought to have shown before he ventured on branding them as favourers of nominalism. It will avail nothing in his defence, to cite two or three instances of the *ultra*-evangelical preaching which plainly are the exceptions, which stand aloof, far from their votaries, from the mass of that body which Mr. Irving has unthinkingly calumniated.

We do not complain of the passage simply on account of injustice: its tendency is most pernicious. Mr. Irving is siding with the world, in one of its most tenacious and dangerous prejudices, against evangelical preaching. He is leading his hearers, who are not of a class to be in danger of falling from hyper-calvinism, but who are likely enough to catch the tone of their favourite Preacher in judging and speaking,—what they know little of,—teaching them to regard with scorn and haughty contempt, those ministers who give due reverence to the doctrines of the Gospel. The whole religious world, it seems, has gone wrong; and the constant demand for Christian morals, and the constant kicking against evangelical preaching, which have characterised those who belong to that world, have proceeded, doubtless, from an enlightened jealousy for Gospel sanctification. Mr. Irving stigmatises the prevailing strain of preaching Christ, by 'our pastors,' as most feeble and ineffectual which the Christian world hath ever heard.' Does he mean to tell us that this is the case

with the pastors of the Scottish Kirk, his brethren? If so, we will leave them to make their own defence. But his hearers and readers will make no nice restrictions. They will understand by 'the religious word,' naturally enough, the whole religious world, the Caledonian Chapel and its minister excepted; and their distaste of that world will thus be fortified into a licensed antipathy under the sanction of their Oracle. Mr. Irving has furnished them with the very terms of irreligious sarcasm. 'Why do I hear,' he exclaims, 'the constant babbling about simple reliance and simple dependence upon Christ?' Will Mr. Irving deny that these phrases are at least susceptible of a most important meaning? Does he estimate lightly the danger against which the admonitions they imply, are intended to guard the minds of men? No; this, we are persuaded, he does not. But will his hearers ever again hear such phrases without a sneer? There may be 'babbling' about 'simple reliance' in some quarters, as there may be babbling about any other doctrine; but such 'constant babbling' on these points, we confess we have not been accustomed to hear; nor is it to be heard except from some two or three individuals, with whom Mr. Irving may perchance have come in contact.

But we have again and again complaints against 'the evangelical preachers;' and it is not a little remarkable how petulant, how almost profane and abusive the Author becomes when he touches this string. 'Now I do not wish to go to war with the evangelical preachers,' he says in one place, 'I love them so well; but I cannot help challenging them.' &c. In another, 'Oh! I hate such ignorant prating, because it taketh the high airs of orthodoxy, and would blast me as a heretical liar if I go to teach the people that the word of God is a well-spring of life,' &c. 'But these high airs and pitiful pelting words,' he adds, 'are very trifling to me.' And in a third place, he adopts a style of adjuration, 'In the holy name of Christ, and the three times holy name of God,'—as irreverent as it is uncalled for. Who, then, among the orthodox and evangelical, has been calling Mr. Irving heretic or liar? What private wrong can have stirred him up to take wordy vengeance on the public body? The feeling of irritation is too palpable to be mistaken for high-minded zeal. Whatever be the cause, we trust that the evangelical preachers will know how to return to Mr. Irving's sneers or calumnies, the reply of Calvin to the invectives of Luther: 'Let him call me dog or devil, I will acknowledge him for a servant of God.'

In connexion with one of these challenges to the orthodox, Mr. Irving animadvertes with perhaps a justifiable severity on

certain notions tending to the disparagement of the Word of God. From the general tenor of his remarks, we should have imagined that he was *defending* the sentiments of evangelical preachers against the old Quakers, or some modern opponents of the Bible Society, had he not, strange to say, told us, that he was fighting against the evangelicals, who are, it seems, at once the most active in distributing the Scriptures, and the most dogmatic in depreciating their moral efficacy! It must be not a little amusing, we think, to profane lookers on, to behold this strenuous advocate for the Oracles of God, at such a crisis as this, leaving Dubois and Norris and Carlile to prosecute their devil's work with impunity, while he turns upon the religious world, and rates the evangelicals, the supporters of Missions and Bible Societies, for undervaluing and disparaging the Bible.

Who would not laugh if such a man there be?

Who would not weep if Atticus were he?

We are not blind to the errors and inconsistencies which obtain in the religious world; of which world our knowledge is possibly not less extensive than that to which Mr. Irving can lay claim, while it may be of longer standing. We deprecate as warmly as he, finical creeds, scholastic dogmas, cold, barren systems, and meagre orthodoxy. But such is not, we are happy to think, the prevailing character of the day. Such is not the orthodoxy which has been upheld and vindicated in our pages; and we should gladly have hailed Mr. Irving as an auxiliary, had he not, while holding substantially the same sentiments as ourselves, waywardly persisted in announcing himself as a reformer and an opponent. We say substantially the same, notwithstanding here and there an equivocal phrase or objectionable expression, into which the boldness of his fancy and the immaturity of his judgement may have betrayed him\*. We think that he demands, at the hands of all the friends of religion, the welcome, the candid treatment, and the honour due to no mean champion of the best of causes. On this account, we disdain all petty criticism. The world loves its own; it is never at a loss to palliate the faults of its favour-

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\* Among these, we feel constrained to advert to a passage at p. 459. which, in connexion with some other unguarded expressions, is capable of being much misunderstood, as if sanctioning compliances and indulgencies on the part of religious persons, fatal to the spirit, if not palpably opposite to the letter of Christian morality. Yet, the manner in which Mr. Irving has expressed himself on the subject of wordly pleasures, at p. 441, warrants the persuasion that such a construction would be a perversion of his meaning.



ites, and is often found doting on the very imbecilities of its men of wit and genius. What an ado is it making with its small poets and smaller philosophers! Now, in point of originality, and boldness of thought, and vigour of faculty, and force of expression, we may challenge the whole tribe of infidel witlings and sentimentalist to produce such a volume as this. There is a vast parade of imitating our elder poets and classic writers; but we know of no one among the literati of the day, with the single exception of Coleridge, who has succeeded in catching so large a portion of the spirit of those giant models. Mr. Irving's phraseology is disfigured by the affectation of quaint and obsolete words not worth reviving. This weakness we hope to see him outgrow. But the march of his periods, as well as the occasional beauty of his imagery, (though strength, rather than grace, is the usual attribute of his style,) reminds one continually of Milton's prose writings, without suggesting the idea, as is the case in reading the inflatedrodomontade of Wordsworth, of servile imitation. Then, dismissing the consideration of his style, there is a noble elevation of sentiment pervading the volume, which, in any other than a theological work, would not fail to raise the Author into consideration as a high-minded patriot; and no doubt could be entertained of his success, had he chosen a different sphere for the display of his oratory. We admit that the theological value of the volume is quite independent of these considerations; yet, we cannot suffer the literary merit of the work to be overlooked or depreciated because it is a religious work, when, as a production, it so far transcends, in texture of thought and sterling qualities of mind, the average literature of the day. As a theologian, we confess, we do not think Mr. Irving 'thoroughly furnished.' He is neither so original as he imagines himself, nor as his phraseology may lead others to suppose: which is all the better, for truth is very old, and novelty on such topics is always suspicious. But he has the invaluable art of setting familiar truth in a new light. We do not think him so clear in all his views as he is eloquent in stating them, nor always so judicious as he is explicit, and bold, and impressive. The worst blots in the work, are the imprecations, the assumption of almost inspired authority in his denunciations and anathemas, which nothing short of inspiration can justify. We earnestly conjure him to weed the volume of these revolting improprieties. He adverts in one place to Taylor, to Bates, to Howe, and to Baxter, as master-spirits of 'the olden time.' We cannot offer him better advice than to give his leisure to the last two of these, especially Howe, a master in divinity whom he needs not fear to follow, and whose seraphic spirit he will



be happy in imbibing. Let him eschew Taylor, an unsafe guide and seductive model to one of Mr. Irving's ardent imagination, and converse more with Hooker, and Barrow, and Leighton.

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**Art. II. *Musæ Solitaria*.** A Collection of Original Melodies, adapted to various Measures of Psalms and Hymns; with Words at Length, and a full Accompaniment for the Piano-forte or Organ. Intended as a Help to Devotion, in the Closet or the Domestic Circle. folio. pp. 80. Price 12s. London. 1823.

**T**HIS very elegant volume is the production of the Rev. Mr. Jowett, the brother of the estimable representative of the Church Missionary Society at Malta, at whose request some of the melodies were composed, to suit an Italian version of some of the Psalms by Mattei. It is introduced to the public in a preface distinguished by its unaffected modesty.

‘ It is with much diffidence,’ says the Author, ‘ that the following compositions are submitted to the public eye. They were written, chiefly, for my own private or domestic gratification, and without the least idea of their wandering beyond the circle of my immediate friends. But, finding my manuscripts, in the course of years, considerably multiplied; and being led to suppose that my solitary musings may find acceptance in other families—lovers, like myself, of Sacred Harmony—I venture at length, to print the contents of the present volume. Its pretensions as an original or scientific work, are, I am conscious, very humble. It contains, however, no wilful plagiarisms, and, I would hope, no material offences against good taste and correct composition. Such as it is, I commend it to the indulgence of the Public; having no higher aim, than to assist and edify those who comply with the Apostolic admonition—“ speaking to themselves in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in their heart to the Lord.” ’

It is so long since any contribution has been made to Sacred Music, having pretensions to original talent in combination with devotional feeling, that we must confess we have derived more than ordinary gratification from these chaste and classical compositions. They are evidently the production of no common hand. Scientific without affectation, they discover in every page that acquaintance with musical literature, which, in other things, would be termed scholarship; they are indeed full of classical allusions, but these are perfectly distinguishable from palpable imitation; and frequently, the character of the composition is as original as it is always exquisitely tasteful. But their palmary merit is, that, with an exception or two which we shall presently notice, they breathe that genuine language of devotion which music was, by Him who made us, in-

tended to express, and which we had almost begun to look upon as a dead language, like the Latin, so seldom do we hear it spoken. The melodies are thirty-nine in number. Nos. I. to XXV. are adapted to hymns which may be found in the principal modern collections. The words of Nos. XXVI. to XXXIII. are from the pen of an anonymous writer in the *Christian Observer*. No. XXXIV. is the very beautiful Missionary Hymn by the Bishop of Calcutta. This is followed by three Italian Psalms and a Gloria Patri. The collection closes with 'a humble attempt to give musical expression to one of the most pathetic poems of Henry Kirke White,'—the ode to Disappointment.

The compositions are not intended or adapted for public worship: few of them are in that style of severe simplicity and majestic plainness which choir music demands. Mr. Jowett's taste evidently inclines rather to the ornamental and sentimental in music. And yet, there are traces, if we mistake not, of his study of Handel, that greatest of choralists. No. X. is a noble psalm: the first two bars remind us of that most exquisite air and chorus in the Dettingen Te Deum, 'Lord, in Thee have I trusted;' but the reference is very slight, and only awakes a pleasing recollection, which detracts nothing from the originality of the thought. This air might be introduced into congregational worship with good effect, although we should fear that the delicacy of the third line would be injured. Nos. II. XII. and XIX. might also be safely used in public worship, though of a somewhat different character. The first of these airs is very pleasing and plaintive, and the repetition of the last line of the verse is one of the happiest instances that we recollect, of what we think a much abused and often injudicious practice. The second is meritorious for its great simplicity, and is the more acceptable on account of the paucity of good tunes for that measure. The third\* is a short metre air, characterised by its uncommon elegance. The loveliest things in the volume, however, in our opinion, are those which are adapted exclusively to domestic use, and which depend for their effect on the rich accompaniment. Of this description is the very tasteful and touching melody, No. XXIII., as well as two others in the same fine key of E major, Nos. XXVII. and XXIX., both of them of considerable merit. No. XXVIII., a pastoral air in the key of B minor, is in the style of Corelli: the instrument is indispensable to its execu-

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\* We observe a typographical error in the penultimate bar of the base in this air; D for B.

tion. No. XXXIV., the Missionary Hymn, on this account somewhat disappointed us; it is so absolutely dependent on the accompaniment, and, though not destitute of merit, is by no means happy in expressing the spirit of the hymn, which demanded a graver and chaster melody. We have to complain of a still more palpable want of adaptation in Nos. XVII. XXVI. and XXXV. The first of these seems partly borrowed, though, we doubt not, unconsciously, from a favourite song, "No, 'twas neither shape nor feature." The beginning strongly reminds us of that air, and the words of the song are far more appropriate to the melody, than those of the hymn, which is itself by no means in the best taste,—a lullaby to a dying saint. The words, in the second instance, are very beautiful, but the melody is utterly incongruous; so much so, that we are quite at a loss to account for such an error of judgment and feeling in a man of Mr. Jowett's taste and piety. The last of the three (No. XXXV.) is one of the most elegant and lovely airs in the volume, but nearly as unsuitable for a *Miserere*, as the Dead March in Saul would be to a *Jubilate* or *Magnificat*. No mere English reader would suspect, on hearing the melody, the import of the Italian words. It is followed, however, by an exquisite air, tender, yet solemn, simple in its structure, but rich in harmony. We scarcely know which we prefer, this or No. XXXI.—a composition of very similar character, slightly reminding us of Handel's *Rendi'l sereno*. Both will be favourites. But were we to fix on some one melody as the master-piece, we think it would be the last in the volume, the 'Ode to Disappointment.' This is exceedingly happy in its appropriateness and force of expression, and partakes at once of grandeur and pathos. It is the only *adagio*; indeed, the only instance in which any direction is given to the performer as to time or style, which is an omission in such a work, as the proper effect of many of the melodies absolutely depends on the time. Altogether, the volume does great credit to the fancy, skill, and feeling of the Composer; and in the name of the musical public, we tender him our best thanks for the standing gratification which it will administer. For we will not conceal that we are of the number of those persons who think it "a good thing to give thanks unto the Lord upon an instrument of ten strings, upon the harp with a solemn sound;" only preferring to either harp or any other stringed instrument, one with which the Psalmist, with all due deference to King James's Translators, was certainly unacquainted, the 'breathing organ.'

It was the dry remark of a Protestant clergyman of a foreign communion, himself no mean composer, that the Reformation

in England was a very good thing, only it spoiled all our music. There are many persons on both sides of the Tweed, who will think that it would hardly have deserved the name of a Reformation had it spared our church music. The white shirt is not more abominable to the true-bred disciples of Knox or Cameron, than the 'box of whistles;' and a stringed instrument would scarcely excite less horror in an antiburgher kirk, than a crucifix. And though the prejudice has never perhaps been quite so strong among us, yet, till very recently, all sorts of instrumental accompaniments were regarded by Dissenters in general, as utterly Jewish or Popish in their character, and unseemly in Christian worship. Of late years, however, innovations have been creeping in among us. On the plea of necessity or of expediency, the modest flute has been suffered to perform the functions of the pitch-pipe, and to keep the choir in tune. The violoncello has gained admission, in other places, on the same plausible pretext. By and by, both have been tolerated, or the clarionet has taken the place of the flute, as the bassoon is the substitute for the bass viol. We have actually heard three different instruments; and indeed, as Rippon's tune-book gives the Alto and Counter-tenor of the airs, it is naturally concluded on that high authority, that there is nothing to forbid their being sung and supported in the same way as the undeniably orthodox base. Thus choirs and bands have been formed, and at length, in several popular chapels—far be from ears polite the old-fashioned term meeting house—the experiment has been made, and has succeeded, of introducing an organ.

Now had the progress of musical taste kept pace with this slow-creeping innovation, or, what is of infinitely greater importance, had the mode of conducting the most solemn and delightful part of public worship in our religious assemblies, undergone a corresponding improvement, we should unfeignedly rejoice in the gradual abandonment which has taken place among us to a great extent, of a very venerable, but not very reasonable prejudice. This, however, has not been the case. The contents of our modern tune-books shew very unequivocally that taste has been retrograding; that a love of novelty and noise has taken the place of musical feeling; and the state of our psalmody remains the fit subject for sarcasm, or rather, for serious regret and grave remonstrance. 'Of all our religious solemnities,' was the remark of Dr. Watts, 'psalmody is the most unhappily managed. That very action which should elevate us to the most delightful and divine sensations, doth not only flatten our devotion, but too often awakes our regret, and touches all the springs of uneasiness within us.'

Were the good Dr. to rise from his grave, he would not find matters much better managed among us in the present day; and sorely would it disquiet his spirit, to hear some of his own psalms and hymns performed to the tunes of our modern *dis-composers*. We have long intended to advert to this topic, and the present opportunity seems too fair a one to be let slip, for offering a few desultory remarks on the object which Mr. Jowett has had at heart, the cultivation of sacred music.

To clear our ground, it might once have been needful to begin by discussing the much agitated question, the lawfulness of instrumental music in Christian assemblies. The precedent of the Temple worship was pleaded in vain in its defence, against those sturdy Puritan polemics who demanded express precept for the minutest circumstantial of religious ordinances. We cannot blame them; for what had not been foisted into Christian worship under one pretence or another? But it is strange, that those good and great men should not have perceived, that the true question is, not the lawfulness of instruments, but the lawfulness of music in the service of God. The word 'instrumental' narrowed and perplexed the question; for the lawfulness of music being established, the lawfulness of the instrument would seem to follow in course. To state the matter syllogistically, we might take for our major proposition, that all the means requisite for the due performance of lawful acts, are in themselves lawful. Then, the performance of music in religious worship, is a lawful act, and instruments are requisite to its due performance. *Ergo*, instrumental music is lawful. We are quite aware what would be deemed the vulnerable point in our syllogism. The assumption would be denied, that instruments are requisite to music; and on this we should join issue with our grave respondent. It would now be necessary to review our terms, and call in the aid of definitions; and it would appear to be a question not wholly impertinent, What is music? Our opponent would doubtless maintain, that singing is music, and that instruments are not necessary in order to singing the praises of God. We should, in turn, deny that singing and music are synonymous words. Singing is making a noise, which may be, or may not be music; and if the mere articulation of the praises of God be all that is required in worship, that may be performed without the aid of any tune; the hymn may be said instead of sung, and, along with instruments, all variety of parts at least may be dispensed with. The Quakers are the most consistent anti-harmonists; they content themselves with making melody in their hearts,—with the music of the spheres, and banish instruments, and music,

and singing together. Assuredly, when instruments are banished, music will not be long after them.

We put the question, then, in all gravity, What is Music? Does it consist in singing, or in playing on an organ or a piano-forte, so as to produce an orderly succession of pleasing sounds, or what is termed a tune? So the child thinks when he beats his drum, or listens to the barrel organ. So thinks his sister as she tinkles the piano-forte. Add to a certain agreeable titillation of the auricular organs, the idea of skill in the performance, and you have all that many persons understand by fine music. Accordingly, a new song of Mr. Braham's, a concerto on the violoncello by Mr. Linley, or a noisy chorus, yields, to the majority of those who frequent oratorios and concert rooms, the height of what musical enjoyment they are capable of receiving. And similar is the gratification participated by the young persons in our crowded congregations, in the exultant performance of some four-part tune in Mr. Walker's "Appendix." Such persons are all 'extremely fond of music,' doubtless; and, it may be, excellent singers. Yet, speak to them in the genuine language of music, and you would find, that the greater part had no more ear for it, than the deaf adder. They have no idea of music *as a language*; they do not even understand the expression: it is no language to them. Play to them one of the sublime harmonies of Dr. Croft or Battishill, and it will waken no emotion specifically different from that produced by a noisy vulgar air by some Mr. Leech or Mr. Walker: if the latter were not preferred as the livelier of the two, it would be thought at least not less fitting for the expression of religious sentiments, than the old-fashioned dull tune. To such persons, Mr. Jowett's volume would be a sealed book; or, if some of the brisker airs found favour with them on the score of novelty, wretchedly would they be travestied in the performance. As 'a help to devotion,' they would be of no use to them, although they might be some help to amusement. 'Sacred harmony' means, in common acceptance, nothing more than tunes which it is not profane to sing on a Sunday; and under this phrase, many tunes are gleefully performed by our choirs and congregations, which absolutely verge on profaneness. Of the power of music to express or call up specific emotions, of the adaptation of musical expression to religious sentiments, little or nothing is understood. Hence, no incongruity is perceived when the expression of the air and that of the words are, as frequently happens, contradictory. "Water parted from the Sea," and "Drink to me only," are now-a-days deemed quite as good hymn-tunes as Bedford or Handel's civth.; and whereas our grave forefathers



were apt to make rather dismal merriment when they rejoiced aloud to Crowle tune, their descendants proceed to the far more exceptionable extreme, of complaining of spiritual heaviness in airs borrowed from Vauxhall. All this would be simply ludicrous, if the worship of God were not concerned. The offence against musical taste might be pardoned, if no outrage was committed on religious propriety.

But music is a language, and when introduced into the worship of God, its influence cannot be of a negative character. This deterioration of musical taste is much more intimately connected than many persons imagine, with either the absence or the perversion of those feelings which social worship is designed to call into exercise. That part of the public service of religion which, when properly conducted, is at once the most solemn and the most delightful, is, for the most part, suffered to become a hinderance, rather than a help to devotion. The state of our public singing is, in fact, a disgrace to our churches. We do not say that this arises altogether from the neglect of music; but certainly, matters could never have proceeded to this length, had a proper attention been bestowed on the cultivation of ecclesiastical music as a part of Divine worship. We are quite satisfied, that, if music is not worth being cultivated for religion's sake, singing ought to be banished from our places of worship. If music is not capable of aiding devotion, it is certainly very capable of destroying it, and what were so much worse than useless, had better be dispensed with. We cannot consent to regard this subject as one of subordinate importance. What may be the value or beneficial influence of music in itself considered, or viewed as a secular amusement, we care not to determine; we are speaking of it as connected with that sacred object which reflects its own dignity and importance on every thing belonging to it. We think that there are religious motives which urge an attention to music as a science; because it is only when studied as we would study any other language, that we can learn to speak and understand it aright. There is no religion in music, we admit; but, if music were not capable of subserving a religious purpose, it would never have been made a part of Divine worship. We might go further, and say, that we should not, in that case, have been made susceptible of the pleasures of music. He who created us what we are, as regards our physical capacities, has made us what we are for his own glory; and, in endowing us with this extraordinary faculty of giving melodious expression to our feelings, and in making us capable of the physical emotions produced by harmony, the Almighty doubtless had in view some end connected with that only worthy purpose of



our being. The very design of music, considered as the law of sounds, would seem to be, the connecting of delight with the liturgical adoration of the Deity. Music is the native language of delight: it may be made to express sorrow or complaint, or other pensive emotions, but this is only as there is a 'joy in grief,' a solace in complaint, a rapture in the tears of contrition and in the sigh of hope, which come the nearest to the unmixed delights which awake and sustain the harmonies of heaven. And the delight which music was designed to express, is that of the happy being joying in his Creator and in the works of his hands. The long divorce which both the science and the practice of music have suffered from its genuine purpose, has well nigh obliterated, in the minds of most persons, all idea of its Divine origin, and, with that, all sense of the wisdom and goodness displayed in that law of our physical constitution on which it depends. It is thought of as the mere invention of man, being identified with the abuses to which it has been perverted, rather than with its true design. Man, however, was no more the author of the musical scale, than he was of the rainbow. The facts which are the basis of all harmony,—the chord which is heard when a single note is struck upon a bell; the responsive vibrations of solid bodies to some one note of the scale; that exquisite phenomenon, the Eolian harp, which gives forth such varied and expressive harmony from strings tuned in unison; the inherent and inexplicable difference of expression between the major and the minor modes, which even an infant perceives when the minor third is struck instead of the major chord;—all these facts, we say, belong as much to the laws of nature, are as much proofs of all-wise and beneficent design, as the phenomena of optics and the magnificence of the visible creation. Music is a human science, just as the other branches of natural philosophy are human sciences; it may be considered, indeed, as almost a branch of the mathematics,—the link between abstract truth and sensitive pleasure, the algebra of feeling. But though a human science, it is no more a human invention than the Divine gift of speech. It is a low and degrading view of music, which considers it as primarily an amusement, although it is perhaps the most innocent and rational of amusements. It is at least capable of being something much more than this. Its lowest praise is, that it is one of the few sensitive pleasures that leave no stain; it can excite the imagination without polluting it. But its acknowledged power of suspending the force of the angry passions, and of quieting the mind, as well as of predisposing to the exercise of the social affections, gives it the character of a moral medicine, and illustrates its fitness for the purposes of

in. We need not go to heathen fable in proof of its and medicative power. The manner in which the harp Son of Jesse wrought on Saul, is matter of history. The predisposing power of music seems at least to be recorded when it is said, that the prophet Elisha, on being called of by the confederate kings of Israel, Judah, and called for a minstrel, and that "when the minstrel played, the hand of the Lord came upon him."\* Then, will it be contended for a moment, that our church or congregational singing, is music, or is adapted to the moral purpose of music? Any thing but this. It is to relieve the preacher, to display the tuneful gifts of the soloist or the choir, to amuse that portion of the congregation who delight to exercise their voices, and possibly, to soothe the ears of good people who are blessed with no ear for music, and who, though they cannot tell one tune from another, can make melody in their hearts to the Lord. But it is by means of distraction *from* the music, not by its aid, that any persons devoid of musical feeling, are enabled to join with any company in the public worship. Often and often have we had occasion to regret our unfortunate sensibility of ear, (though means excessive or fastidious,) when chained by proximity to our seat in the house of prayer during the vociferations of a graceless band. Often has the exclamation of good Mr. Ryland, of Northampton, on one occasion, occurred: 'Do ye call that singing? If the angels in heaven were to hear ye, they would come down and wring your necks

are far from supposing that the introduction of instruments would remedy this state of things: it might only aggravate the evil. An organ has the good effect of drowning the vociferations of the clerk, and of softening down the shouts of the singers; but an organ may be a sad nuisance. It must, however, be admitted, that any thing like music is seldom obtainable without the aid of an organ; first, because music can scarcely be acquired only by means of an instrument; secondly, because it requires far more skill to *perform* the simplest harmony without the aid of instruments; thirdly, because all our notions are in favour of the religious use of the organ, where there is a solemnizing effect in its tones; and fourthly, because organ music is, in a general way, more nearly allied to a religious feeling, than vocal music adapted for any other species of accompaniment. It is not that the instrument is indispens-

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\* 2 Kings iii. 15.

able to the physical performance of the vocal worship, but it is all but morally necessary to its due performance;—necessary to the maintenance of a devotional taste in our congregations, in connexion with genuine musical feeling, and, in a word, to the very existence of church music. It is a fact, that where there is no organ, or no instrumental substitute for an organ, the unrivalled compositions of the old masters are very rarely heard. Take, for instance, one of the very finest psalm tunes in existence, St. Matthew's, which it was never our good fortune to hear sung in any Dissenting place of worship in our lives, and which we believe to be quite unknown to the majority of our congregations. Others of the same class might be mentioned. On the other hand, when the attempt is made to perform some of the modern tunes on the organ, the effect is almost ludicrous, the impropriety palpable. The organ will not lend itself to such mean and puerile expression: it is, therefore, a kind of security against the total depravation of taste, which has inundated us with snatches of glees, and jigs, and marches, and other musical patchwork, in lieu of 'devotional harmony.' Besides, an organist must have some knowledge of music and musical expression: our singing clerks have, for the most part, none.

But our liking for organists, is, we confess, not much greater than for singing clerks. We as little approve, at least, of entrusting the direction of Divine worship in the hands of the salaried musician, as in those of the hired vocalist. Singing either is a part of worship, or it is not. If it is not, it ought to be done away with. If it is, it ought not to be thought beneath the attention of the officers of the church. In this respect, as in almost every other connected with the administration of public worship, the Moravian churches set a most instructive example. One of their ministers was once asked by a clergyman of the Church of England, who found him presiding at the organ, what steps he should take in order to introduce such a style of playing in his own church. 'Send away your organist,' was the advice given in reply. 'But such singing too!' 'Send away your clerk.' The clergyman naturally inquired, who was to supply their places. 'Is it possible,' was the reply, 'that no person could be found among the pious members of your congregation, who would esteem it an honour to be so employed in the service of God; no young lady, who could preside at the organ; no ecclesiastic who would, as among us, when his services were not elsewhere demanded, assist at this most solemn part of the worship?' The clergyman came away, we fear, disheartened. "Who is there among you," it might well be said to our modern congregations,

"that would shut the doors for nought? neither do ye kindle fire on mine altar for nought." Those readers who may be disposed to think that we are laying too great stress on the degradation of our psalmody, will do well to reflect on the contempt into which the office of clerk has in consequence fallen. By one of those singular changes in the conventional use of a word, which shew how imperfect a guide is etymology, that word which still in legal and ecclesiastical documents is used to describe a person in holy orders, has become so identified with an inferior office in the church, as to denote, in common parlance, a person not recognized as an ecclesiastic; a stipendiary generally taken from the humblest ranks, and employed more out of regard to his necessities, than his qualifications. The clerk of the congregation is a hired servant who ranks with the pew-openers or the sexton. In the Establishment, indeed, his other parochial duties lift him up into a little authority; besides which, his emphatic Amen is almost as essential to the service, as the functions of the organ-blower to the performer. But among Dissenters, he is only a person who lets out his voice one day in the week at so much *per annum*, and whose motive for undertaking the drudgery is supplied by his poverty. No wonder, then, that the office of clerk should be regarded as a menial one, though it is he, in fact, who is entrusted with the direction of the most solemn part of the public service, and who, in most instances, actually opens the service. If the choice of the hymn is not absolutely or uniformly left to him, the tune by which that hymn may be rendered worse than unmeaning, is left to his discretion. Our ministers would think it quite beneath them to pay the least attention to the adaptation of a tune to the words; and their interference would be sorely complained of by their coadjutor in the desk below. The preacher and the singer are two independent and jealous authorities, who share between them the conducting of the worship; and hence, not unfrequently, the impression produced by the one, is fairly counteracted or effaced by the feelings excited by the other. These two parties walk together without being agreed, and sadly does their inharmonious proceeding mar the service.

What have Dissenters to do with clerks? They are not wanted to perform the responses. There is no more Scripture authority for clerks, than for surplices or organs. Necessary they cannot be, except in a state of things which they have been the means of producing, in which it would be thought an act of condescension for a deacon or other pious member of the church, to give out the hymn, or pitch the tune. For our own part, we think that there is a gross impropriety in the

hymns being given out by any other than the minister ; at least, when the service is opened with singing. There could be no objection to his reading the hymn from the pulpit ; and then, if it be requisite to give out the lines, he might devolve that office on his deacon. The only inconvenience would be, that he must then look out his chapters, and arrange his notes, before the commencement of the service, instead of during the singing ; a necessity which we should by no means regret. But we must contend that the music also is the business of the minister : he is responsible for every part of the service, and for the manner of conducting it. The reader or choir-leader is his deputy, and ought to be of his own election. If he has not himself a knowledge of music, he wants just that one qualification for his station in the church of God, because he is not competent to preside over the whole service. But, in that case, he ought to see to it, that the congregation do not suffer through his defect. Music is, however, a relaxation so beneficial to studious men, that the time required for attaining a competent knowledge of the science, would not be unprofitably employed by the young academic. It would at all events be well, that an organ should be placed in the halls of all our colleges. A taste, or at least a habit of feeling, would by this means be insensibly acquired by our young ministers, which would prevent their tamely being parties to the violation of all musical and all devotional propriety in the performance of the singing. But where there is an organ, it ought to be made a point of conscience, in no case to employ as organist, an individual not of a decidedly religious character. If "holiness unto the Lord," is to be "upon the bells of the horses," much more ought it to be upon "the bowls before the altar." Why should it be regarded as less than an honour, to be entrusted with the management of any part of the worship of God ? Surely, among the members of the church, some person might be found, sufficiently accomplished to give proper effect to our old church harmonies, and glad to embrace such an opportunity of redeeming the time and expense squandered on an otherwise worthless accomplishment, by consecrating the talent to the service of God. Music was not meant only for the drawing-room or the concert-room : its proper sphere is the home circle or the house of prayer. Worthless for the purpose of display, and often wearisome as a mere amusement, its true use and power are known only to those who have found it the solace of their lonely hours, and have experienced its heart-felt charm when made a strictly domestic gratification, or employed in family devotion. The English misuse music as they do wine : as a cordial it is inestimable, but its effect is changed,

when consumed in large quantities as a luxury. We flatter ourselves, that we are a musical nation, because piano-fortes are now to be found in every house. It is a great mistake. The finest music in existence is suffered to lie neglected in cathedral or private libraries, and would not sell sufficiently to pay the expense of its publication, while nothing can be viler than the trash which is forced into circulation by music and singing masters. Our oratorios are annually performed—we are no advocates for sacred theatricals—but even these will not go down with the public, without the stimulus of a heterogeneous grand selection, a bravura or two, and some musical slight of hand tricks or feats of dexterity on the violoncello or flute. It is to hear Mr. Braham sing, or Mons. Drouet perform, not to hear Handel, that nine-tenths of the audience pay their money. Our fashionable subscription concerts are kept up by similar means, and the selections are confessedly adapted, not to the taste of the lovers of music, but to the wayward demand of the fashionable public. To come lower, much lower down, there is a section of the London religious world who attend Sunday evening lectures, to whom the singing is the chief attraction. But the singing of what? Of Croft or Purcell, of Handel or Mozart? No, it matters not what composer; it is the singer,—some pragmatical, affected professor of psalmody. So low is musical taste at the present moment, alike in high life and in middle life, in the fashionable and in the *professing* world!

But our present concern is with sacred music alone, which we feel no ordinary anxiety to rescue from its present state of deterioration and neglect. Some recent attempts have been made to improve our psalmody, which are of a description adapted to throw us still further back from genuine church music. The trash contained in Walker's Appendix to Rippon's tunes, is below contempt, and by far the greater part of the original selection is quite unfit for any devotional purpose. But Mr. Gardiner's volumes have high pretensions. His first volume is, upon the whole, an admirable selection, in point of musical science, though not always happy in adaptation; but in the second, he has gone beyond the utmost bounds of propriety or correct feeling in the attempt to apply secular music to sacred purposes. There can be no necessity for this mischievous practice. There is an ample sufficiency of sacred music, without torturing minuets and arias into hymn tunes. One ingenious gentleman has found words for the Dead March in Saul, in Hymn lxiii. of Dr. Watts's second book. This is not quite so bad as the mis-accommodation of Mozart's exquisite duet in *La Clemenza di Tito*, *Ah perdona*, to sacred words,—a composition characteristically amatory, tender and elegant



in the highest degree, but utterly removed from devotional expression. In these cases, it is not the fitness of the air, but its mere popularity, which leads to the injudicious attempt to press it into the service of devotion; but these divorced melodies will never match well with the new sentiments. Religion and good taste alike reprove such alliances. It was a bad example which Dr. Arne set the musical world, in the oratorio of Redemption, which consists of a selection from Handel's Italian operas, set to sacred words. Although the most tasteful and successful effort of the kind, the airs are by no means suited, in many instances, to their second partners. Any person of taste, familiar with "Verdi prati," "Non vi piacque," and several others that might be mentioned, will not easily be reconciled to their English dress. An instance occurs to us at this moment, in which the beauty of the original is palpably sacrificed. The touching cadence at the word *madre* in "Rendi il sereno," falls, in "Lord, remember David," on the words 'Teach him,' than which nothing can be more unmeaning. Handel would not have done this. To find words for music, instead of musical expression for words, is quite reversing the order of things: it shews that the true end of music is but little attended to. An air adapted to any words, must be destitute of character or force of expression, and cannot be fit for devotional use. But there is no paucity of genuine church music. The works of foreign composers, to say nothing of native masters of the old school, contain an almost inexhaustible fund, hitherto but little drawn upon. The works even of the incomparable Mozart are very partially known in this country. Those of Sebastian and Emanuel Bach, of Michael Haydn, and other eminent composers of church-music, specimens of which Mr. Latrobe has brought forward, are still less known. The compositions of Mr. Latrobe himself are of a very high order, marked perhaps by science more than by originality of conception, but always full of character. In the selection published by Seeley\*, (we believe under his auspices,) which is unquestionably the best collection of Psalmody extant, there are several compositions of extraordinary beauty and merit; in particular, those of Knecht, the Rev. S. Fripp, and Miss Bean. A very admirable air is to be found in Cahusac's collection, called St. John's, composed by the late Rev. Richard Cecil; and one in the same volume, called New Sarum, by the Editor, is distinguished by its singular elegance. Such individual contributions are the more valuable as springing ordinarily from

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\* "Devotional Harmony." 2 vols. long 4to.



genuine feeling, or being struck off in a happy mood. We do not want for good music; the deficiency is in the demand for it.

But how, it may be said, is the evil to be remedied? How do we get our congregations to acquire taste and musical feeling? Is every tradesman to turn fidler, every mechanic to learn thorough base? We anticipate a hundred similar idle questions, arising from a mistaken view of the subject, or a perverse misconception of our sentiments. It is not necessary for every individual in our congregations to understand music; but all are more or less sensibly acted upon by it, or by that which is substituted for it, so as to have their feelings disturbed, their devotion interrupted by what is uncongenial and foreign from the character of worship; or else so as to have a boisterous levity of feeling excited by the noisy caroling in which they join. It is not for the gratification of the musical, that we chiefly desire reform in our congregational worship, but for the bringing of a better influence to bear on the minds of even the most tasteless and unmusical. Children and savages are susceptible of the effect of genuine music, although they have no knowledge of it; nor is it necessary to be possessed of musical taste, in order to be quite differently affected by different styles of composition. It is doubtless owing to a want of taste that such vulgar airs as many of the modern popular psalm tunes, are preferred to Abridge, or St. Ann's, or Charmouth, or Islington. But this want of taste is connected with a want of devotional feeling, a moral distaste for the solemnity appropriate to religious services; and on this account do we consider it as highly inexpedient to give way to this irreligious taste. The objection to the gravity of the old tunes, is as heartless as it is tasteless. It is a mistake to imagine, that the majority in our congregations give into this rage for noise and novelty: it is the doing of the clerk and his confederates. Nothing is more striking than the sort of general earnest feeling with which a whole congregation will take part in the Old Hundred or some such noble harmony, after the meagre and partial performance of some ridiculous novelty. It is not to be denied, however, that the rich harmonies of the old masters require instrumental aid, to develop their full meaning and grandeur, unless uncommonly well supported in all their parts, by practised voices; and it forms, in our opinion, one recommendation of instruments, that they leave less to be done by the singer, affording more room for display, and leaving the mind more at leisure to attend to the sentiment, and to *feel* it. To think or feel during the singing of many modern psalm-tunes, is quite out of the question: the singer is too busy and too elated to care much about the words. And this forms the best excuse, bad

as it is, for the apparent complacency with which some hymns are sung, which never ought to have found a place in our hymn books. If a congregation really did think of what they were singing, it is impossible that they could express horrible joy that

‘ Broad is the road that leads to death,  
And thousands walk together there—’

Or that

—‘ Vengeance and damnation lies  
On those who dare refuse his grace.’

What must an infidel or gainsayer think, on hearing such hymns noisily performed to some brisk melody? There is a tune called *Job*, which is not destitute of solemnity, and would be one of the best of modern favorites, did it not require the first half of the line to be repeated, which is often inconvenient, and generally unmeaning. We have heard this tune sung to Hymn 100, Book ii. of Dr. Watts, in the last verse of which, the *repeat* has a most dreadful and disgusting effect; not worse, however, than in the first verse of Hymn 128 of Book i. Yet are such words coolly and complacently sung, to the disgrace of minister and people. The 92nd psalm of Dr. Watts is not unfrequently sung to Derby tune, in which there is an awkward fugue, which divides the last lines at the fifth syllable. We have again and again noticed with what peculiar spirit the clerk reiterates,

‘ Blast them in ever——’

Instances of this description might easily be multiplied; some of an irresistibly ludicrous kind. Bath Chapel tune, for example, sung to Hymn 20, Book i. gives, in the second verse, the following repeat,

‘ Upon a poor *pol*’——

The absurd introduction of fugues has in like manner converted many of our hymns into catches, and it is difficult to acquit the composer in all cases of a facetious design. Catches and glees are, indeed, apparently the model for modern psalmody, and many tunes are literally taken from them. We like a good glee, we confess, and are admirers of Calcott, and Webbe, and Lord Mornington; but we have no wish to hear ‘The Red-Cross Knights,’ or ‘Here in cool Grot,’ performed to sacred words, though we think they would go down with some congregations.

The subject has led us further than we intended, but we must now draw in. We cannot, however, close this article

without noticing a praiseworthy attempt, made two or three years ago, to 'reform the practice of singing in the worship of God,' by the Author of a small volume, the title of which we give below\*. Although written in a spirit rather too dogmatical, and we do not on every point agree with him, it contains many useful observations, and the Author deserves well of the religious public. In closing these desultory remarks, we would wish to lead our readers back to the point on which they have hinged—that Music is the gift of God; that its true character is not that of an amusement, but of a medium of expression, a symbolical language; that its noblest purpose is, the excitement and expression of devotional feeling, and that its adaptation to this end gives it a claim to be studied and cultivated as a science and as a language; that it has a religious value, and ought, therefore, to rank among things ecclesiastical. Possibly, we may have touched some discords: our conclusion shall, to all musical ears, resolve them.

'Touching musical harmony,' says old Hooker, 'whether by instrument or by voice, it being but of high and low in sounds a due proportionable disposition, such notwithstanding is the force thereof, and so pleasing effects it hath in that very part of man which is most divine, that some have been thereby induced to think that the soul itself by nature is, or hath in it harmony. A thing which delighteth all ages, and beseemeth all states; a thing as seasonable in grief as in joy; as decent being added unto actions of greatest weight and solemnity, as being used when men most sequester themselves from action. The reason hereof is an admirable facility which music hath to express and represent to the mind more inwardly than any other sensible mean, the very standing, rising, and falling, the very steps and inflections every way, the turns and varieties of all passions, whereunto the mind is subject; yea, so to imitate them, that whether it resemble unto us the same state wherein our minds already are, or a clean contrary, we are not more contentedly by the one confirmed, than changed and led away by the other. In harmony, the very image and character, even of virtue and vice, is perceived, the mind delighted with their resemblances, and brought, by having them often iterated, into a love of the things themselves. For which cause there is nothing more contagious and pestilent than some kinds of

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\* "A View of Modern Psalmody, being an Attempt," &c. By William Cole. 12mo. Price 3s. 6d. 1819.

' harmony; than some, nothing more strong and potent unto  
 ' good. And that there is such a difference of one kind from  
 ' another, we need no proof but our own experience, in as much  
 ' as we are at the hearing of some more inclined unto sorrow and  
 ' heaviness, of some more mollified and softened in mind; one  
 ' kind apter to stay and settle us, another to move and stir our  
 ' affections. There is that draweth to a marvellous grave and  
 ' sober mediocrity; there is also that carrieth as it were into  
 ' ecstasies, filling the mind with a heavenly joy, and for the  
 ' time in a manner severing it from the body; so that al-  
 ' though we lay altogether aside the consideration of ditty or  
 ' matter, the very harmony of sounds being framed in due sort,  
 ' and carried from the ear to the spiritual faculties of our souls,  
 ' is by a native puissance and efficacy greatly available to bring  
 ' to a perfect temper whatsoever is there troubled, apt as well  
 ' to quicken the spirits as to allay that which is too eager,  
 ' sovereign against melancholy and despair, forcible to draw  
 ' forth tears of devotion, if the mind be such as can yield them,  
 ' able both to move and moderate all affections.....

' They which, under pretence of the Law Ceremonial abro-  
 ' gated, require the abrogation of Instrumental music, approving  
 ' nevertheless the use of Vocal melody to remain, must hew  
 ' some reason wherefore the one should be thought a legal cere-  
 ' mony, and not the other. In Church Music, curiosity and  
 ' ostentation of art, wanton, or light, or unsuitable harmony,  
 ' such as only pleaseth the ear, and doth not naturally serve to  
 ' the very kind and degree of those impressions which the  
 ' matter that goeth with it, leaveth, or is apt to leave, in men's  
 ' minds, doth rather blemish and disgrace that we do, than add  
 ' either beauty or furtherance unto it. On the other side, these  
 ' faults prevented, the force and the efficacy of the thing itself,  
 ' when it drowneth not utterly, but fitly suiteth with matter,  
 ' altogether sounding to the praise of God, is in truth most  
 ' admirable, and doth much edify, if not the understanding,  
 ' because it teacheth not, yet surely the affection, because  
 ' therein it worketh much. They must have hearts very dry  
 ' and tough, from whom the melody of the psalms doth not  
 ' sometime draw that wherein a mind religiously affected de-  
 ' lighteth.\*

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\* Eccl. Pol. B. v. § 38.

- Art. III. 1. *The Manuscript of 1814.*** A History of Events which led to the Abdication of Napoleon. Written, at the Command of the Emperor, by Baron Fain, Secretary of the Cabinet at that Epoch. 8vo. pp. 412. London. 1823.
- 2. *Memoirs of the History of France during the Reign of Napoleon.*** Dictated by the Emperor at St. Helena to General Gourgaud. Vol. II. 8vo. pp. 395. London. 1823.
- 3. *Memoirs of the History of France during the Reign of Napoleon.*** Dictated by the Emperor at St. Helena to the Count de Montholon. Historical Miscellanies. Vol. II. 8vo. pp. 471. London. 1823.
- 4. *Memorial de Sainte Hélène.*** Journal of the private Life and Conversations of the Emperor Napoleon at Saint Helena. By the Count de Las Cases. Vol. III. Parts 5 and 6. 8vo. pp. 703. London. 1823.

**T**HESE volumes, like the former publications of the same authors, contain a considerable mass of interesting matter, but they are extremely deficient in originality, the quality which might have been expected to be their peculiar distinction.

We are unwilling to engage in an unprofitable investigation of doubts respecting the genuineness or the authenticity of the "Memoirs," since it must rest upon a series of probabilities, and comparisons of style, opinions, and dates, which, independently of their uncertainty, would afford small gratification to either ourselves or our readers. A much more important inquiry suggests itself in the question, how far they may be available as materials for history; and there can be little difficulty in answering this. The chief value (and we are by no means inclined to under-rate it) of these memoranda, consists in the clear, compressed, and striking summaries, descriptions, reasonings, criticisms, and estimates, which they contain, and which appear to us strongly marked with the well known peculiarities of Napoleon's style; though we cannot avoid an occasional suspicion, that certain portions have been either interpolated or accommodated. Be this as it may, the work, were it less desultory in its construction, would be invaluable as, in many instances, a key, in all an index, to the most remarkable series of transactions, recorded in the story of the world. The moral qualities of these miscellanies are more questionable. They are disfigured by the most obvious partiality. The chain of events is correctly laid out, and the leading features accurately and boldly sketched; but the details and colouring are inserted with a view to specific effect, and to a favourable or disadvantageous impression, suited to

the narrator's prejudices, interests, or love of fame. If there were no other ground for suspicion, it would be quite sufficient to justify our want of confidence, that Napoleon scarcely ever admits himself to have been in error. He may have failed from misinformation, from the necessity of acting on imperfect intelligence or with inadequate means; his generals and ministers may have been inert or unskilful, his enemies may have been victorious by treachery or overwhelming numbers; but all this not only never includes the admission of fallibility in his personal resources, but is palpably brought forward to enhance his fame, and to hold him up to general admiration, as a worker of political and military miracles. A low and despicable jealousy displays itself on all occasions. His favourite generals are praised only as admirable instruments, justifying the skill displayed in their selection, and are severely criticised when their want of success may be considered as resulting from the defectiveness or the impracticability of their Master's plans. His statements of numbers are, we imagine, utterly worthless, and garbled with the utmost inconsistency to suit his purposes. When the energy of his government is the subject, its effects are exhibited in the immense numbers of men raised, the completeness of their discipline and equipment, and the successful activity of every department of administration. When other generals, especially if they were his personal enemies, are in command, their means are described as ample, their movements unskilful, their successes doubtful, and their failures inexcusable. But when he takes the field, it is with inferior numbers; his manœuvres are models of military combination, and his discomfitures the result either of circumstances impossible to provide against, or of deficiency on the part of his inferior agents. His jealousy of Moreau appears to have been excessive. The battle of Hohenlinden has been before referred to in language of depreciation; and in the volume of *Memoirs* before us, a detailed and malignant criticism proves, that the laurels of the victor had deprived Napoleon, if not of sleep, at least of candour. The army of Moreau is described as far superior to that of the Austrian Archduke John, both in numbers and in quality; the movements of the French commander, both before, during, and after the battle, are represented as hazardous and unscientific; the victory as merely 'a fortunate chance,' and an event which 'ought not to be ascribed to any manœuvre, combination, or military genius.'

Making, however, all due allowance for these and other defects, these volumes will furnish much valuable illustration of the views and acts of Napoleon; and they give in many instances a more distinct exhibition of the motives which decided

his conduct, and the plans by which his movements were directed, than we have elsewhere seen. They shew the determined and unhesitating character of the wonderful individual to whom they relate,—deciding while others were defining, and in vigorous action while his opponents were scarcely entering on preparation. They shew, too, the error of those who have been accustomed to think of him as nothing more than a rash, headlong, and fortunate soldier, rushing fiercely onward without making provision for disastrous contingencies. Even in his Russian campaign, the most daring in enterprise, and the most fatal in result, of all his undertakings, he was careful of his communications. In answer to a military critic who had reproached him with risking ‘an invasion in the Asiatic style,’ taking the distant line of the Vistula as the base of his operations, and neglecting the nearer and more important line of the Niemen, he replies :

‘ The space of four hundred leagues between the Rhine and the Boristhenes, was occupied by friends and allies ; from the Rhine to the Elbe, by the Saxons ; thence to the Niemen by the Poles ; thence to the Boristhenes by the Lithuanians. The army had four lines of fortresses ; those of the Rhine, the Elbe, the Vistula, and the Niemen ; on the latter were Pillaw, Wilna, Grodno, and Minsk ; as long as it had not passed the Boristhenes at Smolensko, it was a friendly country. From Smolensko to Moscow there were a hundred leagues of hostile country ; that is to say, Muscovy. Smolensko was taken and armed, and became the pivot of the march on Moscow. Hospitals for 3000 men were established there, with magazines of military stores, which contained more than 250,000 cartridges for cannon, and considerable supplies of clothing and provisions. Between the Vistula and the Boristhenes 240,000 men were left ; 160,000 only passed the bridge of Smolensko, to march on Moscow. Of these, 40,000 remained to guard the magazines, hospitals, and depôts of Doregholowy, Viazma, Ghjot, and Mozajsk ; 100,000 entered Moscow ; and 20,000 had been killed in the march, and in the great battle of the Moskowa, in which 50,000 Russians perished.’

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‘ The march from Smolensko to Moscow was founded on the idea, that, in order to save that capital, the enemy would fight a battle ; that he would be defeated ; that Moscow would be taken ; that Alexander, to preserve or deliver his capital, would make peace ; or that, if he should refuse to make it, the immense stores of that great city, and the 40,000 free and wealthy burghers, sons of freedmen or traders, who inhabited it, would furnish the means of forming a national *noyau* for raising an insurrection of all the slaves in Russia, and striking a fatal blow at that empire. The idea of burning a city almost as extensive as Paris, containing 300,000 souls, was not regarded as a possibility.’ *Historical Miscellanies.* pp. 95, 96. 99, 100.



There is, probably, something of exaggeration in this favourable estimate of his resources ; and he was blameable in leaving behind him so large a portion of auxiliary troops, who certainly did not exhibit much zeal or talent in co-operating with his movements. Schwartzenburg, in particular, behaved with suspicious fidelity, or with egregious imbecility ; and, with the exception of the French generals opposed to Wittgenstein and Tchitchagoff, and of the Polish general Dombrowski, none of the commanders of the Reserves seem to have conducted themselves with energy or ability. Enough, however, will remain, after every deduction, to prove that Napoleon did not neglect his rear, and that he did not hurry forward in that senseless and uncalculating manner with which he has been reproached. There is an error in the statement, that Admiral Tchitchagoff's plan was ' not to take possession of the Beresina, but to proceed to the Dwina to cover St. Petersburg.' That officer was directed to effect a junction with Wittgenstein, who was coming down *from* the Dwina to cut off the retreat of the French, and whose division it was, that inflicted such severe loss on the latter at the passage of the Beresina. We shall add a short extract in continuation of this subject, for the purpose of shewing the nature of the resources which, in the campaign of Dresden and Leipsic, he had provided in anticipation of possible failure.

' During the campaign of 1813, 1st, our first line of places and magazines comprised Kœnigstein, Dresden, Torgau, Wittemberg, Magdeburg, and Hamburg ; our second line Minden, Leipsic, Merseburg, Erfurth, and Wurtzburg ; 2ndly, our *têtes-de-pont* on the Saale were Merseburg, Weissenfels, and Naumberg ; 3rdly, the Duke of Castiglione commanded an army of reserve on the right of the Saale ; and there was a division of reserve at Leipsic. The position of the army was deteriorated by the accident of the bridge at Leipsic, but on arriving at Erfurth, the troops would have found considerable magazines of every kind : there they were to halt, and supply their waggons ; and, after two days rest, they were to manœuvre against the dispersed forces of the allies. The arrival of Marshal Wrede's Austro-Bavarian army on the Maine, by forced marches, obliged them to march immediately on Hanau, to re-establish communications with Mentz.

' The disasters of the Russian campaign arose from the premature change of the season. Those of the campaign of Saxony were the result of political events.—Perhaps it will be said, that these political events ought to have been foreseen : be it so, but after all, the result of this campaign would have been totally different, had it not been for the defection of the Saxon and Bavarian troops, and the alterations which took place in the policy of several Cabinets.'

*Historical Miscellanies.* pp. 113, 14.

There is a curious calculation in this part of the work, to prove that, 'of all the powers in Europe, France is that which has suffered the least losses since 1800.' This assertion is mainly founded on the fact, that a large portion of the French armies was composed of auxiliaries. It is affirmed, we are afraid without a very strict regard to accuracy, that 'the campaign of 1812 in Russia, did not cost the present kingdom of France 50,000 men.' The English are charged with a lavish expenditure of the lives of their soldiery, exposing them in dangerous expeditions, 'in assaults contrary to all the rules of the art, and in most unhealthy colonies.'

The first article in the "Historical Miscellanies" consists of a continuation of the 'notes' on a work entitled "Considerations on the Art of War," printed at Paris, in 1816. It is exceedingly instructive as containing the lessons of a master in the miserable art of wrecking human happiness and destroying human life, on a large scale. It commences with a brief but learned and interesting essay on offensive war, including a rapid but spirited summary of the campaigns and military character of Alexander, Hannibal, Cæsar, Gustavus Adolphus, Turenne, Eugene of Savoy, Frederick of Prussia, and Napoleon himself.

'Alexander conducted eight campaigns, during which he conquered Asia and part of India; Hannibal, seventeen—one in Spain, fifteen in Italy, and one in Africa; Cæsar, thirteen—eight against the Gauls, and five against Pompey's legions; Gustavus Adolphus, three—one in Livonia against the Russians, and two in Germany against the House of Austria. Turenne commanded in eighteen—nine in France, and nine in Germany; Prince Eugene of Savoy in thirteen—two against the Turks, five in Italy against France, and six on the Rhine, or in Flanders. Frederick conducted eleven, in Silesia, in Bohemia, and on the banks of the Elbe. The history of these eighty-eight campaigns, carefully written, would be a complete treatise on the art of war: the principles which ought to be followed in offensive and defensive war would flow from it spontaneously.'

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'Napoleon made fourteen campaigns; two in Italy, five in Germany, two in Africa and Asia, two in Poland and Russia, one in Spain, and two in France.'

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'Cæsar's principles were the same as those of Alexander and Hannibal; to keep his forces in junction, not to be vulnerable in any direction, to advance rapidly on important points, to calculate on moral means, the reputation of his arms, and the fear he inspired, and also on political means, for the preservation of the fidelity of his allies, and the obedience of the conquered nations.'

*Historical Miscellanies.* pp. 11, 12. 26. 33.

Julius Cæsar appears to have combined, in an eminent degree, the great qualities both of Alexander and of Hannibal, together with an energy peculiarly his own. He was opposed to enemies far more formidable than any whom the first had to encounter, and while he possessed in perfection, the brilliant tactic of the Carthaginian, he far surpassed him in daring enterprise, rapid movement, and personal exertion. It was said of this accomplished Roman, that it was his fortune *plurima et maxima bella sola celeritate conficere*. And Cicero speaks in the most expressive terms of his indefatigable vigilance and celerity. *Ἡoc τῆρας horrible vigilantia, celeritate, diligentia est*. In all these points, there was a remarkable coincidence between the characters of Napoleon and Cæsar; and the former seems to have modelled himself more completely upon the latter, than on any other general of ancient or modern story.

‘ In Cæsar’s campaigns of the civil war, he conquered by following the same method and the same principles, but he ran much greater risks. He passed the Rubicon with a single legion: at Corfinium, he took thirty cohorts, and in three months drove Pompey out of Italy. What rapidity! what promptitude! what boldness! Whilst the ships necessary for passing the Adriatic and following his rival into Greece were preparing, he passed the Alps and Pyrenees, crossed Catalonia at the head of nine hundred horse, a force scarcely sufficient for his escort, arrived before Leridæ, and, in forty days, subdued Pompey’s legions commanded by Afranius. He then rapidly traversed the space between the Ebro and the Sierra Morena, established peace in Andalusia, and returned to make his triumphal entry into Marseilles, which city his troops had just taken; he then proceeded to Rome, exercised the dictatorship there for ten days, and departed once more to put himself at the head of twelve legions which Antony had assembled at Brindisi.

‘ In the year 48, he crossed the Adriatic with 25,000 men, held all Pompey’s forces in check for several months, until being joined by Antony, who had crossed the sea in defiance of the fleets of the enemy, they marched in junction on Dyrrachium, Pompey’s place of depôt, which they invested. Pompey encamped a few miles from that place, near the sea. Upon this, Cæsar, not content with having invested Dyrrachium, invested the enemy’s camp also: he availed himself of the summits of the surrounding hills, occupied them with twenty-four forts which he raised, and thus established a counter-val-lation of six leagues. Pompey, hemmed in on the shore, received provisions and reinforcements by sea, by means of his fleet, which commanded the Adriatic. He took advantage of his central position, attacked and defeated Cæsar, who lost thirty standards, and several thousand soldiers, the best of his veteran troops. His fortunes appeared to totter; he could expect no reinforcements; the sea was closed against him; Pompey had every advantage. But Cæsar made

a march of fifty leagues, carried the war into Thessaly, and defeated Pompey's army in the plains of Pharsalia.'

*Historical Miscellanies.* pp. 22—24.

Napoleon makes an ingenious defence against the imputation of rashness. Reviewing the admirable marches and manœuvres of Alexander and Hannibal, and assigning to them their just praise, he asks, whether the high merits of these great commanders would have been justly invalidated, if the Macedonian had been beaten at Issus, with the army of Darius on his line of retreat; or at Arbela, with the Tigris, the Euphrates, and the Deserts in his rear; 'or suppose he had been vanquished by Porus, when driven to the Indus!' He inquires too, what would have been the result, had Hannibal lost the battles of Thrasymane or Cannæ. He shews that some of the most fatal defeats have taken place, like that of Zama, amid the fortresses and resources of the routed army.

The second division of the "Miscellanies" contains comments on the well known "Manuscript from St. Helena," which clearly shew, not only that the Author was not Napoleon, but that he was very imperfectly acquainted with the circumstances of his life. The third article relates to the work of Baron Fleury de Chaboulon, and confirms the suspicions which we expressed when reviewing it, of the accuracy of many of its details. A large Appendix (130 pages) of documents, the whole, or the far greater part of which have been long before the public, is added to the volume, for no other purpose, that we can discover, than that of swelling its bulk.

The volume of "Memoirs" dictated to General Gourgaud, contains illustrations to which we have already referred, of the campaigns of Moreau and Brune; an historical essay on the rights of neutral powers; and details and comments connected with the naval engagement of Aboukir. In the latter, as in all former instances, when the circumstances have been mentioned by Napoleon, we have it distinctly affirmed, that the French admiral had received express orders to enter the harbour of Alexandria, and that such entrance was practicable. Enough, however, appears, on the face of the statement, to shew, that there were considerable difficulties in the way; and we are most inclined to believe, that Nelson was too prompt in his motions, to allow sufficient time for their removal. The most interesting part of this document relates to the difference between the land and the naval service. The *maximum* of a fleet is taken at thirty sail of the line, and the expense of the *matériel* is stated as nearly equivalent to that of an army of 120,000 men. The hazards and privations of the sea service

are affirmed to be much inferior to those of a land campaign, inasmuch as the sailor has less fighting than the soldier, and is never separated from his quarters, his magazines, and his hospitals. The qualifications of the respective commanders are essentially different, in the opinion of Napoleon : those ' adapted ' to the command of a land army are born with us, whilst ' those which are necessary for commanding a naval army, can ' only be acquired by experience.'

' Alexander and Condé were able to command at a very early age. The art of war by land is an art of genius and inspiration ; but neither Alexander nor Condé, at the age of twenty-two years, could have commanded a naval army. In the latter, nothing is genius or inspiration, but all is positive and matter of experience. The marine general needs but one science, that of navigation. The commander by land requires many, or a talent equivalent to all, that of profiting by experience and knowledge of every kind. A marine general has nothing to guess ; he knows where his enemy is, and knows his strength. A land general never knows any thing with certainty, never sees his enemy plainly, nor knows positively where he is. When the armies are facing each other, the slightest accident of the ground, the least wood, may hide a party of the hostile army. The most experienced eye cannot be certain whether it sees the whole of the enemy's army, or only three fourths of it. It is by the eyes of the mind, by the combination of all reasoning, by a sort of inspiration, that the land general sees, commands, and judges. The marine general requires nothing but an experienced eye ; nothing relating to the enemy's strength is concealed from him. What creates great difficulty in the profession of the land commander is, the necessity of feeding so many men and animals : if he allows himself to be guided by the commissaries, he will never stir, and his expeditions will fail. The naval commander is never confined ; he carries every thing with him. A naval commander has no reconnoitring to perform, no ground to examine, no field of battle to study ; Indian ocean, Atlantic, or Channel, still it is a liquid plain. The most skilful can have no other advantage over the least experienced, than what arises from his knowledge of the winds which prevail in particular seas, from his foresight of those which will prevail there, or from his acquaintance with the signs of the atmosphere : qualities which are acquired by experience, and experience only. The general commanding by land never knows the field of battle on which he is to operate. His *coup-d'œil* is one of inspiration, he has no positive data. The data from which a knowledge of the localities must be gained, are so contingent, that scarcely any thing can be learnt from experience. It is a facility of instantly seizing all the relations of different grounds, according to the nature of the country ; in short, it is a gift called *coup-d'œil militaire*, which great generals have received from nature. Nevertheless, the observations which may be made on topographical maps, and the facilities arising from educe-

lon and the habit of reading such maps, may afford some assistance.'  
Memoirs. pp. 194—96.

A military chief has one immense advantage over a naval commander; he is less dependent on his subordinate officers. If any thing is misconducted in an engagement, he can rectify by his immediate presence, the errors of his generals; while the communication between an admiral and his captains being conducted by signal, the smoke, and the confusion of the *mêlée*, prevent him both from conveying and receiving intelligence. In the comparison between the maritime service of France and England, Napoleon claims for the former, superiority in the construction of vessels, and the power of their artillery, while he concedes to the English a greater perfection in discipline. He condemns, however, the severity with which the latter is enforced, terming the *regime* of the British navy, slavery. It is amusing to find him intimating, that 'such a state of things would degrade and debase the French character, which requires a paternal kind of discipline, more founded on honour and sentiment.' He attributes the defeats sustained by the French navy, to three causes.

'1st, To irresolution and want of energy in the commanders in chief; 2ndly, to errors in tactics; 3dly, to want of experience, and nautical knowledge in the captains of ships, and to the opinion these officers maintain, that they ought only to act according to signals. The action off Ushant, those during the Revolution in the Ocean, and those in the Mediterranean in 1793 and 1794, were all lost through these different causes. Admiral Villaret, though personally brave, was wanting in strength of mind, and was not even attached to the cause for which he fought. Martin was a good seaman, but a man of little resolution. They were, moreover, both influenced by the Representatives of the people, who possessing no experience, sanctioned erroneous operations.

'The principle of making no movement, except according to signal from the admiral, is the more erroneous, because it is always in the power of the captain of a ship to find reasons in justification of his failure to execute the signals made to him. In all the sciences necessary to war, theory is useful for giving general ideas which form the mind; but their strict execution is always dangerous; they are only axes by which curves are to be traced. Besides, rules themselves compel one to reason, in order to discover whether they ought to be departed from.

'Although often superior in force to the English, we never knew how to attack them, and we allowed their squadrons to escape whilst we were wasting time in useless manœuvres. The first law of maritime tactics ought to be, that as soon as the admiral has made the signal that he means to attack, every captain should make the necessary movements for attacking one of the enemy's ships, taking part in the action,



and supporting his neighbours. This was latterly the principle of English tactics. Had it been adopted in France, Admiral Villeneuve would not have thought himself blameless at Aboukir, for remaining inactive with five or six ships, that is to say with half the squadron, for twenty-four hours, whilst the enemy was overpowering the other wing.'

*Memoirs.* pp. 197—99.

The history of the Egyptian and Syrian expeditions, contains very little that has not long been familiar to general readers. The article is swelled with geographical and statistical details, which we are disposed to think of European manufacture. It is not likely that Napoleon's memory would enable him to dictate them off hand; and it is still less probable that he would submit to the drudgery of compilation. An appendix of nearly forty pages, providently supplies the reader with the old official accounts which he will most probably have often met with in the newspapers or other publications in which they have repeatedly appeared. This memoir on Egypt offers but little that we feel any inclination to extract, with the exception of the following curious speculations on the circumstances which gave origin to the practice of polygamy. The reason of that custom, we are informed,

' is to be sought in the nature of the geographical circumstances of Africa and Asia. These countries were inhabited by men of several colours. Polygamy is the only means of preventing them from persecuting each other. Legislators have imagined, that, in order to prevent the whites from being enemies to the blacks, the blacks to the whites, and the copper-coloured to both, it was necessary to make them all members of one identical family, and thus to oppose that inclination inherent in man to hate whatever is not himself. Mahomet thought four wives sufficient for the accomplishment of this purpose, because every man could have a black one, a white one, a copper-coloured one, and one of some other colour. It was also, undoubtedly, agreeable to the nature of a sensual religion, to gratify the passions of its sectaries; in which respect policy and the prophet agreed.\* Whenever it is wished to emancipate the blacks in our colonies, and to establish perfect equality there, the legislator must authorize polygamy, and allow every man to have one white, one black, and one Mulatto wife, at the same time. Thenceforth, the

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\* ' It is, perhaps, difficult to comprehend the possibility of having four wives in a country where there are no more men than women. The fact is, that eleven twelfths of the population have only one, because they can only support one, or obtain only one. But this confusion of races, colours, and nations, produced by polygamy, existing in the upper ranks of a nation, is sufficient to establish union and perfect equality throughout it.'



different colours, each forming part of the same family, will obtain equal consideration from others; without this, no satisfactory result will ever be obtained. The blacks will be more numerous or better informed, and then they will hold the whites in subjection; and *vice versa*.

‘ In consequence of this general principle of the equality of colours, established by polygamy, there was no difference between the individuals composing the household of the Mamelukes. A black slave, bought by a Bey from an African caravan, might become a kiaschef, and be equal to the handsome white Mameluke, born in Circassia; nor was it even suspected that this could be otherwise.’

Memoirs. pp. 266—268.

When General Menou married a native of Rosetta, the lady seems to have been so much gratified with the change from Eastern seclusion to European freedom, as to make it the subject of conversation among the females whom she met at the baths. She told them, that her husband handed her to the upper seat at table, picked up her handkerchief if it fell, and behaved to her after the usual manner of French politeness. This, as may be supposed, excited a prodigious commotion among the Arab and Turkish wives; they forthwith held a divan, and ‘ *signed a request*’—we are glad to find that the tenants of the Harem are so well educated—‘ *to Sultan Kabir (Napoleon)* ‘ *that their husbands might be obliged to treat them in the same manner!*’ The French Commander-in-chief often invited the Scheiks to his table, and they readily accommodated themselves to European customs. At one of these parties, he asked Scheik El Mondî,—‘ What is the most useful thing I have taught you, in these six months that I have been among you?’—‘ The most useful thing you have taught me,’ answered the Scheik, half jestingly, half in earnest, ‘ is to drink at my dinner.’ It is said to be the custom of the Arabs, to drink only at the conclusion of their meals.

The volume which contains the contribution of Baron Fain to the memoirs of his fallen master, is, on the whole, an interesting one, though it does not add much to our previous stores of information. It contains a short but clear and impressive history of that astonishing campaign, when Napoleon, driven on his capital by the overwhelming masses of his enemies, made, with a mere handful of men, a series of almost unparalleled efforts to wrest victory from adverse fortune. He had lost Germany irretrievably, and the exhausted state of his troops and magazines did not permit him even to maintain the line of his own frontier; he determined, however, to shew at least the appearance of holding the banks of the Rhine until retreat became absolutely necessary. The negotiations that

were going forward, had no effect on the preparations for the approaching campaign. In December 1813, Prince Schwartzberg passed the Rhine, by crossing part of the Swiss territory, and, after detaching general Bubna towards Geneva, advanced on Besançon. Blucher crossed the Rhine in the direction of Mannheim, and drove the corps of the Duke of Ragusa before him. Napoleon had fixed on Chalons-sur-Marne as the rendezvous of his army, and he established his personal headquarters there on the 25th of January. On the 29th, after some severe fighting, he drove the Prussians from Brienne. During these manœuvres, he was in considerable danger.

‘ While the position was thus disputed, the French army bivouacked in the plain between Brienne and the wood of Maizières. Our artillery filed off in the great avenue, to take the positions assigned to them ; and Napoleon, having issued his last orders, returned by the same path to his head-quarters at Maizières. He was proceeding a few paces before his Aides-de-camp, listening to Colonel Gourgaud’s account of a manœuvre that had taken place: the officers of his household were following, wrapped up in their cloaks. It was very dark, and amidst the confusion of the night encampment, the parties could only recognize each other at intervals by the light of the bivouack fires. A band of Cossacks, attracted by the noise of our cassoons and the hope of plunder, contrived amidst the darkness to pass the French camp, and at this moment reached the path on the plain. General Dejean, feeling himself closely pressed, turned about, and gave the alarm by exclaiming, *the Cossacks!* and at the same time attempted to plunge his sabre into the breast of one of the assailants, whom he thought he had secured. But the enemy had escaped, and now darted upon the horseman in the grey great-coat, who was somewhat in advance. Corbineau rushed forward ; Gourgaud made the same movement, and with a pistol shot the Cossack dead at Napoleon’s feet. The escort advanced, and a few of the Cossacks were sabred ; but the rest of the party leaped across the ditches, and effected their escape.’—*Fain*. pp. 78, 9.

This success did not prevent Blucher from effecting a junction with Schwartzberg ; and on the 1st of February, they attacked the French, who were in position at la Rothiere, not far from Brienne. Their numbers secured success, and Napoleon retreated upon Troyes. After the battle, the Prussian and Austrian generals separated their forces ; and the former, leaving Schwartzberg to follow up the victory by pressing on the French army, boldly advanced on Paris by the road of Chalons. This manœuvre suggested to Napoleon one of those bold enterprises by which he had so often decided the issue of a campaign. Calculating on the security of Blucher, and on the certainty of separating the divisions of his army, extended in a long column on the road between Chalons and the capital,

he Emperor, leaving Victor and Oudinot to protect the passage of the Seine, marched his troops across the extensive plains of the Brie-Champenoise, and brought them, in compact order, into the very centre of the Prussian brigades. The success of his manœuvre was complete: the successive battles of Champaubert, Montmirail, Chateau-Thierry, and Vauchamps, effectually cleared the road to Paris, and broke the force of the allies in this quarter. In the mean time, Schwartzenberg had profited by circumstances, had forced the passage of the Seine, and was marching on Paris by Nangis. In reply to the communication which apprised him of this movement, Napoleon ordered his marshals to make a vigorous stand, and informed them that on the following day, the 16th of February, he should *debouche* in their rear by Guignes. He performed his promise. Notwithstanding the difficulties which intervened, he effected the junction at a critical moment—an hour later it would, probably, have been impracticable—in the evening of that day; on the 17th, he defeated the enemy at Nangis, and on the following day, drove the troops of Wurtemberg from Montereau.

‘ Our troops took possession of the heights of Surville, which command the confluence of the Seine, and the Yonne batteries were mounted with the artillery of the guard, which dealt destruction on the Wurtemberg force in Montereau. Napoleon himself pointed the guns, and directed the firing. The enemy made vain endeavours to dismount our batteries; his balls hissed like the wind over the heights of Surville. The troops were fearful lest Napoleon, attracted by the habits of his early life, should expose himself to danger. On this occasion he made the following remark, which is engraven on the recollection of the gunners of the French army:—“ Come on, my brave fellows, fear nothing: the ball that is to kill me is not yet cast.” ’

‘ Our success at once supported the ardour of our troops, roused the enthusiasm of the country people, and excited to the utmost degree the devotedness of our young officers; but it was remarked with regret, that returning hope had not yet enlivened the hearts of most of the old chiefs of the army. In proportion as circumstances proved favourable, they seemed to entertain the greater apprehension for the future. Their prudence seemed to have augmented with their fortune: the poorest, on the contrary, were the most confident. The difference of resolution with which each individual viewed impending events, presented the most painful contrast, and was a source of bitter vexation to Napoleon.

‘ Unfortunately, the bravest men were those of whom the Emperor did most cause to complain. At the battle of Nangis, a movement of cavalry, which would have proved fatal to the Bavarians, failed, and the same attached to General l’Heritier, a man distinguished for his intrepidity. On the preceding evening, the enemy had surprised some pieces of artillery at the bivouack, and they had been confided to the care of the brave General Guyot, Commander of the Chasseurs of the Guard.

At Surville, during the heat of the engagement, there was a want of ammunition on the batteries; and this negligence, which, by the rigid laws of the artillery, amounted to a crime, was attributable to General Digeon, one of our most distinguished artillery officers. The forest of Fontainebleau was abandoned to the Cossacks without resistance, and General Montbrun was accused of not having taken sufficient advantage of either his position or his adversaries. To sum up all, perhaps the battle of Montereau might have been unnecessary, and all the bloodshed it cost might have been saved, if on the preceding day our troops had come up with sufficient expedition to surprise the bridge; but fatigue prevented them from arriving in time, and the Duke of Belluno, formerly the indefatigable Marshal Victor, was so unfortunate as to be compelled to urge this excuse.

‘ Napoleon could no longer repress his dissatisfaction. Meeting General Guyot on the road, he reproached him in the presence of the troops, for having so ill-guarded his artillery. He was no less violent towards General Digeon, and he ordered that he should be tried by a council of war. He sent the Duke of Belluno permission to retire from the service, and gave the command of his corps to General Gerard, whose courage and activity had surmounted many difficulties during the campaign. In short, Napoleon acted with a degree of severity at which he was himself astonished, but which he conceived to be necessary in the imperious circumstances of the moment.

‘ General Sorbier, the Commander-in-chief of the Artillery, after allowing the first moment of anger to pass away, ventured to call to mind the many important services of General Digeon. Napoleon listened to these representations, and then tore the order which he had dictated for the general’s trial by a council of war. The Duke of Belluno with deep mortification received the Emperor’s permission to quit the army. He repaired to Surville, and with powerful emotion appealed against this decision. Napoleon gave free vent to his indignation, and overwhelmed the unfortunate Marshal with expressions of his displeasure. He reproached him for reluctance in the discharge of his duties, for withdrawing from the Imperial headquarters, and for even manifesting a certain degree of opposition, which was calculated to produce mischievous effects in a camp. The conduct of the Duchess of Belluno was also the subject of complaint: she was Lady of the Palace, and yet had withdrawn herself from the Empress, who indeed seemed to be quite forsaken by the new court.

‘ The Duke in vain attempted to defend himself; Napoleon afforded him no opportunity of reply. At length, however, he gained a hearing. He made a protestation of his fidelity, and reminded Napoleon that he was one of his old comrades, and could not quit the army without dishonour. The recollections of Italy were not invoked in vain. The conversation took a milder turn; Napoleon now merely suggested to the Duke, that he stood in need of a little respite from the exertions of a military life; that his ill health and numerous wounds, now probably rendered him unable to encounter

the fatigues of the advanced guard and the privations of the bivouack, and too frequently induced his quartering officers to halt wherever a bed could be procured. But all Napoleon's endeavours to prevail on the Marshal to retire, were ineffectual. He insisted on remaining with the army, and he appeared to feel the Emperor's reproaches the more severely in proportion as they became the more gentle. He attempted to justify his tardy advance on the preceding day; but tears interrupted his utterance: if he had committed a military fault, he had dearly paid for it by the fatal wound which his unfortunate son-in-law had received.

' On hearing the name of General Chateau, Napoleon was deeply affected: he inquired whether there was any hope of saving his life, and sympathized sincerely in the grief of the Marshal. The Duke of Belluno resuming confidence, again protested that he would never quit the army: "I can shoulder a musket," said he; "I have not forgotten the business of a soldier. Victor will range himself in the ranks of the guard." These last words completely subdued Napoleon. "Well, Victor," said he, stretching forth his hand to him, "remain with me. I cannot restore to you the command of your corps, because I have appointed General Gerard to succeed you, but I give you the command of two divisions of the guard; and now let every thing be forgotten between us." ' *Fain*. pp. 113—119.

During these transactions, the celebrated congress of Chatillon had been engaged in negotiations for a general peace; and it is curious to observe the variations in the tone of the different parties as the fortunes of the war fluctuated. We have neither leisure nor inclination to enter into the analysis of the complicated political transactions of this period; but it appears quite obvious, that it was the interest of Napoleon to make peace at any expense. His means were lessening and deteriorating every day. Treason, if not yet in his camp, was busy in his capital; and a large portion of the French nation, though little desirous of seeing the Bourbons on the throne, were completely wearied out with the incessant wars in which they had been engaged. The generals and the ministers of the Emperor were urgent for concession; and the Duke of Vicenza (Caulaincourt) his envoy to the congress, used every effort within his power to prevail over the obstinacy of his master. All was in vain. Napoleon was elated in success, and obstinate in misfortune; he wavered in decision, until the only option left him was between death and unqualified submission. At the same time, it must be admitted, that he had reasonable ground for hesitation to a certain extent. He was aware that a royalist conspiracy was organized in France; and the presence of the Bourbon princes on the frontiers of their ancient kingdom, if not positively sanctioned, was at least not forbidden by the allies. It was moreover doubtful, even in the

event of peace, how far he might be able, under the altered circumstances of his reign, to maintain his authority in France.

In the meantime, Marshal Blucher, who, however inferior to Napoleon in the other qualifications of a general, seems to have equalled him in the boldness and energy of his movements, rallied his beaten and dispersed troops, and calling fresh divisions to his assistance, endeavoured to form a junction with Schwartzberg. Baffled in that attempt, he determined on one of the most daring enterprises of the campaign, and again advanced for Paris along the banks of the Marne. Napoleon was, of course, compelled to suspend operations against the Austrians, and to traverse the country in quest of his intrepid antagonist. On the night of the 27th of February, the army

‘ bivouacked on the confines of the departments of the Aube and Marne, not far from La Fere Champenoise. Napoleon passed the night in the house of the curate of the little village of Herbisse. Let us stop, therefore, a moment with the Imperial head-quarters. After the fatigues of the day, French gayety still shed occasional light on the gloom of the moment; this evening party at Herbisse is perhaps the last of the kind which I shall have occasion to notice.

‘ The parsonage consisted of a single apartment and a bakehouse. Napoleon shut himself up in the apartment, and shortened the night by his accustomary labours. The bake-house was instantly filled with the Marshals, the generals that were Aides-de-camp, the orderly officers, and the other officers of the household. The curate was desirous of doing the honours of his establishment, and in the midst of so many embarrassments, he had the misfortune to engage in a Latin dispute with Marshal Lefevre. During this time, the officers got round his niece, who entertained them with singing canticles. The mule belonging to the Cantine was long expected, but at length arrived. A door was immediately placed upon a hogshead, and some planks were fixed round it in the form of benches. They were occupied by the principal officers, and the others helped themselves standing. The curate was seated to the right of the grand-marshal, and we entered into conversation respecting the country in which we were. It was with difficulty that our host comprehended how his military guests could be so well acquainted with its localities, and insisted upon our all being natives of Champagne. In order to explain the cause of his astonishment, we shewed him some sheets of Cassini, which were in every one’s pocket. He was still more astonished when he found in them the names of all the neighbouring villages; so far was he from thinking that geography entered into such details. It was thus that the simplicity of the good curate enlivened the end of the repast. Shortly afterwards, every one provided for himself in the adjacent barns. The officers on service alone remained near Napoleon’s apartment. Their truss of straw



was brought to them, and the curate being deprived of his bed, the place of honour on the camp bed was given up to him. The next morning, the 28th, the Imperial head quarters set off at a very early hour. Napoleon was on horseback while the curate was still asleep. He at length awoke; but, to console him for not having taken leave, he was presented, by order of the grand marshal, with a purse, the usual compensation given in all houses of an inferior class where Napoleon stopped.' *Fain*. pp. 148—150.

Such was the celerity of Napoleon's movements, that he had nearly caught his enemy in a *cul de sac*. Fortunately for the Prussian army, Blucher was enabled to effect his retreat, through the accidental occupation of Soissons by an allied corps. On the 7th of March, the Emperor drove a Russian corps from the strong position of Craonne; but a successful night attack by the allies on the corps of Marmont, compelled him to abandon further operations in this quarter, and he fell back in the direction of the Seine. At Arcis, he fell in with the advanced guard of the Austrians, and exposed himself, in the conflict, with an entire disregard of personal safety.

' Enveloped in the dust of cavalry charges, he was obliged to extricate himself sword in hand. He several times fought at the head of his escort, and instead of shunning the perils of the battle, he seemed on the contrary to defy them. A shell fell at his feet; he awaited the explosion, and quickly disappeared in a cloud of dust and smoke. He was thought to have been killed, but he got again upon his legs, threw himself on another horse, and went to expose himself once more to the fire of the batteries!.....Death refused him for his victim.' *Fain*. p. 193.

In this crisis of his fortunes, Napoleon resolved to hazard the famous movement on Saint Dizier, which threw him on the rear of the allies, and made him master of their communications. The result is well known;—the junction of Schwartzenberg and Blucher—their march on Paris—the defection of Marmont—and the abdication of Napoleon. We shall give Baron Fain's description of the last scene between Napoleon and his Marshals. The allies were encircling his position, and intercepting his retreat, in all directions; but this gave him little anxiety: aware that a line so extensive could easily be broken through, he proposed to make for the South, and, collecting all his remaining divisions, to engage in a renewed conflict. This plan was opposed by those who surrounded him; the horrors of civil war, and the hopelessness of final success were strongly urged upon him.

“ Well, since I must renounce the hope of defending France,” cried Napoleon, “ does not Italy offer a retreat worthy of me? Will



you follow me once more across the Alps!" This proposal was received in profound silence. If at this moment Napoleon had quitted his saloon and entered the hall of the secondary officers, he would have found a host of young men, eager to follow wheresoever he might lead them! But a step further, and he would have been greeted at the foot of the stairs by the acclamations of all his troops! Napoleon, however, was swayed by the habits of his reign. He thought success could not attend him if he marched without the *great officers* whom his Imperial dignity had created. He conceived that General Bonaparte himself could not renew his career without his old train of lieutenants. But they had received his summons in silence! He found himself compelled to yield to their apathy, though not without addressing to them these prophetic words:—"You wait for repose; take it then! Alas! you know not how many troubles and dangers will await you on your beds of down. A few years of that peace which you are about to purchase so dearly, will cut off more of you than the most sanguinary war would have done!"

*Fain. pp. 249, 250.*

A strange story is told, of an attempt made by Napoleon to destroy himself by poison, which failed, either from the smallness of the dose or the inefficiency of the drug. An appendix of papers, many of which are also printed in the "*Historical Miscellanies*," adds 120 pages to the volume, much to the advantage of its size and price, though very little to the information of the reader, who will, probably, have met with the greater part of them before.

The worthy Las Cases is as garrulous, as coxcombical, and as amusing as ever; but, whether the fault be on his side, or that we are beginning to grow rather tired of his protracted gossiping, he seems to us less original, and a little more disposed to make the most of his materials. A good specimen of the small ingenuity with which he contrives to make himself conspicuous by the side of Napoleon, is exhibited nearly at the commencement of the present section of his work, in a conversation on the subject of mendicity, poor's rates, and prisons; which he contrives to make the text of sundry compliments on the part of his Master, and long, shallow, prosing dissertations on his own. The Count makes a very impressive display of the astonishment felt by Napoleon at the amazing abilities of his companion, and his regret that he had failed to discover them at a time when they might have been made useful in some elevated and responsible ministerial office.

'I every day,' said Napoleon, 'collect ideas from you in this place, of which I did not imagine you capable; but it was not at all my fault. You were near me; why did you not open your mind to me? I did

not possess the gift of divination. Had you been minister, those ideas, however fantastical they might at first have appeared to me, would not have been the less attended to.'

'*Had you been minister!*' We can well conceive the entrancing effect with which these words, if really spoken, must have fallen on the ear of the delighted Count. They would carry him back in imagination to the *bureaux* and *seances* of the Tuileries, decorate him with stars, ribbons, and titles, and place him at the right hand of the Arbiter of Europe, his favourite and envied counsellor. But they tend, with more soberness of construction, to illustrate the readiness with which Napoleon entered into the characters of his associates, and the good-natured dexterity which, accommodating itself to circumstances, and unable to acquit services in more substantial coin, repaid attachment with kindness, and fed vanity with praise.

In the conversation of which the above-cited compliment forms a part, Las Cases produced the copy of an official report on mendicity, which he had formerly drawn up and presented to the Minister of the Interior; and by his own account, it appears to have contained a few interesting facts, and some useful suggestions, borrowed from the institutions of England in principle, but altered in name, and deteriorated in application. He affects, however, to spare his readers the details of his scheme, and takes no small credit to himself for his forbearance.

'However short the report on mendicity may be,—however necessary for more distinctly understanding the Emperor's observations, and although not destitute of interest for those who are fond of the study of philanthropic economy, I have declined the insertion of it here, out of deference to the greater number of my readers.'

He takes care, however, to lose but little by his 'deference;' for he contrives to 'insinuate his plot' into the minds of his readers, before he dismisses the subject; and, making allowance for his characteristic wordiness and sentimentality, his observations and facts are not without interest. They shew the enormous abuses which prevail on the Continent—we wish that our own country were entirely free from them—and the miserable effects of indiscriminate confinement on juvenile character.

We have been so long detained by the other text-books of this article, that we have but small space left for these two slender volumes. We are not, however, anxious to occupy many pages with their contents, since they are of a mixed and desultory nature; interesting enough as light and casual reading, and contributing something to our knowledge of their hero, but very little susceptible of abstract. Neither would the ready

method of multiplying extracts, afford an adequate idea of a work which is made up of a series of common and general conversations, and derives much of its interest from that circumstance alone. The governor is a frequent subject, but we are really tired of hearing his name and practices so incessantly introduced. He was an object of such complete antipathy to the inmates of Longwood, that Santini, the Corsican servant, had determined on shooting him, and was with difficulty turned aside from the design. In a long speech, which seems to have been manufactured for publication, rather than to have been actually addressed to Napoleon, there are given many very interesting particulars respecting the emigrants and the court of the princes at Coblenz. Las Cases, who had been himself an emigrant, and was of noble blood, describes, from personal knowledge, and with apparent accuracy, the leading characters of the party. The Count d'Artois is spoken of as a man of fascinating manners, and the talents of the present King are highly eulogized. The pride, the jealousy, the selfishness, and intriguing disposition of the mob of *émigrés*, are fairly exposed.

‘ Denunciations of every kind, and from every quarter, were then showered down upon those who joined us. A *Prince de Saint-Maurice*, son of the Prince de Montbarey, found it impossible to resist the storm, although he had the formal support of every distinguished character, and that of the prince himself, who deigned to employ supplication in his favour, and said, “Alas! gentlemen, who is there that has not faults to reproach himself with in the Revolution? I have been guilty of several, and by your oblivion of them, you have given me the right of interceding for others.” This did not spare M. de Saint-Maurice the necessity of making his escape as soon as possible. His crime was that of having belonged to the Society of the Friends of the Negroes, and of having been violently attacked in the midst of us by a gentleman of Franche Comté, who denounced M. de Saint-Maurice for having caused his mansions to be burnt. It was, however, discovered, a few days afterwards, that the brawling assailant had no mansion, and was neither from Franche Comté, nor a gentleman: he was a mere adventurer.

‘ *M. de Cazalès*, who had filled France and Europe with the celebrity of his eloquence and courage in the national assembly, had, notwithstanding, lost the popular favour at Coblenz. When he arrived at Paris, a report was spread among us, that the princes would not see him, or would give him an ungracious reception. We collected eighty natives of Languedoc to be, in opposition to his own wishes, a kind of escort to him. M. de Cazalès was the honour of our province; we conducted him to the princes, by whom he was well received. A deputy of the third estate, who had highly distinguished himself in the constituent assembly by his attachment to royalty, was among us.

One of our princes addressing him one day in the crowd, said, "But, Sir, explain to me then. You are so worthy a man, how could you at the time take the oath of the *jeu de paume*?" The deputy, struck dumb by the attack, at first stammered out that he had been taken unawares . . . . that he did not foresee the fatal consequences . . . . But, promptly recovering himself, he replied with vivacity; "I shall, however, observe to Monseigneur, that it was not that which led to the ruin of the French monarchy, but, in fact, the union of the nobility, which joined us in consequence of the very persuasive letter written by Monseigneur."—"Stop there," exclaimed the prince, touching him gently on the stomach, "be cool, my dear Sir; I did not intend to vex you by that question."

The stupid *hauteur* of the Court of France before the Revolution, is affirmed to have been carried to such a height of folly, that

'The old Duke of Gloucester complained, on his own account,' says M. Las Cases, 'of one of our princes of the blood, and added, that the Prince of Wales laughed heartily, because he, the Prince of Wales, addressing the same Prince by the title of Monseigneur, the latter studiously endeavoured to model his language so as not to return the compliment.'

Napoleon steadily affirmed, that there was no conspiracy formed in aid of the expedition from Elba. Public opinion was so decidedly in his favour, that, 'if he had chosen, he might have brought with him to Paris two millions of peasants.' The Bourbons being stigmatized, in his hearing, as having abandoned the monarchy, he replied:

'Sir, you are mistaken, you have taken a wrong view of the matter. The Bourbons were not wanting in courage: they did all they could. The Count d'Artois flew to Lyons; the Dutchess d'Angouleme proved herself an amazon in Bourdeaux, and the Duke d'Angouleme offered as much resistance as he could. If, in spite of all this, they could attain no satisfactory object, the fault must not be attributed to them, but to the force of circumstances.'

When he was asked, which was the 'greatest' of the 'fifty or sixty great battles' which he had fought, the Emperor hesitated in his reply, and observed that they could only be judged of by their results. In the "Historical Miscellanies," he is said to have represented the manœuvre of Landshut, and the battles of Abensberg and Eckmühl, as his 'boldest, finest, and most scientific' efforts. We cite, without comment, the following singular remarks, which fell from Napoleon in conversation.

'England is said to traffic in every thing; why then does she not sell liberty, for which she might get a high price, and without any

fear of exhausting her own stock? For modern liberty is essentially moral, and does not betray its engagements. For example, what would not the poor Spaniards give her to free them from the yoke to which they have been again subjected? I am confident they would willingly pay any price to recover their freedom. It was I who inspired them with this sentiment: and the error into which I fell, might at least be turned to good account by another government. As to the Italians, I have planted in their hearts principles that never can be rooted out. What can England do better than to promote and assist the noble impulses of modern regeneration? Sooner or later this regeneration must be accomplished. Sovereigns and old aristocratic institutions may exert their efforts to oppose it, but in vain. They are dooming themselves to the punishment of Sisyphus; but, sooner or later, some arm will tire of resistance, and then the whole system will fall to nothing. Would it not be better to yield with a good grace?—This was my intention. Why does England refuse to avail herself of the glory and advantage she might derive from this course of proceeding? Every thing passes away in England as well as elsewhere. Castlereagh's administration will pass away, and that which may succeed it, and which is doomed to inherit the fruit of so many errors, may become great by only discontinuing the system that has hitherto been pursued. He who may happen to be placed at the head of the English cabinet, has merely to allow things to take their course, and to obey the winds that blow. By becoming the leader of liberal principles, instead of leaguings with absolute power like Castlereagh, he will render himself the object of universal benediction, and England will forget her wrongs. Fox was capable of so acting, but Pitt was not: the reason is, that, in Fox, the heart warmed the genius; while in Pitt, the genius withered the heart. But it may be asked, why I, all-powerful as I was, did not pursue the course I have here traced out?—how, since I can speak so well, I could have acted so ill? I reply to those who make this inquiry with sincerity, that there is no comparison between my situation and that of the English Government. England may work on a soil which extends to the very bowels of the earth, while I could labour only on a sandy surface. England reigns over an established order of things; while I had to take upon myself the great charge, the immense difficulty of consolidating and establishing. I purified a revolution in spite of hostile factions. I combined together all the scattered benefits that could be preserved; but I was obliged to protect them with a nervous arm, against the attacks of all parties; and in this situation it may truly be said, that the public interest, the state was myself.'

In connexion with a conversation on the difference in the several varieties of domestic affection, Las Cases relates the following peculiarities in his master's habits.

'He would sometimes take his son in his arms, and embrace him with the most ardent demonstrations of paternal love. But most

frequently his affection would manifest itself by playful teasing or whimsical tricks. If he met his son in the gardens, for instance, he would throw him down, or upset his toys. The child was brought to him every morning at breakfast time, and he then seldom failed to besmear him over with every thing within his reach on the table.'

On another occasion,

'The Emperor accounted for the clearness of his ideas, and the facility he possessed of being able to protract the duration of his application to the utmost, by saying that the different ideas were put up in his head as in a closet. "When I wish to interrupt an affair," said he, "I close the drawer which contains it, and I open that which contains another. They do not mix together, and do not fatigue me, nor inconvenience me." He had never been kept awake, he said, by an involuntary pre-occupation of mind. "If I wish to sleep, I shut up all the drawers, and I am asleep." So that he had always, he added, slept when he wanted rest, and almost at will.'

We purposely pass over the squabbles between Sir Hudson Lowe and his prisoners; it is an unpleasant subject, and we have no wish to recur to it. Count Las Cases takes an opportunity of giving his attestation to the general accuracy of Mr. O'Meara's journal, and states in connexion with that subject, the following singular piece of indiscretion on the part of Sir Hudson Lowe.

'Whilst writing this, I have received from Sir Hudson Lowe some extracts of confidential letters, which he informs me he received at the time from Mr. O'Meara, in which, he observes to me, O'Meara spoke of me in a very improper manner, and made secret reports to him respecting me. What can have been the intention of Sir Hudson Lowe in acting thus with me? Considering the terms on which we are together, he cannot have been prompted by a very tender interest. Did he wish to prove to me, that Mr. O'Meara acted as a spy for him upon us? Did he hope so far to prepossess me against him, as to influence the nature and the force of my testimony in favour of his adversary? And, after all, are these letters in their original state? Have they not been altered after the fashion of St. Helena? But, even supposing their meaning to be true and explicit, in what respect can they offend me? What claim had I then on Mr. O'Meara's indulgence? What right had I to expect it? It is true that at a later period, after his return to Europe, seeing him persecuted and punished on account of the humanity of his conduct towards Napoleon, I wrote to him to express my heartfelt gratitude, and to offer him an asylum in my family, should injustice compel him to leave his own country; that he was welcome to share with me. But at Saint Helena, I hardly knew him, and I do not believe that I spoke to him ten times during my residence at Longwood. I considered him as being opposed to me by nation, by opinions, and by interest: such was the nature of my connexion with Mr. O'Meara. He was, there-

fore, entirely at liberty with respect to me ; he might *then* write whatever he thought proper, and it cannot now vary the opinion which I have since formed of him. Sir Hudson Lowe intends now to insinuate, that Mr. O'Meara was a double and a triple spy at the same moment, viz. for the Government, for Napoleon, and for him, Sir Hudson Lowe ; but does that disprove the truth and destroy the authenticity of the facts mentioned in his book ? On the contrary. And from which of the three parties could he expect to be rewarded for revealing these facts to the public ? Napoleon is no more ; he can expect nothing from him : and his publication has rendered the two others his ardent enemies, who have deprived him of his situation, and threaten to disturb his repose ; for his real crime, in their eyes, is the warm zeal which he has displayed, of a friend to the laws and to decorum ; who, indignant at the mean and indecorous vexations to which Napoleon had been exposed, drags the true Authors of them to light, in order to exculpate his country. I have, therefore, considered this tardy communication of the confidential letters which Sir Hudson Lowe has just transmitted to me, at the moment of his action with O'Meara, as a kind of interested accusation, which every one will qualify as he thinks proper. I have never even acknowledged the receipt of these letters ; and still less have I ever thought of complaining of their contents.'

We have omitted to state, in its proper place, that at the end of the volume of "Memoirs," there is inserted a short but interesting correspondence between Marshal Jourdan and General Gourgaud, as also between the latter and the Saxon General de Gersdorff. It had been stated in the former volume, that Jourdan had been an active member of the *Société du Manège*, and that, in conjunction with Augereau, he had offered the Dictatorship to Napoleon in the name of that association. Both these facts Jourdan positively denies ; and Gourgaud, in reply, very intelligibly, though very courteously intimates, that he puts no faith in his disavowal. The letter of de Gersdorff is in vindication of the behaviour of the Saxon troops at the battle of Wagram, which had been spoken of by Napoleon in terms of reproach.



Art. IV. 1. *Narrative of a Journey in the Morea.* By Sir William Gell, M.A. F.R.S. F.S.A. 8vo. pp. 412. (9 plates.) London. 1823.

2. *A Further Appeal to the British Public in the Cause of the Persecuted Greeks.* By the Rev. Robert Chatfield, LL.D. Vicar of Chatteris, &c. 8vo. pp. 124. London. 1823.

3. *A Letter to the Earl of Liverpool, on the Subject of the Greeks.* By Thomas Lord Erskine. Second Edition. 8vo. pp. 40. London. 1822.

**W**E have not heard that Sir William Gell has actually been circumcised, but the zeal with which he espouses the cause of the Turks, is a very suspicious circumstance. The Mahommedans are at least great favourites with him, and he gives a decided preference to their religion, or rather no religion, in comparison with that of the Greeks. ‘It appears to me,’ he says, (speaking of the latter,) ‘that their idea of Christianity is ‘infinitely more estranged from the precepts of the Gospel than ‘the Koran itself.’ We are very glad to gather from this sentence, that Sir William admits the superiority of the Gospel to the Koran: so then, he is not quite a Turk.

There is much that is palpably unfair, and still more palpably unfeeling, in this gentleman’s ill-timed attack upon the Greeks.

‘I was once,’ he says, ‘very enthusiastic in the cause of Greece: it is only by knowing well the nation, that my opinion is changed. All the attempts to excite a crusade in favour of the Greeks, have been backed by the most gross misrepresentations of their readiness to learn and improve, and of their present progress. Whoever embarks in their cause, will fail, and will end by retiring in disgust. It is only Russia that can save them from themselves; and that must be done by exercising upon them for a whole generation the most despotic and coercive measures, and making them happy by force.’  
p. 306.

We suppose that Sir William founds his opinion of the beneficial effects of Russian despotism, upon the present state of Poland. Russia, that has saved the Poles from themselves, would doubtless be the most natural benefactor of the Greeks; and the result of the former experiment must convince every body, of the wisdom of soliciting that most civilized of Christian powers, the Muscovite, to undertake their emancipation. But one thing puzzles us in this oracular opinion of Sir William’s; to wit, how it comes to pass that, since the Greeks can be made happy only by the most despotic and coercive measures exercised upon a whole generation, such measures

have hitherto failed to produce this effect, though employed by the Turks during a series of generations. We have his own shewing, that the Mahommedans are the better Christians, and their despotism would seem only to have been too mild. Unless the failure be attributable to this last circumstance, we cannot understand why the Greeks should be made happy by Russian despotism and coercion, rather than by Turkish. We should have thought that the *happifying* effects (to use for once a barbarous Americanism) of despotic measures, had been sufficiently tried, to warrant the experiment of a different course of treatment. But Sir William Gell gives it as his opinion, that there is something in the *climate* of Greece—yes, of Greece—which renders it impossible for freedom and independence to live there.

‘ It will be time,’ he sagely remarks, ‘ to believe that the nations of the South are *capable* of a just enjoyment of liberty, when we see a single quiet example of it..... With regard to the people themselves, I have little hesitation in saying, they were better even under the Turks than they would be under a government of their own choosing, in their present state. A foreign force might indeed compel them to be happy for a time, but they must then submit to multiplied taxes and personal conscription, from which they have hitherto been almost exempt, till they had gained strength to break out again. Before that period, however, luxury would have made so great a progress, that the rich would unite with the strangers, preferring any chains to the convulsion which might break them; and this is the general course of events in the South, where the bounties of nature render the world worth living for even in chains, provided they be splendid. In the North, where nothing less than freedom could render existence supportable, the circle of events may perhaps pass through corresponding phases, though at a slower rate; for those who have once acquired the blessings of liberty under a cloudy sky, are more likely to preserve it. It is with great facility that political changes take place in the nations of the South, and the consequence is the easy subversion of the existing governments; but to build up a new and better system is not in the power of a people who act neither on reason nor experience, but from present impulse of feeling.

‘ Whether the same reasons, which will ever prevent the ~~nations~~ of the South from remaining independent, will not in time act on those of the North, where long security and luxury may effect by degrees that sort of indifference, which prefers comforts and fashions to any advantages which might arise from the momentary deprivation of them, only time can shew. Individual independence, and in time the public liberty, may be attacked in more ways than one. In Turkey they would set about it openly with the purse in their hands. In the North it might be attacked with more security by those in power, if they were ingenious enough to render themselves, at the same time, the models of fashion; for all the world would rather be thought even

ricked to a certain extent than vulgar: the fear of that stigma, which operates most powerfully on the most polished state of society, would draw all by degrees into the snare, and the unwary would sell themselves to the gratification of vanity, triumphing all the time in their virtue, because they had received no money. Perhaps the period is fast approaching when the upper ranks of all climates would rather be rid of the troublesome honour of a share in the government. I should be as sorry to live in the South with a constitution, as in the North without one. There can, at all events, exist little chance of freedom, or what would really be emancipation, for the Greeks. They must fall to the share of the stranger, who is little likely to communicate to them that which he does not himself enjoy.

pp. 166—168.

‘A single ruler certainly gives much less trouble than ten thousand; and it might admit of a doubt, whether those who enjoy the greatest share of liberty, are, in the every day occurrences of life, half so free as those who are supposed to be the victims of despotism. Whether, for instance, the annual spoliation of a pasha or two, who assuredly deserve it, is half so great a public nuisance as that sort of pretended liberty which is the boast of Geneva, where every member of the community acts as a jealous spy upon his neighbour; catches him out of the town; closes the gates upon him if he is a minute too late; prohibits his theatre; renders his holidays days of sorrow and restriction; interferes, in some way or other, with almost every action of his life; and when at length, worn out with frivolous exactions, he would fly the country, informs the victim of liberty, that no horses are allowed on that day.’ p. 212.

‘On *that* day!’ on what day, Sir William? Sunday, perhaps. That were a terrible grievance, most assuredly, if a learned traveller and antiquary like him, might not command horses on *that* day. But who can refrain from sympathizing with our author in this pathetic recital of the sorrows of liberty? Not that any one besides Sir William would have fixed on Geneva as enjoying the greatest share of civil liberty. But there is something exquisitely naive and simple-hearted—a very Wordsworth-like simplicity—in the manner in which he sets off the provoking caution and formality of the Swiss citizens in shutting their gates, and their Presbyterian antipathy to theatricals, against ‘the annual spoliation of a pasha or two.’ Sir William is a wag. He knows all the while *why* there is not more liberty at Geneva than there is: the climate is too far South.

But the unhappy climate of Greece, would seem to be as unfavourable to religion as to liberty. He says:

‘All hope of reform in the practices of the Greek church is out of the question; for no Greek exists, who would not rather become a Turk, than admit one improvement from any other community of

Christians.....It would be easier to convert the whole interior of Africa to the true faith, than one single Greek to the religion of the New Testament. It would indeed be much easier, as more flattering to the national vanity, to reconduct them to paganism, and through that to a new conversion'.....' Assuredly no species of paganism would inspire them with such hatred as a slight difference in the most trivial opinion.' pp. 196, 7. 119.

Sir William is here meddling with a subject that he does not in the least understand, which will partly account for his courageous disregard of facts. The rooted antipathy of the Greeks to the Latins, is not difficult to be accounted for. They quarrel with each other every where, at Jerusalem as well as in Turkey; and the hatred is mutual: only, on the part of the Greek, it is heightened by the hereditary sense of injury. With equal truth might it be said of the Latin, that he would rather become a Turk, than a Greek. With equal truth might it be said of the Papist in many countries, that Paganism inspires him with less hatred than Protestantism. And to come nearer home, the conversion of Papal Ireland to the religion of the New Testament, might be as reasonably despaired of, judging from some specimens of the Irish Catholic, as that of Greece. 'Either in Andros or Tinos,' says Sir William, 'all the Roman Catholics were murdered in one night.' Did he never hear of any Roman Catholic massacres?"

But, to prove the utter impossibility of converting a single Greek to the religion of the New Testament, Sir William says :

'To suppose that any Greek archbishop will ever sincerely support a Bible Society, the very first effect of which must be the ruin of his own pretensions, would be really too absurd to require a remark, if we had not witnessed the attempts of Protestants, on a visit to Rome, to preach down the Pope himself in his own capital. If a Greek, such as the Logotheti of Athens, has undertaken to be Vice-president of a Bible Society in that city, his office of Consul could not protect him from the indignation it would excite, were he sincere in his attempts. But if there had been any foundation for such accounts, the archbishop, and the Bible Society, the Smyrna Gazette, the "stereotype editions of Greek classics, widely circulated throughout Greece," and the whole series of Humboldt's, which those who have travelled in Greece, read with silent astonishment, but which the enlightened public so greedily devour, must have long ceased to exist; and the Bibles, the mathematical lectures, the 30,000 volumes at Chios, the 700 students, and the angels on horse-back, must have taken their departure to the place which gave them existence, the columns of a German newspaper.' pp. 304, 5.

Our Author has some skill in grouping, but it will be neces-

sary to examine his figures in detail. The German newspapers are not the authority on which some at least of the facts rest, which Sir William affects to discredit. He will not, we presume, venture to call in question the veracity of either Mr. Jowett or Mr. Leeves, in the accounts which they have transmitted to the Bible Society; but admitting this, he must have known when he penned this paragraph, that he was sacrificing truth to effect, in mixing up the exertions of the Bible Society with the 'German colleges.' His attempt to impeach the sincerity of the parties concerned, is base and contemptible. We have to do only with their actions, not with their motives; and the readiness with which several of the Greek bishops have concurred in the translating and printing of the Modern Greek Testament, reflects back the charge of absurdity on its author. But Sir William's hypothetical argument, were it worth any thing against facts, would obviously apply to Greek archbishops as well in Muscovy as in Turkey. Are then their Eminences the four Greek Metropolitans, the four Greek archbishops, and the two lord bishops, who rank among the Vice Presidents of the Russian Bible Society, all incapable of sincerely supporting such an institution? So Sir William Gell may choose to affirm; but then, who is the 'humbug?'

It is time to dismiss the learned Traveller, for whom, as an antiquary, a topographer, and a draftsman, we feel so high a respect, that we the more regret that he should have set up, in the present volume, for a politician and philosopher. He has undoubtedly furnished a lively and entertaining narrative, embellished with some pretty lithographic sketches of scenery, which furnish matter for interesting description. But the jaundiced view he takes of every thing connected with the Greek natives, renders it impossible to place any reliance on the fidelity of his representations, so far as *they* are concerned. His account of the Mainiotes, for instance, who are described as 'in every respect far behind the rest of the Greek population of the Morea, and sunk, beyond all hope of recovery, in ignorance and prejudice,'—by no means tallies with the account given by Mr. Morritt, who states, that they hold the laws of hospitality in religious reverence; that travellers are sure of the most cordial welcome and a safe escort; that their women are treated with respect, and that conjugal infidelity is very rare. Their veneration for the aged is admitted by Sir William himself in the following paragraph, which we transcribe for the sake of shewing how easy it is to give a ridiculous turn or false colouring to the most favourable circumstance or trait of character.

‘ In almost every Greek expedition, on foot, on horseback, or in a boat, *this most awkward veneration for hoary locks*, yet exists, as in the history of ancient Sparta; and the consequences of the *fatal prejudice* are in every case delay, and in many, danger. A Greek boat has always some old, obstinate, and ignorant monster on board, whose only merit consists in being unwilling to learn more than his grandfather knew before him; and his fears and idleness are among the most provoking impediments to the voyage.’ p. 908.

Such is the dignified, enlightened, and impartial spirit which pervades the book. The journey which it narrates, was moreover undertaken *nine years ago*; and though Sir William asserts, that ‘ few changes have since taken place, and certainly not ‘ many improvements,’ his assertion in such a case cannot weigh much, after the ample proofs we have given of his unfairness and prejudice. The fact is, that a great part of his statements rest on private communications, rather than on local knowledge. The volume is full of general assertions, but extremely barren of facts; full of sneers at Greek liberty and the Bible Society, and of ominous predictions, already falsified by recent events, but utterly destitute of any solid or important information. It is dedicated to Lady Drummond, whose magnificence, by a strange typographical blunder, is stated to have protected the Author ‘ in success’—we presume, sickness. We should have recommended Sir William to dedicate it to the memory of Lord Londonderry. He would have approved of the work.

Happily, the cause of the Greeks is not likely materially to suffer from Sir William’s defection; it can dispense with him as an auxiliary. We transcribe from Dr. Chatfield’s pamphlet, the following statement of their recent successes, communicated by ‘ a Grecian friend.’

‘ The Greeks, during the last two years, with few mercantile vessels, and as it were to say, with two or three rounds of cartridges, have emancipated all Peloponnesus, with the exception of four fortresses, namely, Modon, Coron, Patras, and Corinth, and ~~these two~~ last, in a few days, will surrender. Napoli, the principal fortress in the Morea, surrendered the 30th November last. Crete is entirely free, with the exception of one single fortress, which still remains in the hands of the enemy. All Boeotia is free,—likewise Phocis, Locris, Ætolia, Acarnania; and in Eubœa, one fortress only remains, which is besieged by the Greeks. All the islands which are called the Cyclades, are free, with the exception of Cyprus and Rhodes; and the flag of our nation floats every where on the sea. The vessels of the Speziots, Psariots, Hydriots, Cassiots, and Samians, carrying only from 10 to 24 guns, have terrified the Great Fleet of the Sultan, and have expelled it from the Mediterranean. The Turkish fleet cannot sail out of the Dardanelles. Twice we



ventured out, and twice it returned with great damage and disgrace, without being able to give the least assistance to the besieged fortresses—and so much for the Grecian affairs by sea. As to those by land, the commander of Romelia, Churchid Pacha, (*Χουρτσίδης*) last August, sent several Pachas by the way of Thermopylæ, with 33,000 troops. But, what have they done? They have been all destroyed by the Greeks under the new Leonidas, General Nicetas; and the remains of the army, about 6,000, escaped by flight to Corinth, and are now perishing by famine, and on the point of surrendering. Attica is entirely free; and the Greek banner floats on her citadel. From the part of Albania, four Pachas went against Acarnania, with 12,000 troops, the best chosen of Albania and of all Turkey, having several pieces of field artillery and mortars, and they arrived at the ramparts of Messolongi on the 25th December; about the dawn of the morning, the enemy assailed the ditch with ladders, and they suffered the fire of the Greeks for three hours very obstinately; but at last they were obliged to retreat to their own camp, with the loss of 500 men, and as many wounded. On the 31st of the same month, in the middle of the night, they fled away from their camp, leaving all their baggage, viz. thirteen pieces of field artillery and mortars, and an immense number of cannon balls and gunpowder, sixty tents, two of which, belonging to Viziers, were magnificent; and all these, as well as their provisions, many sick men, &c. the Greeks brought in the morning to Messolongi in triumph, having at their head the Prince Maurocordato. After this, all the Grecian army pursued the enemy very closely, and in passing the river Achelous, which was swoln, many of them were drowned, and in short, the Greeks have almost destroyed all this camp. They are pursuing the enemy every where, and consequently are triumphant. All these accounts, which I write to you, are true and authentic; and you can communicate them to your friends without any suspicion of exaggeration, but rather of diminution, because I could not write to you every thing minutely, in order that the actions of the Greeks may not appear incredible, because they have done this, I repeat it again, with two or three rounds of cartridges. Now, however, they have pieces of artillery and mortars, which they have found in the enemy's camps, and in the fortresses which they have taken. They have organized a corps of 800 men: these are certainly few; but where is the money to organize more? If they had had a regular army of 10,000 men, they might have been now in Thrace, and could have done great things, and they would have shewn the pretended powerful Sultan what he really is.

The Grecian fleet consists of one hundred and fifty vessels, the largest of them carry 24 guns. The land army of the Greeks are 50,000, under skilful generals, and brave, but not regular. Colocotroni, his nephews Nicetas, Zaimes, Londos, and others, are generals in Peloponnesus, which is called the Southern Greece, according to the new division by the government.—Odysseus, Guras, Dubiniotes, Metzos, Contogiannes, Caratassos, Scaltzodemus, and others, are generals in the Eastern Greece, from Athens to Zeitouni.



Marcus Botzaris, Ziongas, Macris, Caraiscos, and others, are generals of the Western Greece, in Ætolia and Acarnania, as far as Arta, for the present.

‘ The Greeks begin to regenerate,—to conduct themselves better,—and to acquire an heroic spirit; but, they are still poor: and, if any friendly power *could assist them with money to enable them to* pay a corps of disciplined men with regular salary, they could acquire at once power and stability:—they would want it *only for a year*, because, in that time, by the means of this corps, they could discipline others of their own.

‘ They have established well their internal government, with a legislative constitution, with a police in every place, with two councils, courts of justice, with garrisons in the fortresses; and now, they go on with harmony and union under the great wisdom of the President of the Senate, Prince Maurocordato. But, I tell you this, that if neutral flags had not given assistance to the besieged Turks in the fortresses, it is certain that now no fortress could have remained in the hands of the enemy. Besides, if they had not given sailors to the Turkish fleet, they never could have sailed at all out of the Dardanelles; because in the vessel of the Capitan Pacha, which was burnt a short time ago, five hundred sailors were found, foreigners belonging to neutral flags. But now, I understand, that the Ambassadors at Constantinople have prohibited such proceedings. God, however, is for our assistance;—who has confounded the councils of the Sultan, so that he killed at first Ali Pacha, the principal pillar of Turkey,—next the great Churchid Pacha, Lombut Pacha, Selim Pacha, Ismail Pacha, and seven other Pachas, and the Grand Vizier. He also destroyed all his ministers, and particularly the celebrated Haleb Effendi; and now his ministry consists of labouring Janizaries, and all his Viziers are *new slaves*, and without experience. Think, then, how perplexed our enemy is. Oriental Turkey is at war with Persia; the Pacha of Acre revolted, and he defeated three Pachas who went against him. The Sultan beheaded even all the commanders of the fleet who were saved in the Dardanelles, for the cause that they did not defeat the Grecian fleet, and for not having given assistance to the garrison in Napoli, and in the other fortresses.’ pp. 69—72.

Dr. Chatfield’s appeal on their behalf will be found highly deserving of perusal: it abounds with information, and supplies a complete antidote to Sir William Gell’s mis-statements. Lord Erskine’s Letter, which was written on the spur of the moment, and has by this time lost some of its interest, has for its object, to recommend an armed interference on behalf of the Greeks, which we are not convinced by either his Lordship’s arguments or those of Dr. Johnson cited by Dr. Chatfield, that our Government would have been justified in exerting.

‘ My own opinion,’ says his Lordship, ‘ undoubtedly is, and always has been, and ever must continue, that the Turks should be thrust forth at once from Europe by its united force, if it can be ob-

tained ; and in effecting this, I should not think it necessary to consult the Duke of Wellington, as the greatest man for conducting an army that ever existed among us, or I believe ever will ; I should rather confide the matter to some long-practised diplomatist, with the assistance of a *lawyer to draw up the notice to quit*. This is no figure, my Lord,—since what possible resistance could Turkey make, if Europe could settle to whom possession should be delivered ?

That question will, we hope, be settled, and the ejection served, by the Greeks themselves. They have the best possible right to succeed to the possession of their own country, when the Turks shall have vacated it ; and that unwieldy despotism already totters to its predicted downfall. Waiving, however, any political speculations in this place, we shall for the present take leave of the subject with two remarks, which may serve to place the cause and claims of the Greeks in their proper light.

In the first place, we would deprecate resting their claims in any degree on their ancestral honours, or the purity of their pedigree. This consideration may serve to point a paragraph, or give effect to a speech at a public dinner ; but, in truth, their being Greeks, has, in our opinion, extremely little to do with the justice of their cause. Their right and title to the land, on the ground of inheritance, cannot be considered as at all more valid than that of the Welsh, the true old Britons, to the sovereignty of this island. Whether, therefore, the Mainiotes are descended, as they boast, from the ancient Spartans, or from Laconian pirates ; whether the Hydriotes are Hellenists by descent, or belong, as Sir William Gell contends, to ‘ the worst and lowest species of Albanians ;’—whatever be the origin of the various tribes of the peninsula, or however mixed they may be with Slavonic or Venetian intruders, their claims to British compassion and British aid are, in our view, not in the least affected by such considerations. They are doubtless, like the Copts of Egypt, both a mixed and a degenerate race. But the interest attaching to them as Greeks, and which, in spite of all cold reasonings, must attach to the name, linked as it is with every classical prepossession and the proudest historical recollections,—this interest relates to the soil, not to the race. It is Greece as a country, not the Greeks as a people, of whom we know little, that excites our enthusiasm. It is felt as a violence done to every association, an incongruity in the political state of things, a disgrace to human nature, that Greece, the cradle of Western learning and birth-place of liberty, the country of Homer, and Pindar, and Plato, and Leonidas,—should be the seat of Tartar barbarism, of Mussulman intolerance, peopled only by tyrants and slaves. ‘ Are we not ourselves,’ exclaims Dr. Chatfield,

' this kind of classic taste and refinement, a mingled race of Britons, Romans, Saxons, Danes, Normans? And shall it be said, that we are not Britons, because the Northern hordes have occasionally poured their myriads upon our shores, and blended the blood of Scandinavia with the descendants of Caractacus?'

The Romaic, if language be any test of filiation, has at least a closer relation to the ancient Greek, than the English language has to that in which King John's barons claimed their rights. But, as we apprehend that no one ever thought of resting the claims of the Italians to the enjoyment of civil liberty, on their descent from the ancient Romans, so, it is not the connexion of the modern with the ancient Greeks, on which turns the question of their social rights. Their claims upon us, are those of a persecuted and oppressed people: the accidental interest of their cause, arises from the country which they occupy.

But if it is not as descendants from the ancient Greeks, that they claim our peculiar sympathy, neither is it, in our judgment, because they are Christians. Christians they are in name only; and we frankly concede to Sir William Gell and all other friends of the Turks, that Islamism has more in common with the religion of the New Testament, than the paganism into which the Greek and Latin superstitions have since to a large extent degenerated. But let us do the Greek justice; he is not less a Christian than the Spanish monk or the Irish white-boy; and therefore, unless we could reform our nomenclature, and restore the word Christian to its primitive meaning, we must still include the worshippers of the Panagia and St. Isidore among the nations of Christendom. We do not, however, like to hear it argued, that the honour of Christianity is implicated in the cause of the Greeks. This might have done for the days of Peter the Hermit; but the time has gone by for waging holy wars on this pretence. The Mussulman knows, or ought to be made know, that the Greeks have *not* a common faith with us; that we regard them as idolaters who have corrupted and grossly departed from the faith contained in the sacred book we reverence in common. The plea of delivering the Christians from the yoke of the Infidels is hollow and unsound: the yoke of the Man of Sin is fully as detestable. Were the Greek Christians in possession of civil and religious liberty under their Turkish masters, we should not be more authorized to encourage them in insurrectionary proceedings, than we should be in trying to stir up the Protestants of France against their Roman Catholic rulers. The truth is, that the honour of Christianity is much more

deeply concerned in the conversion of the Greeks, than in their political emancipation;—nay, much more in the conversion of the Turks too, than in their expulsion. It is the existence and spread of Islamism, not its political ascendancy, which reflects disgrace on those who bear the Christian name. The primitive Christians felt it no disgrace to live under Heathen rulers, but they would have deemed the progress of heathenism morally impossible; and while Christianity retained, with its original purity, its expansive force, its reproductive energy, it was morally impossible. The scimitar of Mahommed would have been powerless as the sword of Nero or Diocletian, against the ethereal nature of that faith, which never waxed feeble till it became incorporated with the grosser element of secular power and grandeur.

Still, while we deprecate the religious pretence for a crusade against the Turks, there are religious grounds on which the Christian must rejoice in the downfall of Islamism, even though nothing better than the Greek superstition should in the first instance occupy its place. The worst feature in modern Mahomedism is, its ferocious stupidity. Wherever it prevails, a stop is immediately put to the progress of civilization, the humanizing light of science is shut out, and the faculties of men become stunted and incapable of further growth. The Turk is a finer animal than the Greek, but he is only an animal: he has reached the perfection of his instinct, and there he stops. The Greek, on the contrary, is at least capable of learning, capable of civilization: he is not illiterate upon principle, condemned to barbarism by his creed. His condition is that of a child hitherto untaught and ill treated, wayward and savage; but his character is not fixed: in him the principle of growth remains to be developed, and he may yet attain the moral stature of man.

Then, the Greeks recognise the Christian Scriptures. With what sincerity their priests may concur in their circulation, it matters not to determine: they acknowledge their authority, and cannot escape from it. The Bible must circulate in Greece, when that country shall be once delivered from Turkish domination. Curiosity and the thirst for learning will, as in Ireland, aid its circulation; the original language of the New Testament Scriptures, will recommend the volume to the Greeks; and the well known opposition of the Latin Church to the general distribution of the Scriptures among the laity, will furnish their priests with a motive for encouraging it. The example of the Russian Church, moreover, cannot fail to have a powerful influence on the clergy of Greece; and little doubt can be entertained, that they will be induced to take the lead

in a cause which they cannot hinder from advancing. The efforts of the Bible Society have for the present been checked by the political commotions which distract the Turkish empire. The revision of Hilarion's Modern Greek Testament by the Archbishop of Mount Sinai, has, however, been proceeding, and measures have been adopted for a first edition. A complete copy of the Albanian New Testament also has been forwarded to Malta, and Hilarion was taking steps to procure the translation of the Old Testament into that language. Anthimus, the present Greek patriarch, is said to be a friend to the objects of the Society. In the mean time, the Ionian Bible Society has been proceeding with zeal and success; and the influence of the new state of society which is, we fondly hope, in the process of formation in the Ionian republic, must be powerfully felt, eventually, on the Hellenic continent.

But the fall of the Turkish empire could not but be attended with the most important moral as well as political results. The caliphate, the vicarious succession, resides in the Sultan; and when the master of Mecca is overthrown at Constantinople, Islamism will have received its death-blow. Egypt is already lost to the Vicar of Mahommed; Arabia has revolted from the prophet; Syria only awaits a favourable opportunity of asserting her independence; Persia will exult in the ruin of her Ottoman rival, and has already begun to question the authority of the Koran; and Armenia, if not swallowed up between Russia and Persia, will share in the fortunes of Greece. Such is the crisis of the East. It is impossible for any intelligent philanthropist, much more for any devout Christian, to be otherwise than intensely interested in the present struggle, seeing that results are implicated in it, of such immeasurable importance, that the cause of the Greeks is the cause of human society.

*Art. V. A Collection of Poems, chiefly Manuscript, and from living Authors. Edited for the Benefit of a Friend. By Joanna Baillie. 8vo. pp. 330. London. 1823.*

A LARGE and splendid list of subscribers to this elegant volume, has enabled Miss Baillie successfully to realize her generous intention in making the collection, to which her literary friends have so kindly contributed. As a very few copies of the impression remain, some extracts from a collection so unique may not be unacceptable to our readers. Among the contributors, the first and foremost is, as it should be, Sir Walter Scott, who has furnished an 'idle tale,' for which he apologises as

' scarcely of worth enough  
 To give or to withhold. But time creeps on,  
 Fancy grows colder as the silvery hair  
 Tells the advancing winter of our life.  
 But if it be of worth enough to please,  
 That worth it owes to her who set the task ;  
 If otherwise, the fault rest with the author.'

s a dramatic scene, slight, but spirited in its execution,  
 here and there a touch of the master-hand, as in the fol-  
 lowing speech of the cowed warrior.

' ———peace be with you.'

*Thaves*. It is not with me, and alas ! alas !

I know not where to seek it. This monk's mind  
 Is with his cloister marked, nor lacks more room.  
 Its petty duties, formal ritual,  
 Its humble pleasures, and its paltry troubles,  
 Fill up his round of life. Even as some reptiles,  
 They say, are moulded to the very shape  
 And all the angles of the rocky crevice  
 In which they live and die. But for myself,  
 Hunted by passion to the narrow cell,  
 Couching my tired limbs in its recesses,  
 So ill adapted am I to its limits,  
 That every attitude is agony.'

pen of Charles B. Sheridan, a poet by birthright, has  
 contributed some spirited effusions on the subject of the Greeks.  
 Their songs we leave to be translated into Romaic, but the  
 following beautiful quatorzain we must fix in our pages.

' ON LEAVING GREECE, 1820.

' Hellas ! farewell !—with anxious gaze I view,  
 Lovely in tears, and injured as thou art,  
 Thy summits melting in the distant blue,  
 Fade from my eyes, but linger in my heart.  
 Submissive, silent victim ! dost thou feel  
 The chains which gall thee ? or has lengthened grief  
 Numb'd hate and shame alike with hope and zeal,  
 And brought insensibility's relief ?  
 Awake ! adjured by every chief and sage  
 Thou once couldst boast in many a meaner cause,  
 And let the tame submission of an age,  
 Like Nature's hush'd and scarcely rustling pause,  
 Ere winds burst forth, foretell the approaching storm,  
 When thou shalt grasp the spear, and raise thy prostrate form.'

old and venerated friend Mrs. Barbauld has, in the fol-  
 lowing lines, struck a chord that will vibrate on the heart :

## ‘ ON THE KING’S ILLNESS.

‘ Rest, rest, afflicted spirit ! quickly pass  
 Thy hour of bitter suffering ! Rest awaits thee,  
 There, where the load of weary life laid down,  
 The peasant and the king repose together,—  
 There peaceful sleep, thy quiet grave bedewed  
 With tears of those who loved thee.—Not for thee,  
 In the dark chambers of the nether world,  
 Shall spectre kings rise from their burning thrones,  
 And point the vacant seat, and scoffing say,  
 Art thou become like us ? Oh not for thee ;  
 For thou hadst human feelings, and hast lived  
 A man with men ; and kindly charities,  
 Even such as warm the cottage hearth, were thine.  
 And therefore falls the tear from eyes not used  
 To gaze on kings with admiration fond.  
 And thou hast knelt at meek religion’s shrine  
 With no mock homage, and hast owned her rights  
 Sacred in every breast ; and therefore rise  
 Affectionate for thee, the orisons  
 And mingled prayers, alike from vaulted domes  
 Whence the loud organ peels, and rafters roofs  
 Of humbler worship.—Still remembering this,  
 A nation’s pity and a nation’s love  
 Linger beside thy couch, in this the day  
 Of thy sad visitation, veiling faults  
 Of erring judgment and not will perverse.  
 Yet, oh that thou hadst closed the wounds of war !  
 That had been praise to suit a higher strain.  
 Farewell the years roll’d down the gulf of time !  
 Thy name has chronicled a long bright page  
 Of England’s story ; and perhaps the babe  
 Who opens, as thou closest thine, his eyes  
 On this eventful world, when aged grown,  
 Musing on times gone by, shall sigh and say,  
 Shaking his thin grey hairs, whitened with grief,  
 Our fathers’ days were happy. Fare thee well !  
 My thread of life has even run with thine  
 For many a lustre ; and thy closing day  
 I contemplate, not mindless of my own,  
 Nor to its call reluctant.’

Oh ! this is worth all the Birth-day Odes that ever have been  
 written, or that ever will be.—As a companion piece to  
 we give the following well turned lines from the pen of the  
 Mrs. Dixon of Fellfoot,

## ‘ ON A GREY HAIR.

‘ Thou, whom the giddy mock, the gay deride,  
 Protracted folly’s scourge, and foe to pride,



I'll meet thee, poor, pale omen of decay  
With all the little wisdom that I may ;  
And hail thee herald of the tranquil hour  
Of calm sensations, and high reason's power,  
Of just ambition, to whose flight is given  
No sordid check, but still aspires to heaven.  
Let others spurn thee : I, without a dread,  
Welcome thy long-loved honours to my head.  
I will but, like a bee of vagrant wing,  
That trifled o'er the treasures of the spring,  
Research the garden with a nicer care,  
Extend a wider flight thro' fields of air,  
Or deeper probe the nectared flowret's bell,  
To bring the honied wisdom to my cell :  
Laden with sweets, and treasuring up the store,  
I'll dread life's coming wintry storms no more.  
Yes, yes ! thy monitory voice I hear,  
Low numbering all the evils in thy rear.  
The wrinkled front, dim eye, and pallid cheek,  
Are but the preludes to the general wreck.  
But can no other charm their loss supply ?  
And is there left no light t'illumine the eye ?  
Yes, it shall kindle at a friend's return ;  
Tears shall suffuse it if a friend shall mourn ;  
O'er earth its views benevolent be given,  
And faith shall fix its hallowed gaze on Heaven.  
Nor with a pencil dipt in sordid care,  
Shall time's deep furrow on my brow appear ;  
But there shall sit, as years successive roll,  
The calm unclouded sunshine of the soul.  
Wit's ready sallies we may well resign :  
The lip of truth and kindness shall be mine.  
And 'tis the meed of blameless life the while,  
To dress the placid features in a smile.  
Then age, dear honourable age ! I'll throw  
Youth's many-mingled chaplet from my brow  
With meek propriety, and, in its room,  
The decent coif and sober stole assume ;  
Nor fear, though gayer charms may fade away,  
Aught that we loved in love can e'er decay.  
Of that fond tie that made us man and wife,  
Full half the bargain was the wane of life.  
Earth's feeble bonds with what is earthly sever ;  
But they who truly love, unite for ever.  
Rich in that love, in honoured wisdom's store,  
I'll dread life's coming wintry storms no more.'

The female contributors certainly divide the honours in this poetical contest. Great names occur among the gentlemen competitors,—Southey, Wordsworth, Rogers, Campbell, Mil-

man, Crabbe, Smyth; but some of them have been either niggard of their verse or lazy. Campbell's beautiful ode to the Rainbow we could not pass over, had it not appeared elsewhere. Crabbe has a pretty poem entitled 'Hope and Memory;' but it is too long for insertion here. Rogers has furnished a sweet 'landscape and figures,' worthy of being framed, but we shall doubtless have it preserved in his rich poetical gallery—"Italy." Passing by these, we must take for our next extract a poem by Miss Holford.

### ‘ ON MEMORY.

WRITTEN AT AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

- ‘ No ! this is not the land of Memory,  
It is not the home where she dwells,  
Though her wandering, wayward votary  
Is ever the thrall of her spells :  
Far off were the fetters woven which bind  
Still closer and closer the exile's mind !
- ‘ Yet, this land was the boast of minstrelsy,  
Of the song of the Troubadour,  
Whence Charlemagne led his chivalry  
To the fields which were fought of yore :  
Still the eye of Fancy may see them glance,  
Gilded banner and quivering lance.
- ‘ But Memory from Fancy turns away ;  
She has wealth of her own to guard :  
And whisperings come to her ear, which say  
Sweeter things than the song of the bard.  
They are solemn and low, and none can hear  
The whispers which come to Memory's ear.
- ‘ They tell of the dews which brightened the way  
By our earliest footsteps pressed ;  
They tell of the visions, hopeful and gay,  
Which were born, and which died in the breast ;  
They recall the accents which sweetly spake  
To the soul, when the soul was first awake.
- ‘ In Memory's land springs never a flower,  
Nor the lowliest daisy blooms,  
Ne'er a robin chirps from its russet bower,  
But to call from their silent tombs  
The thoughts and the things which time's pitiless sway  
Has long since swept from the world away.
- ‘ In memory's land waves never a leaf,  
There never a summer-breeze blows,  
But some long smother'd thought of joy or grief  
Starts up from its long repose :  
And forms are living and visible there,  
Which vanished long since from our earthly sphere.

- I would not escape from Memory's land  
For all that the eye can view ;  
For there's dearer dust in Memory's land  
Than the ore of rich Peru.  
I clasp the fetter by Memory twined  
The wanderer's heart and soul to bind.'

We cannot pass over the touching little poem by Miss  
enger, entitled,

• THE SHIP'S RETURN.

- Thou com'st, fair bark, in gallant pride,  
Thy swan-white sails exulting spread ;  
Nor I the graceful triumph chide,  
For silent are the tears I shed.
- Ere while, when thou wert distant far,  
Wandering on ocean's pathless waste,  
I hailed thee as my pilot star ;  
By thee my devious course was traced.
- To thee, as to a hallowed shrine,  
My sighs, my prayers were all addressed :  
Thy pride, thy honour seemed but mine,  
And in thy safety was my rest.
- But now, though trophies deck thy brow,  
A mournful wreck alone I see ;  
For he who warmed each ardent vow,  
No more a welcome asks of me.
- He should have lived ! for fortune owed  
The kind redress, withheld too long,  
Whilst he life's dark and dreary road  
Had still beguiled with hope's sweet song.
- He should have lived !—in suffering schooled,  
But ne'er with fancied wrongs oppressed ;  
For nature still o'er sorrow ruled,  
And peace his guileless soul possessed.
- Unskilled in caution's rigid lore,  
He scorned suspicion's gloomy sway :  
Deceived, he trusted as before,  
And dreams illumed each passing day.
- And still in Albion's happy isle  
His little fairy home was placed :  
Domestic love, affection's smile,  
Were all the joys he sighed to taste.
- How blest, to strive with toil no more,  
To live for social cares alone,  
To soothe the ills that others bore,  
As none had ever soothed his own !

- ‘ How fair the scene by fancy cast,  
Rich with affection's balmy breath !  
Ah dream ! the loveliest, as the last,  
That gilded the dark hour of death.
- ‘ Even on his wandering soul it smiled,  
When flitting shades around him pressed ;  
A transient gleam of joy beguiled  
His pangs—one moment he was blessed.
- ‘ He saw the partner of his days,  
Hailed each loved friend with ancient claim,  
And with a tender lingering gaze,  
Responded to the father's name.
- ‘ And then he would a blessing breathe,  
A pledge of Christian faith impart,  
And with a dower of love bequeath  
The latest counsels of his heart.
- ‘ But then he saw the phantoms fade ;  
He gazed on strangers, rude and cold.  
His last fond look was hope betrayed ;  
His parting sigh, a wish untold.’

There are several poems by the late Mrs. John Hunter, one of which, however, has long been familiar to us, as the words of an exquisite canzonet of Haydn's, ‘ *La Costanza*.’ All the compositions of this lady are elegant and replete with feeling. ‘ *Belshazzar's Feast*,’ by Mrs. Hemans, is a fine poem : its length precludes our transcribing it. Besides these ladies, we meet with the names of Lady Dacre, Miss Anna Maria Porter, Mrs. Grant, and the Editor. We are glad that they are not all single ladies, for reasons illustrated by the following sportive epistle from Sir William Pepys to a friend on his wedding day.

- ‘ “ Give me, to bless domestic life,  
With social ease, secure from strife,  
( Cries every fellow of a college )  
A wife not overstocked with knowledge.”  
This every fool who loves to quote  
What, parrot-like, he learns by rote ;  
And every coxcomb whose pretence  
To wisdom, marks his want of sense ;  
And all good house-wives skill'd in darning,  
Who rail with much contempt at *larning* ;  
And all who place their greatest good in  
The composition of a pudding ;  
Repeat with such triumphant air,  
Such deep sagacity, you'd swear

That knowledge, among woman-kind,  
Was deadliest poison to the mind ;—  
A crime which, (venial if concealed,  
Like theft at Sparta,) when revealed,  
The guilty stamps with such disgrace,  
No culprit dares to shew her face.

‘ But tell me, you, who dared despise  
Such vulgar maxims, who from eyes  
Which well might grace the loveliest fair,  
Turned not because bright sense beamed there ;  
Tell me, through all these thirteen years,  
Through varying scenes of hopes and fears,  
Could ignorance more faithful prove ?  
Could folly's self more warmly love ?  
Then long may this auspicious morn,  
At each still happier year's return,  
Tell, what thy sweet experience shews,  
That head and heart are friends, not foes.’

The cleverest poem in the collection, unquestionably, is the Epistle to Earl Harcourt by F——, ‘ on his wishing her to ‘ spell her name of Catherine with a K.’ It is a mere *jeu d'esprit*, but its sportiveness, ingenuity, and easy versification, distinguish it as the trifling of a very accomplished mind. It is much too long, however, to extract. An ode to Memory by the late Lord Glenbervie, is affecting from the circumstances connected with it. It appears to have been written some years before the death of his lady ; and in an additional verse, dated 1817, his Lordship adverts to his loss after ‘ long years of bliss.’ Only two years after, his only son, the Hon. Fred. Douglas, just rising into eminence as a senator, and but recently married, was suddenly cut off in the prime of life. Brief but touching is the record of parental grief in the following added stanza, dated 1819.

‘ Ah ! no : for me no balm hast thou,  
A widowed, childless father now !  
And grief my earthly—endless doom  
Yet hope still lives beyond the grave :  
God surely tries us but to save !  
They beckon me :—I come ! I come.’

The following poem is anonymous. Our poetical readers will not think that it stands in need of the recommendation of any name.

‘ Friends ! when I die, prepare my welcome grave  
Where the eternal ocean rolls his wave.  
Rough though the blast, still let his free born breeze,  
Which freshness wafts to earth from endless seas,

Sigh o'er my sleep, and let his glancing spray  
Weep tear-drops sparkling with a heavenly ray.  
A constant mourner then shall watch my tomb,  
And nature deepen while it soothes the gloom.

' O let that element whose voice had power  
To cheer my darkest, soothe my loneliest hour,  
Which through my life my spirit loved so well,  
Still o'er my grave its tale of glory tell !  
The generous ocean, whose proud waters bear  
The spoil and produce they disdain to wear ;  
Whose wave claims kindred with the azure sky,  
From whom reflected stars beam gloriously ;  
Emblem of God, unchanging, infinite,  
Awful alike in loveliness and might ;  
Rolls still untiring like the tide of time,  
Binds man to man, and mingles clime with clime.  
And as the sun, which, from each lake and stream  
Thro' all the world, where'er their waters gleam,  
Collects the cloud his heavenly ray conceals,  
And slakes the thirst which all creation feels,  
So ocean gathers tribute from each shore,  
To bid each climate know its want no more.

' Exiled on earth, a fettered prisoner here,  
Barred from all treasures which my heart holds dear,  
The kindred soul, the fame my youth desired,  
Whilst hope hath fled, which once each vision fired ;  
Dead to all joy, still on my fancy glow  
Dreams of delight which heaven-ward thoughts bestow ;  
Not then in death shall I unconscious be  
Of that whose whispers are eternity.'

We can make room for only two more poems. The following song is worthy at least of all the space it will occupy. It has annexed to it the name of John Richardson, Esq. : it would not have disgraced Burns.

' Yes, thou may'st walk in silk attire,  
If thou'lt consent to be his bride,  
Whose wealth can satiate each desire  
That ministers to pride.

' If thou'lt forswear thy plighted love,  
And leave his aching heart to break,  
With whom, in Teviot's evening grove,  
Thou vow'dst life's lot to take.

' To whom thy stainless, youthful heart  
Pledged its affection's earliest glow,  
And bade thy faltering lips impart  
Bliss he no more can know.

' When life to thee, as then to him,  
 Beamed in its freshest, loveliest hue;  
 In rapture's cup, love to the brim  
 Rose bright,—but how untrue!

' Nay, nay, the friendly hand I scorn;  
 Thy love was mine—I'll ne'er take less.  
 If changed affection can't be borne,  
 There's refuge from distress.

' The damask couch, the fretted roof  
 May soothe thy rest, may please thine eye:  
 A lowlier doom, a ruder woof,  
 He seeks, who seeks to die.'

There are two poems by H. Gally Knight, Esq. both of great merit. The 'Portrait' is almost worthy of being hung up to correspond with Cowper's lines on his Mother's Picture. The other poem, which we have reserved for our concluding extract, will speak for itself.

De la CHARITÉ pour les PAUVRES PRISONNIERS, DIEPPE.

' Yes, 'tis a year since last that plaintive cry,  
 "Pity the prisoners," touched my wandering ear:  
 And now again their hat is lowered from high,  
 And the same famished, sharpened features peer  
 Through the stern bars.—Can the revolving year,  
 With its rich interchange of joys, have brought  
 Health to my body, transport to my thought,  
 Whilst man hath left his fellow-creatures here?

' France! I have trod thy vine-clad hills, and eyed  
 Milan's cathedral, the blue Glacier's wall,  
 Como's fair lake in all its summer's pride,  
 Baronial Heidelberg, Schaffhausen's fall,—  
 Till, lost in ecstasy, my spirit flew  
 Forth with the breeze, exulting o'er the view;  
 And, as that breeze along a bank of flowers  
 Gathers their odours, with a silent awe  
 Incorporating them into my powers,  
 I mingled with the mighty things I saw,  
 Bold forms, sweet tints, soft Nature's whispered tone,  
 And made the feelings of the Alps my own:  
 Just as the lake, beneath the mountain's brow,  
 Reflects the charms that on its borders glow,  
 Receives them to its breast, and seems to blend  
 Their nature in its own, as friend to friend.  
 And I at will have seen and mused on man,  
 His varied character and social plan,—  
 The prudent Dutchman, the more simple Swiss,  
 Till, home returning, the familiar kiss  
 Of loving lips received me.—



‘ Out, alas !

On human mercy ! Whilst my hours have flown  
 Lovely as sunbeams through the prism glass,  
 Your bonded months have dragged their weight alone,  
 Poor barr’d and pittance’d thralls ! To you the same,  
 How bright the day, or rich the harvest came !  
 Oh, how can guilty souls presume to meet  
 Him who redeemed them, on his judgment seat,  
 Who taught them but one daily prayer to Heaven,  
 “ As we forgive, so may we be forgiven ! ”  
 Bankrupts and beggars ! how can they forget  
 The retribution of his awful threat,  
 On fierce exactors of a fellow-servant’s debt ?  
 Away ! no kneeling mockery to your Lord !  
 When ye but asked him, he forgave you all ;  
 E’en you whose patience will not once afford  
 A doit’s forbearance at a brother’s call.  
 Yourselves have judged yourselves, and wrath defied,  
 By every drop of comfort you denied ;  
 And heaped consuming horrors on your head,  
 In every tear your withering victims shed ;  
 Those tears which baffled avarice can spurn,  
 Then, reckless, to life’s breathing world return  
 To feast with Pharisees, the sunbeam share,  
 Weep o’er a play, nor tremble at a prayer.  
 Grasping the pound of flesh revenge makes dear,  
 Age after age, man pens his equal here.  
 He owed you monies ; therefore, whilst the blood  
 Boils at his heart, and children cry for food,—  
 Whilst strong his energies, erect his form,  
 His feelings fresh about him,—like a storm,  
 You, the rich tyrant, fastened on your prey,  
 Carried him from his plundered home away,  
 And to this living sepulchre consigned  
 A fading body and a writhing mind ;  
 Here left in hateful solitude to die  
 By the slow poison of much misery.

‘ Pity the prisoners ! Yes, though thrown aside,  
 Like serpents that dared cross the path of pride,  
 And darken, with your wretched looks, the day  
 Of purse-swol’n neighbours, whom want could not pay ;  
 And though ye lose, withdrawn from public sight,  
 The throng’d world’s sympathy, your humble right,  
 Yet do your cruel sorrows justice find  
 Among the human portion of mankind,—  
 The glorious few who, true to virtue’s cause,  
 Would mend their country’s by religion’s laws ;  
 They who have made the better part their choice,  
 And pass’d protected thro’ life’s furnace flame,  
 Nor need, like me, the sufferer’s pleading voice,  
 To wake their nature to a sense of shame ;

Who, amidst fashion's taint and pleasure's lure,  
 Have fought the thankless battles of the poor ;  
 Wrench'd from the worldly hand its iron rod,  
 And best have serv'd, by most resembling God.  
 Whilst me, yet loitering on a foreign strand,  
 Life's labyrinth thread deceives, and seems but sand,  
 Which from my feeble fingers slips away,\*  
 Like the delusion of a vacant dream,  
 Or mountain music of some shallow stream,  
 That, pleased in listening its own worthless sound,  
 Cools no parched lip, revives no thirsty ground.  
 In those brief hours of light which yet remain,  
 If yet, oh, teach me not to live in vain !  
 Teach me, Great Master ! to redeem the time,  
 And heavenward teach my sacred thoughts to climb.  
 Then shall I, from sin's slavish thralldom free,  
 Love all thy Gospel loves, and humbly honour Thee.'

These lines ask for no encomium : they go direct to the heart. In taking leave of this brilliant anthology, we cannot avoid noticing that, although it has received contributions from some of the most eminent poets in this golden age of our poetical literature—for what former age could parallel the splendid constellation formed by Scott, Byron, Wordsworth, Southey, Crabbe, Campbell, Rogers, Montgomery, not to name our *junior optimes*?—yet, the most beautiful poems in the collection, decidedly, are from the pens either of females, or of scarcely known or anonymous writers. How much delightful poetry must there be, judging from what is thus accidentally brought to light, that is continually springing up and perishing in the quiet glades and nooks of domestic privacy—heart-blossoms, that vie in beauty with the most carefully trained and cultured productions of art, but which aim at nothing higher than catching the smile or the tear of affection, or perhaps at being gathered and worn for an hour. Such works as these shew, more than any half dozen splendid *chef d'œuvres*, the character and spirit of the age. It is peculiarly gratifying to find a taste for elegant literature and a susceptibility of the chaste and quiet pleasures of the home circle, prevailing among the higher classes,—to catch glimpses and openings into the habitations of our gentry and titled ones, which tell us that all is not heartless and sterile within the withering zone of fashion. The volume before us is not more creditable to the age on account of the talent displayed by the several writers,

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\* There appears to have been a line dropped here in transcribing, which would complete the couplet.—R.

than on account of the moral purity and correctness of sentiment by which it is characterized; divested of which, poetry is but a scentless weed, which may be admired awhile for its brilliant hues, but no one takes it to his bosom.

Art. VI. *Four Treatises* on the following Subjects: I. Mystery of Redemption. II. Prayer of Moses. III. Doctrine and Duty of Self-examination. IV. On the Faith of the Gospel. By J. A. Haldane. 24mo. pp. viii, 136. Price 2s. London. 1823.

**T**HE third of these Treatises was originally published in 1806, and a new edition has long been called for. It is a very plain, practical, and useful tract, well adapted both to promote and to direct the Scriptural discharge of the duty which it illustrates. Both in this and the following treatise, Mr. Haldane insists on that view of faith which has subsequently been so eloquently expounded and vindicated by Mr. Erskine; and he shews how any other view of faith lays us open to self-deception.

‘When, instead of being engaged in contemplating the truth, our minds are occupied in considering the manner of our believing, we are laid under very strong temptations to persuade ourselves, that our faith possesses all the qualities of saving faith, and hence to draw our consolation. The Scriptures shew us a more excellent way. They do not entangle us in the mazes of metaphysical distinctions. They address the common sense of mankind; teach us what we are to believe, and describe the effects which the belief of the truth must necessarily produce. Thus, our minds are constantly directed towards the testimony of God; and a far more unequivocal test is given us, by which we may prove whether we believe the Gospel.’

Mr. Haldane very justly remarks, that the true end of self-examination is, ‘not to quiet the conscience, to banish slavish fear, or to remove doubts and apprehensions of our being believers,’ but, ‘to prove the genuineness of the peace and comfort which we enjoy.’ The practical importance of this distinction is very great, and it requires to be always kept in view in enforcing the duty.

Our Author’s explanation of Psal. xc. 3. “Return, ye children of men,” as referring, not to Gen. iii. 19, but to the Divine promise of a resurrection, is not new. The translation in the Psalter favours it: “Come again, ye children of men.” It appears to us, however, inadmissible for the reasons which Calvin assigns for rejecting it. ‘*Alii secus interpretantur, quod Deus deducat homines usque ad interitum, deinde in*

‘ resurrectione instauret. Sed argutia hæc procul quæsitæ est, nec quadrat contextu.’

The view of the mystery of Redemption given in the following passage, is highly striking and scriptural.

‘ Another great end of this astonishing act of condescension was, that a stop might be put to the progress of sin. It results from the character of God, that all his works were originally good. Sin, however, entered the universe; but it did not originate with man. It had gained admission previous to his creation; it had proved the ruin of multitudes of the rebel angels, and by their prince it was introduced into this world. How awful are the effects of sin! How does it blind the minds of those who are caught in its toils! The angels who excel in strength, who stood in the presence of God, presumed to rebel; and although they immediately began to reap the fruit of their wickedness, yet, impelled by pride and alienation from God, they persisted in the desperate warfare; attempted to thwart the schemes of their Creator, and to tarnish his glory by the ruin of mankind.

..... ‘ Why sin was at first permitted, we cannot tell. It was not owing to want of power, or wisdom, or goodness in the Creator; but it made its appearance, it extended its influence to this world; and we learn from Scripture, that one grand end which God had in view in dwelling with men on the earth, was to destroy the works of the devil, to arrest the progress of sin, and finally to sweep it from the face of the universe, into that place whence it shall never escape to mar the beauty of creation, and shall only be recollected, to enhance the glory of God and the felicity of all his obedient and intelligent creatures.

‘ The Scripture informs us, that this world was created by and for Jesus Christ: it was intended as a theatre on which his glory should be exhibited, and that by the church redeemed with his blood, the manifold wisdom of God might be known to the principalities and powers in heavenly places.’ pp. 25—7.

It is unnecessary to add one word in recommendation of such a work as this, to religious readers. Its cheapness will secure its extensive sale.

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*Art. VII. The Discipline practised in the Churches of New England: containing, I. A Platform of Church Discipline. II. The Principles owned, and the Endeavours used by the Churches of New England, concerning the Church State of their Posterity. III. Heads of Agreement assented to by the United Ministers, formerly called Presbyterian and Congregational. (From Magnalia Christi Americana, by Cotton Mather, D.D.) 12mo. pp. 130. Price 3s. Whitchurch. 1823.*

**T**HIS is an interesting document, and deserved to be reprinted, although we cannot go the length of regarding this Plat-

a form as 'standard,' nor do we on many points agree with it. There is much debateable matter in the volume, into which, however, various considerations restrain us from entering. One hint in the Editor's Preface merits attention, apart from any views that may be held respecting baptism and church-membership: it relates to the duty which lies upon parents, to prepare their children, by competent instruction, for becoming members of the visible Church. The 'indiscriminate and superficial' kind of instruction in sabbath schools, will not, he remarks, supply the defect of parental care and counsel. We fear that, in some cases, it has been too much relied upon by religious parents whose children may attend such schools. 'It is much to be lamented,' remarks Mr. Higgins, 'that the good old way of every head of a family employing one part of the sabbath in catechetical exercises and examinations, has been to so great an extent abandoned.' An evening lecture is but a poor and inefficient substitute for such exercises, to either the parent or the child; and it is matter for regret, that, where there is no afternoon public service, the interval is not so employed. We are persuaded that too much reliance is in general placed on the instrumentality of the pulpit; too much on the routine and mechanism of the school. Neither the minister nor the Sunday School teacher can absolve the parent, or supersede his watchful efforts, or effect much without his concurrence.

The ground taken by the New England divines in reference to the 'church state of posterity,' will not, we apprehend, be found in unison with the sentiments even of Pædobaptists in general in this country. We must not be understood to intimate our opinion of the work in any other light than that of an historical document, illustrative of the faith and practice of the venerable founders of the American Church. It is observable, that they expressly disclaimed the term Independent, as applied to congregational churches, in which we think they were right.

Art. VIII. *Narrative of the Life and Travels of Serjeant B——.*  
Written by Himself. 12mo. pp. 302. Price 5s. Edinburgh. 1833.

**T**HE Editor of this instructive and interesting memoir, deserves the thanks of the public for having overcome the reluctance of the worthy Author to consent to its appearance in print, and for conducting it through the press; but, as the memoir is anonymous, he ought to have given his own name. There can be no doubt, however, of its being both a good one

narrative and a true story; for it presents such a view of a soldier's life, as could never have been supplied by fancy.

We have advocated, in a preceding article, the claims of music; but this little volume holds up to those whom it may concern, the dangers of music. All our worthy serjeant's wanderings and sufferings sprang from his unfortunate musical propensity. Little did he think, when he was laying out the few half-pence which had been given him, in the purchase of an old fife, that that instrument was to have such an influence in determining his future life,—that he should be led by the ear so many thousands of miles, and undergo, as the effect of music, such wondrous transformation. Strange as may sound the expression, too many have found it true in fact, that fifes and flutes and fiddles are edge-tools to meddle with; that music is, like many other useful things, a good servant, but a bad master,—an innocent playmate, but a dangerous mistress. Satan well knows the power of music, if divines do not; and he will not fail to turn it to his advantage if he can. And where the propensity exists, it is in vain to think of its being checked by withholding the means of indulging it.

‘ This was not the first time,’ says Serjeant B., ‘ that I shewed my attachment to music; for when I lived at Darnick with my grandfather, there was a weaver in the town, who was famous, far and near, as a whistler, and he used to gratify my musical desire by whistling a tune to me, till I had got it correct, and then gave me another, and so on. But I was then little aware what this was to lead to; for I afterwards got enough of music, as you shall see in the sequel of this book. But it may be seen from this early propensity in me, that “ even a child may be known by his doings.” ’

We have no doubt that the charms of the fife were enhanced to him, by its coming nearest to the human whistle, which, in spite of all that may be said against its vulgarity, is not wholly to be despised. The ploughman's whistle is as natural an accompaniment as the cobbler's song; mingling with other rural sounds, it harmonizes with the scene. And when heard proceeding from the loom, instead of from the road-side, it still sounds cheerfully; and is immeasurably to be preferred to a vile song, or worse conversation, which the whistler is compelled to abstain from. Nay, ill adapted as this poor man's music is to sacred airs, we have known a psalm tune whistled with a sort of godly merriment, that has served perhaps to call up good ideas in the minds of the hearers. But we have no doubt that the Darnick weaver was a whistler of martial music, and that suggested the choice of a fife; and hence sprang all the mischief.

At the age of fourteen, young B. went to Darnick, to learn the trade of a weaver; but the great dearth of 1799—1800 coming on, he could earn but fourteen pence a day, half of which went to his master. On this miserable pittance he contrived to subsist. ‘It would be tedious and trifling,’ he says, ‘to tell how I managed to make up my breakfast, dinner, and supper.’ It was by honest means, however, unless pulling a turnip or two in the fields by night, must be considered as an exception. Yet, it must puzzle any but a Scotchman, that a growing lad could by any means make three meals a day of 6d.—for the odd pence were all the provision for the Sunday. He tells us, indeed, that for months together, he never could say, his hunger was once satisfied; but that, so far as he can judge, he never knew so much of what contentment was in all his life.

‘Notwithstanding my very straitened circumstances, I found way and means, upon the winter Sabbath evenings, to spare a halfpenny for a candle, that I might be able to read Mr. Boston’s *Fourth State*, to which I had taken a great liking. I delighted particularly to read and meditate on the *Fourth State*, where the happiness of saints in a future world is described; and the expression, “they shall hunger no more,” had in it an emphasis (though I fear somewhat of a carnal kind) that put more joy in my heart than wealthy men can have when their corn and wine are increased.’

When, some time after, his services as a fifer to a regiment of volunteers one afternoon in the week, brought him in an additional eighteen pence, he thought himself ‘made quite a gentleman.’ In the year 1802, he went in search of work to Peebles, his native place; and here, his new master being serjeant major of the volunteers, he was persuaded to join the corps as fifer. Soon after, the army of reserve was raised, and our musician finding himself obliged either to pay money to insure himself against being drawn, or to run the risk of going for nothing, resolved on taking the bounty. His services as a fifer were gladly accepted by the fife-major of the regiment, which shortly received a route for Ireland. Encamped on the plains of Kildare, he first tasted of the inconveniences of a soldier’s life. In a few months, the regiment was removed to Dublin, to the great delight of our hero, who, immediately on his arrival, sought out a teacher of music, of whom he took lessons on the violin and clarionet, for half a guinea a month.

‘But having’ (he adds) ‘already acquired considerable execution on the German flute, I was encouraged myself to give instructions on that instrument; and the money I received in this way, enabled me



to defray the expense of my own teacher, and of buying instruments, music, &c. Here I breathed my native air, I may say; for what with regimental practice, teaching my pupils, attending my own instructions, writing my own music, &c., I certainly had enough of it; yet hardly could I say I was satiated. Even in the night the music was passing before me in review; and when I did not perfectly comprehend my master's lessons during the day, they were sure to be cleared up to me when I awoke during the night. There was no time here allowed for the service of God; no—something of more importance, as I thought, engrossed my mind. But I little thought that this course was preparing me apace for falling a victim before a temptation which was not far distant. It may seem strange to my readers, that I, who seemed to shew so much piety during my apprenticeship, and for some time afterwards, should now live so careless a life; but I had my lashes of conscience sometimes, I assure you, and endeavoured to hush its clamours by saying, I had no opportunity in a barrack-room for prayer, reading my Bible, or serious reflection; and I tried to believe that God would take this for an excuse, particularly as I promised to become a good Christian, when the Lord should deliver me from this confusion. Truly the heart is deceitful and desperately wicked. The truth is, my mind was constantly going after its vanities; I found pleasure in nothing but music and musicians.'

The temptation referred to, was the offer of the post of fife-major to the 2nd Battalion of the Scots Royals, with the rank of Serjeant. His chief objection was, the wickedness of the army; but, after some conflict of feeling, he got over his scruples, and took the bounty. In 1807, the regiment was ordered to India. The ship in which our Author embarked, being insufficiently supplied with water, the men were, during the last month of the voyage, kept on short allowance; the consequence was, that there were at one time one hundred and thirty-two men on the doctor's list; and soon after landing at Prince of Wales's Island, the flux made its appearance. Serjeant B., after struggling for some time with the disorder, was obliged to go to the hospital. The description he gives of his feelings on this occasion, is very forcible.

'When I entered the hospital, and looked around me to view the place, and saw the meagre and distressed features of the men stretched upon the beds, and many of the cots empty, as if death had been robbing the place of its inhabitants, to replenish the narrow house appointed for all living,—something awfully solemn stole upon my mind, which I could by no means shake off, and which I am altogether unable to describe. I had not remained here many days when I thought my disorder was taking a turn for the better; but I was deceived in this, because it was only some temporary relief I was receiving from the medicine, for it returned upon me worse than ever. Here I had wearisome nights appointed to me, for in that season I was generally worst. The ward in which I lay was very large, and

had a truly dismal appearance at night, being lighted by two or three glimmering lamps, while all around was solemn and still, with cries and groans of the sufferers, that seemed to contend along the echoing walls; and night after night we were visited by the King of Terrors, to many, I am afraid, in his awfulest form. There were less than six of his darts struck the next cot to that on which I lay.

‘ You may think that my state in these circumstances was too deplorable, and you think rightly, for so it was; but I have not told you the worst; for “the spirit of a man may sustain his infirmity, and my spirit was not easily subdued by affliction, but “a woman’s spirit who can bear?” and “The arrows of the Almighty were within me, the poison thereof drunk up my spirits;” for here I had time for serious reflection, or rather here it was forced upon me. Here I could not mix with jolly companions to drive away melancholy, and my favourite music could give me no relief. Here I was compelled to listen to the voice of conscience; and oh, how loudly did it expostulate with me about the answers I formerly gave it in Ireland; namely, I had no opportunity in the confusion of a barrack-room for reading my Bible, meditation, or prayer, but that I would become a good Christian when I was out of the army. Here I was indeed out of the confusion of a barrack-room, but not so still in the army, but far, far from any minister of Christ to give me wholesome counsel. O what would I have given for the company of a godly minister, or pious, well-informed Christian! but, alas! “I looked upon the right hand, but none would know me; refuge failed me, no man cared for my soul.” Surely the Lord frequently answers the prayers of his people by “terrible things in righteousness.” Here, “in the multitude of my thoughts within me,” I could entertain little hope of ever coming out of this place again, far less getting out of the army, when I might have an opportunity of serving God; for death seemed to be making rapid strides towards me, to take me down to the “bars of the pit.” But death seemed not a relief from my agonizing trouble, had it not been that I knew that “after death there is a judgment.” And how was my soul to appear before the holy and just Judge of the earth? This was a question I could not answer.’

He lay for several days and nights in this state of agonizing terror and despondency, till at length those words of Scripture, “Call upon me in the day of trouble; I will deliver thee,” and thou shalt glorify me,”—suddenly suggested themselves to his mind; ‘and oh,’ he exclaims, ‘what a flood of comfort did it impart to my helpless soul!’ The next day a young man who had sailed in the same ship, and was also in the hospital, came and sat down on the bed-side, and entered into conversation with him. On the Serjeant’s disclosing his feelings and anxieties, the other, who proved to be a very pious man, talked to him in the most suitable manner, and read some portions of the Bible. Thus, says our Author,

‘by God’s kindness in sending me this instructor, I was put into the way that leads to everlasting life; and my mind being led into “wisdom’s ways which are pleasantness and peace,” my body began gradually to recover.’

Soon after he had sufficiently recovered to leave the Hospital, he was ordered to Madras, whence they were marched for Wallahjahbad. Here, in little more than a year, they ‘formed a grave-yard of about two hundred men, women, and children,’ out of a regiment something more than a thousand strong. Among the victims was an intimate friend, whose widow Serjeant B. married. It is not a little remarkable, that he had been the means of obtaining permission for her to accompany her husband to India. To the attentions of this excellent woman, he ascribes the preservation of his life. His adventures in India were confined to marches and counter-marches, and lying in barracks, and in hospitals. But the climate proved more fatal than the severest campaign, and, at length, our Author’s state of health rendered it necessary that he should be invalided. The following statement is given of the mortality in the regiment.

‘Total strength of his Majesty’s 1st or Royal Scots, after the grenadier company joined in Wallahjahbad, 1006. Joined at different periods since the regiment came to India, 941. Total, 1947 men. Out of which number have died and been invalided, unfit for further service, 845.

Out of eighty-two women, thirty-two died, besides fifty-seven children, making a total, dead and invalided, in less than seven years, of 934. The invalids embarked at Madras in January 1814. Our Author’s feelings on again reaching his native country, are very naturally and affectingly described. He lost no time in repairing, with his worthy partner, to Peebles, where he tried for a short time his old occupation of working at the loom; but the state of his health obliged him to desist, and he eventually removed to Edinburgh, that he might contribute to the comfort of his old parents, who were still living, and happy in having a long scattered family gathered around them in their old age.

We have not done justice, by this hasty sketch, to the Author’s memoir, the interest of which mainly consists in the simple-hearted manner in which the facts are narrated, and the biographical anecdotes relating to his comrades, with which it is interspersed. The picture which he draws of the abandoned profligacy and impiety of the regiment, is most appalling; yet such, there is too much reason to fear, would be found the average character of British soldiers in India. ‘It is dread-

‘ful!’ he exclaims in one place. ‘I think, were there no other torments in hell but such society, there is an infinite cause of gratitude to that compassionate Saviour who has delivered his people from it.’ A very curious circumstance occurred in the outward voyage. The Author, speaking of the shark, says :

‘It is remarkable that these fish, when they are in pursuit of their prey, admit their young in the same manner as some species of the serpent do, into a cavity of their belly, which God, in his wonder-working providence, has provided for their reception. In proof hereof, when we were going to India, one of the sailors, having cut his shark-line at the end of the vessel, which is generally done when they observe this fish following, he hooked a very large one, and hauled it into the ship, by a tackle from the end of the main-yard; and after having the fish fairly on board, one of the sailors took a large hatchet, with which he cut off its head; and, to the no small alarm of the bare-footed soldiers, who made the best of their way off in all directions, out sprung no less than eleven young sharks, tumbling and gaping about the deck, to the great danger of all feet and toes within their reach. Some of these young ones were three feet long.....I would further observe, that the shark does not give his teeth much trouble in chewing his food, for we took another the same day, which had a six-pound piece of beef in his belly, not in the least macerated; and the tally of the ship’s mess to which the beef belonged, still tied to it with a string.’

Does not this anecdote render it probable, that the prophet Jonah was received into this ‘cavity’ or false stomach of the shark, which was doubtless the ‘great fish’ prepared to swallow him?—Other familiar illustrations of Scripture occur in the volume. The following is a very pleasing specimen.

‘Another expression which puzzled me was this: “No man seweth a piece of new cloth upon an old garment, else the new piece that filled it up, *taketh away from the old*, and the rent is made worse.” With regard to this, I thought I had seen the tailor, when I was with my grandfather, making a very good job of an old coat, by mending it with new cloth. But when I saw the thin cotton garments of India, worn to a cobweb, I was then satisfied that he would be a clever artist indeed, that could sew a piece of new cotton cloth, however fine, to a spider’s web, without tearing it to pieces.

‘Once more, and I shall have done. The Apostle says in the xiii<sup>th</sup> of 1 Corinthians, “Now we see through a glass darkly, but then face to face.” Now, I could not perceive the fitness of this figure, as people use a glass, or glasses, to enable them to see better; but when I saw the glass of the east, (and I suppose in the country and age of the apostle it was similar,) I say, when I saw the glass here, made of paste from rice-flour, blown and fired, my opinion was entirely changed, as it is quite dim and full of white scales; so that, if persons look through it, they observe objects as the blind man did, mentioned in the gospel, who, when his sight was only in part restored, said, “that he saw men like trees walking.”’

**IX. *Scientia Biblica* :** being a copious Collection of parallel Passages, printed in Words at Length, for the Illustration of the New Testament. The Whole so arranged as to illustrate and confirm the different Clauses of each Verse: together with the Text at Large, Greek and English, the Various Readings, and the Chronology. Part I. 8vo. pp. 112. Price 3s. London. 1823.

The design and nature of this publication (which has just reached us) are precisely the same as those of the "New Self-interpreting Testament," noticed in our last Number, and it will only be necessary to point out the slight variation of style exhibited in the specimen before us, and the comparative merit of its execution.

In the "*Scientia Biblica*," the 'introductory arguments,' 'conciliation of seeming contradictions,' and 'various translations,' given by Mr. Platts, are omitted. The text, instead of running on, is broken into verses, and the parallel passages are juxtaposed; an inconvenient method, were the publication intended to be used as a common Bible, but preferable for the present's purpose. The Greek text printed from Mill's edition of *Textus Receptus*, is also given, together with the Various Readings. The Chronology is taken from Dr. Blaney.

In examining the parallels, we have to make the same comment as in the case of the Self-interpreting Testament, that the text is overloaded with fanciful, or remote, and useless illustrations, which swell the bulk of the work without enhancing its value, and distract the student more than they aid.

Ingenuity and diligence are far more conspicuously displayed, than judgement and discretion, in this compilation. Under Matt. ii. 12., for instance, are given Exod. i. 17. Acts 9. v. 29. 1 Cor. iii. 19.—not one of them a parallel passage.

Platts, with more propriety, contents himself with referring to Matt. i. 20, and, under the next verse, to Job ii. 14—17. In the Genealogy, we have very needlessly introduced, the detailed account of the birth of Phares and his wife, and all the preceding circumstances, as recorded in the eighth chapter of Genesis; and part of the same history is a second time introduced under the 19th verse of the same chapter of the Evangelist, together with the laws respecting adultery at full length. The other names in the Genealogy are equally 'illustrated' in the same manner, by which means the first chapter of Matthew's Gospel, occupies twenty-seven nearly printed columns. The simple words, "confessing their sins," in Matt. iii. 6., draw after them the following passages: Levit. xvi. 21. xxvi. 40. Numb. v. 7. Josh. vii. 19. Job ii. 27. Psal. xxxii. 5. Prov. xxviii. 13. Dan. ix. 4. Mark 3. Luke xv. 18—21. Acts xix. 18. Jam. v. 16. and 1 John

i. 9. No notice is taken of any one of these 'parallels' by E. Platts; and we think him in the right. Again: under Eccl. vi. 29., we have above a column taken up with 1 Kings x. 4—2 Chron. ix. 13—22, 25, 27. There is no end to note-making at this rate of proceeding; but what purpose can it answer the Biblical student? Amid this overwhelming redundancy we hardly expected to be able to detect any thing like omissions. Yet, with no consistency or propriety, are the following parallels passed over. Under Matt. vi. 9. \*. Psal. xcvi. 8. & Isa. lxiii. 16. Under ver. 13. \*. Jam. i. 12, &c. 2 Chron. xxxii. 31. Under ver. 16. \*. Matt. xvii. 21. Under ver. 17. Luke vii. 16. These texts are at least as relevant and as important as nine tenths of those which are cited, as our readers may satisfy themselves by comparing them; and they show that the collection, though copious to a fault, might still be enlarged; that the selection is after all very arbitrary, being conducted on no sound principle.

It is not too late for both Editors to review their plan. The work they have undertaken, would be very serviceable, if brought within a rational compass. It ought not to aim at being a verbal concordance: this is not wanted. The principle of *self-interpretation* is that which should govern the selection, and this does not always require the citation of every passage in which the word to be illustrated may occur. Even similar passages, if not necessary for the purpose of illustration, only incumber the notes. The rule of citing the texts at length, ought not to be adhered to in all cases. It cannot be necessary to give whole paragraphs from the historical portions of the Old Testament. A mere reference, or the first few words of the passage, would answer the student's purpose, in many instances, quite as well. We do not see the use of giving the Greek text, since no respect is paid to Greek parallelism, and Schmidt's Concordance supersedes any attempt of the kind. We cannot but suspect that both works are got up more for sale than for use: otherwise, the pretension would not so far outrun the performance, and the bulk of the apparatus be so disproportionate to its power.

## **F. X. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.**

*Gentlemen and Publishers who have works in the Press, will oblige Conductors of the ECLECTIC REVIEW, by sending information (paid) of the subject, extent, and probable price of such works; they may depend upon being communicated to the public, if consistent with its plan.*

uring for publication, in 1 vol. the Life of Howell Harries, Esq. of the Establishment at Tre- extracted chiefly from his letters pers: with general observations state of religion in the principal of Wales during the principal the last century. By H. Brig- Surgeon, Honorary Member of & C. Society, &c. The profits work will be devoted to the sup- charity schools in Wales.

H. Brigstocke has in a state of press, Athaliah, a sacred drama, ed from the French of Racine. e press, the entire works of De- mos and Æschines; with the Text selected from the different which have been published of role or part of their works; a interpretation; the Greek Scholia; es of various commentators di- and put under the text; the Readings collated, and copious. The notes of Reiske have not incorporated, but are printed in a sent part of the work. Reiske's s never been adopted; but it has dilated throughout with the texts l, and the variations placed im- ely under the text of the new. Taylor's text has likewise been d in all those orations in which it t been used, and the variations ly placed.

continuation of Mr. Booth's ical Dictionary of the English ge is now in the press, and the parts will be published succes- at short intervals. The printing second part was necessarily de- or the purpose of calculating, with egree of probability, the number es that would be required.

ly ready for publication, Horne sta Craven, or the Craven Dia- semplified in two dialogues, be- Farmer Giles and his neighbour t; to which is annexed a copious

glossary of the dialect of Craven, in the West Riding of Yorkshire.

In the press, a Course of Lectures il- lustrative of the Pilgrim's Progress. By D. Warr, Minister of the Tabernacle, Haverfordwest. The generality of read- ers are not aware that much of the Pilgrim's Progress refers to the civil and ecclesiastical history of the times in which the Author lived, which it will be one object of these lectures to illustrate. 8vo. to subscribers, 6s.

Preparing for publication, a critical Analysis of the Rev. E. Irving's Ora- tions and Arguments, interspersed with remarks on the composition of a sermon, by Philonous.

The fourth edition of the Rev. T. H. Horne's Introduction to the Critical Study and knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, will be ready for delivery early in Octo- ber, in 4 large vols. 8vo. illustrated with maps and numerous fac-similes of Bibli- cal MSS.—Possessors of former editions may have (gratis) an additional fac- simile, on applying for the same through their respective booksellers.

Preparing for publication, Outlines of Midwifery, developing its Principles and Practice: intended as a text book for students, and a book of reference for junior practitioners. By J. T. Conquest, M.D. F.L.S. Member of the Royal Col- lege of Physicians, and the Medico- Chirurgical Society of London, &c. &c. and one of the Lecturers on Midwifery at St. Bartholomew's Hospital—third edition, enlarged and illustrated by 12 copper plate engravings.

Mr. Cottle of Bristol will shortly pub- lish, Observations on the Orestor Caves, with their animal contents (dedicated by permission, to Sir Humphrey Davy) In this work will be given, engravings of the Fossil Remains of fourteen different animals, obtained, by Mr. C., from these caves, selected from between two and three thousand specimens of Jaws, Teeth, and Bones in his possession.



In the press, a Second Volume of Brief Memoirs of Remarkable Children. Collected by a Clergyman of the Church of England.

In the press, Memoirs of the late

Captain James Neale. By the Rev. George Barclay, of Irvine.

In the press, a New Edition, much improved, of Miss Benger's Memoirs of Mary, Queen of Scots.

## ART. XI. LIST OF WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

### BIOGRAPHY.

Memoir of John Aikin, M.D. By Lucy Aikin. With a selection of his miscellaneous pieces, biographical, moral, and critical. 2 vols. 8vo. 11. 4s.

Sketches of the Lives of Correggio and Parmegiano. With notices of their principal works. Small 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Memoirs of the Marchioness de Bimchamps, on La Vendée; edited by the Countess of Genlis. Translated from the French. 12mo. 5s.

Memoires de Madame la Marquise de Bonchamps, sur la Vendée. Rédigés, par Madame la Comtesse de Genlis. Reprinted from the Paris Edition. 5s.

### HISTORY.

A Memoir of Central India, including Malwa and the adjoining provinces, with the history and copious illustrations of the past and present condition of that country; with an original map, tables of the revenue and population, a geological report, and comprehensive index. By Major Gen. Sir John Malcolm, G.C.B. K.L.S. In 2 vols. 8vo. 11. 12s.

### POETRY.

The Graces: a Classical Allegory, interspersed with poetry, and illustrated by explanatory notes. Together with a poetical fragment entitled Psyche among the Graces. Translated from the original German of Christopher Martin Wieland. 12mo. 7s.

National Songs of Scotland. To which is added, a Useful Glossary. 18mo. 5s. 6d.

Specimens of British Poetry, chiefly selected from authors of high celebrity,

and interspersed with originals. By Elizabeth Scott. 8vo. 12s.

A Collection of Poems, chiefly manuscript, and from living Authors. Edited for the Benefit of a Friend. By James Baillie. 8vo. 11. 1s.

Dartmoor, and other Poems. By Joseph Cottle. Small 8vo. 5s.

### POLITICAL.

Remarks on the External Commerce and Exchanges of Bengal, with appendix of accounts and estimates. By G. A. Prinsep, Esq. 8vo. 5s. 6d.

### THEOLOGY.

Strictures on the Plymouth Antinomians. By Joseph Cottle. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

A Dissertation on the Fall of Man; in which the literal sense of the Jewish account of that event is asserted and vindicated. By the Rev. George Holden, M.A. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Letters on the State of Christianity in India; in which the conversion of the Hindoos is considered as impracticable. To which is added, a Vindication of the Hindoos, Male and Female, in answer to a severe attack made upon both by the Reverend \*\*\*\*. By the Abbé J. A. Dubois, Missionary in Mysore. Small 8vo. 7s.

### TRAVELS.

Memorable Days in America: being a journal of a tour to the United States, principally undertaken to ascertain, by positive evidence, the condition and probable prospects of British emigrants. By W. Faux, an English Farmer. 8s. 14s.

\*\*\* The article on the Abbé Dubois' Letters, will appear in the next Number.

THE  
ECLECTIC REVIEW,  
FOR OCTOBER, 1823.

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I. *Letters on the State of Christianity in India*; in which the conversion of the Hindoos is considered as impracticable. To which is added, a Vindication of the Hindoos, Male and Female, Answer to a severe Attack made upon Both by the Reverend &c. By the Abbé J. A. Dubois, Missionary in Mysore, Author of the Description of the People of India. Small 8vo. 222. Price 7s. London. 1823.

THE Abbé Dubois, after having tried *his* method of converting the Hindoos, the method of the Jesuits, during a period of twenty-five years, without any success, has come to conclusion, first, that their conversion by any method is impossible,—that the time for it is, in fact, gone by; secondly, it is not very desirable, for, bating a few enormities, they are not worse than Europeans. ‘Disgusted at the total ineffectuality of his pursuits, and warned by his grey hair that it is a full time to think of his own concerns, he has returned to Europe’—to profit by the credulity and good-nature of the English public, to whom he pays a compliment not wholly undeserved, in the declaration,

‘if the Hindoo Brahmins were animated by a spirit of proselytism, and sent to Europe missionaries of their own faith, to propagate their monstrous religion, and make converts to the worship of Siva and Vishnoo, they would have much more chance of success among certain classes of society, than we have to make among them converts to the faith in Christ.’ p. 136.

Those of his readers who may have in recollection the apologies for Hindooism, put forth by certain British Christians between fifteen and twenty years ago, with the avowed purpose of opposing the dissemination of Christianity in India, will be able to see to what classes of society the Abbé’s sly sarcasm is applicable. And indeed, a person that should be brought to contend on all points with our Author, must be more than half-  
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way converted to the Hindoo faith. As the first fruits of the Abbé's success in his new missionary project, he has obtained, if not a proselyte, a worthy coadjutor in the Editor of the Monthly Magazine, that learned refuter of Sir Isaac Newton, who is, indeed, a sort of English Brahmin. What may be his success with the Honourable the Court of Directors, to whom his book is, as 'a mark of his gratitude,' dedicated, we presume not to conjecture. But we have no doubt that his efforts to promote the cause of Hindooism in this country, will be at least more successful than his endeavours to promote Christianity in the Mysore, and that he will obtain, too, much higher consideration here, and more easy credence, than he could possibly have obtained at Calcutta. He has done well, as regards 'his own concerns,' to return to Europe.

But can this zealous Vindicator of the Hindoos be the identical Abbé J. A. Dubois, whose "Description of the People of India," published in 1817, exhibited so awful and disgusting a view of the Hindoo idolatry? This natural question, our Author anticipates with some obvious misgiving.

'If you object to me,' he says in one place, 'that what I have stated in this letter, seems to be in several points at variance with what I have stated in my former writings, in which I have not in several cases expressed so favourable an opinion on the Hindoos as I do at present, I will answer, that, in my former productions, most of my censures, if not all, are directed, first, against the Brahmins or other persons who, like them, live by imposture, and the whole of whom do not form a twentieth of the population of India. Secondly, my censures are also directed against the enormities of the monstrous worship prevailing in the country, to which it has at all times been impossible for me to reconcile myself. However, if it were in our power, through fair means, to take off from the religion of the country several monstrosities, which are truly a disgrace to human nature, I would forgive them all that is only extravagant in their worship.' p. 169.

Never was a truer adage than that liars need have good memories. This shuffling excuse for playing the ginstette, will avail the Abbé little, so long as his bulky quarto remains a drug in the market, to furnish the ready means of his detection. That volume now lies before us; we shall have occasion to make use of its contents; and though, after perusing these Letters, we can place no reliance on the Author's integrity, yet, it is satisfactory to receive the indirect confirmation of his previous statements, which is furnished by this unworthy attempt on his own part to invalidate them. The value of the larger volume may be considered as undiminished; nor have we any wish to retract the praise bestowed on the literary

labours of its Author. It was compiled with very different views, was written in French, and, after being purchased on account of the East India Company, lay for a considerable time in their library, accessible only 'to the curious,' till the Directors were pleased at length to direct its being translated and published. Such a work comes to us with every external mark of credibility and honest intention; which cannot be said of a flippant volume got up for the London public. Yet, even in the Translator's preface to that work, it was deemed necessary to apologize for the learned Frenchman's strange inconsistencies.

'And if his zeal,' it is said, 'may at any time betray him, in argument, to conclusions apparently a little at variance, it would have been found but an ungrateful service to interrupt the reader with notes for the purpose of exposing *small incongruities*, or in attempting to reconcile them.' *Advertisement. p. viii.*

The same fatality has followed the Author in inditing the Letters before us: they abound with *incongruities* not less palpable. The two parts into which the volume is divided, are, indeed, marked by so great a difference of tone and spirit, that the slightest observation is sufficient to detect the influence under which the 'Vindication' has been drawn up. The first three Letters were written in 1815 and 1816, while the Author was as yet but little known, and, we suspect, before he had determined on quitting the Peninsula. The remaining Letters, which contain the attack on Mr. Ward, are dated 1820, 1., and are addressed to a major and a captain residing at *Calcutta*, who have, it seems, advised the Author to publish the whole 'for the information of the public.' This poor old priest has in fact, we have no doubt, been spirited up to abuse the Bible Society and the Serampore Missionaries, by some of those military gentry, the *Qui-hies* of *Calcutta*, who are much more likely to be found at a *doorga* feast, than in a Christian church of any kind,—to whom a Baptist missionary would naturally enough be an excellent joke over their mangoe fish, and mulligatawnie, and tiffin, or, if personally encountered, an intolerable bore. But why were not these Letters published at *Calcutta*? Could the good Abbé be in want of funds or of friends in India? How comes it to pass that he has waited till he came to England, before he ventured to utter charges against persons residing in Bengal, the truth or falsehood of which could best have been ascertained on the spot? And how is it that our Missionary's love to the Hindoos becomes so much more enthusiastic now that he has turned his back upon them for ever? There seems to us to be much more prudence than

fairness in this proceeding. And yet, this most Frenchman talks of the 'independent, candid, and impartial manner' in which he has treated his subject. *Nous verrons.*

The immediate object of the Abbé's personal animadversion, (though with a strange affectation of delicacy he has not named him,) the late estimable William Ward, has gone to reap the reward of his labours, where his works will follow him. Living, his mild spirit would not, we are persuaded, have even been ruffled by the uncourteous and unchristian attack of his antagonist; and from such a quarter, his memory can have nothing to fear. It is, nevertheless, due to his character, now that he can no longer answer for himself, to expose the disingenuousness and fallacy of this impotent attempt to invalidate his statements.

The Letter which has furnished the Abbé Dubois with the text for his petulant observations, first appeared in the Newspapers, whence it was copied into the Asiatic Journal, in which it provoked some discussion. It was afterwards given, in a corrected form, in the small volume of "Farewell Letters" published by Mr. Ward in 1821. That volume, as our readers are aware, consisted of a brief selection of prominent facts, and was meant as a summary, rather than as an original communication. Mr. Ward's large work on the Manners and Customs of the Hindoos, was first published at Serampore in the year 1811, in four quarto volumes. It has now been twelve years before the British public, has reached a third edition, and we are not aware that its accuracy and fidelity have ever been called in question. To this important work, the Abbé Dubois makes not the slightest reference. Had he never heard of it? What, then, must be the extent of even his literary information? Or rather, what must we think of the honesty of his Calcutta friends, who furnished him with the "Letter" on which he has commented, and omitted to inform him of the high ground which Mr. Ward stood upon as the author of that work?

The Abbé professes, however, to have 'at different times' perused many of the public accounts of the new reformers of 'several sects, settled of late in several parts of India;' and their exaggerations and misrepresentations respecting the Hindoos, 'have, he says, roused his indignation to a high degree. His sweeping indictment includes all the Protestant missionaries who have been sent out to India, and all the Reports of our Missionary Societies. He takes good care not to be too specific in his allegations, nor does he bring one single extract to substantiate them; but, after charging these 'gentlemen' with particularly delighting in representing these

innocent people under the blackest and most odious colours,—with indiscriminately holding up all their usages and practices to public contempt, and abusing, reviling, and degrading them almost to the level of brutes,—he adds :

‘ But I am happy to know that a quite different view of the subject has been taken by a Warren Hastings, a Burke, a Cornwallis, a Robertson, a Sir William Jones, a Colebrooke, a Hawkins, a Wilkins, and many other enlightened persons who had made close and deep researches on all that relates to the Hindoos. I am happy to know that such men of talents, in acknowledging the vices of the Hindoos, had candour enough to acknowledge also their virtues, and to make a just estimate of what was good, and what was bad in their institutions. Now it is a subject of regret to see that the opinions and authority of so many enlightened and independent persons are disregarded, to listen to the suspicious accounts and wild theories of men of mediocrity, who have of late undertaken the altogether impracticable task of reforming these nations in their religion, morals, and manners.’ pp. 146, 7.

Of what Sir William Jones, or Warren Hastings, or Lord Cornwallis thought of the Hindoos, we have good reason to believe our Author utterly ignorant. He has got hold of a few illustrious names, some of which no person acquainted with the subject, would have thought of citing as authorities at all. It is, indeed, not a little amusing to find the Author of a large quarto volume descriptive of Hindoo character, manners, and customs, which professed to throw light on a subject till then involved in much error and obscurity,\* now gravely referring to ‘ historians ancient and modern,’ as unimpeachable authorities—when those very authorities are at direct variance, on many points, with his own testimony. But even here he blunders. He says :

‘ It was reserved for a few enthusiasts, who have of late years made their appearance in the country, under the imposing title of reformers, to reverse this pleasing picture, by giving us the most shocking accounts on the subject, and by holding out to our view, the mild and inoffensive Hindoos, as a people wholly polluted by every kind of wickedness; as a race of barbarians sunk into the deepest abyss of ignorance and immorality; as a people far below the most savage nations, and approaching nearer, by their beastly habits and unnatural vices, to the brute than the human creation.’ p. 179.

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\* Among the recommendations of the Abbé’s MS. prefixed to his work by the Translator, the opinion of Lord William Bentinck is cited, who states it as the result of his own observation during his residence in India, that ‘ the Europeans generally know little or nothing of the customs and manners of the Hindoos.’

We shall presently see that it was *not* reserved for the enthusiasts alluded to under the title of reformers, (which title it is well known they never have assumed,) to reverse this pleasing picture. To balance our Author's authorities, Lord Teignmouth will be considered by most persons as not less 'enlightened' in these matters than Warren Hastings; and his view of the subject is well known to be in unison with that given by Dr. Buchanan and the Missionaries. It would be easy to cite other testimonies of statesmen and official persons scarcely less decisive, while the unsuspicious authority of Mr. Mill is singly sufficient to outweigh that of all modern historians who have preceded him. The admirable analysis of the Hindoo religion, polity, and literature, prefixed to that gentleman's History of British India, is in striking contrast with the vagueness and exaggeration of most writers who had undertaken to treat of the subject; and no well-informed person would venture to question his strict impartiality. His name could not have been omitted in such an enumeration, unless through ignorance or dishonest design. But we have one name yet in reserve, to back the testimony of 'the enthusiasts,' for which our Author has a higher respect than for any that we have mentioned; it is that of J. A. Dubois. We shall now select from his former work, a few passages descriptive of the general character of the mild and inoffensive Hindoos.

'The same debility and tendency to degenerate, which is so visible in the Hindoos themselves, appear to involve all animal existence in that country, from the plant up to the human species. The grass, vegetables, and fruits are all sapless. The domestic and wild animals, with the exception of the elephant and the tiger, are there found in a degraded state, both as to native vigour and nutritive properties. All eatable things, of the most succulent nature elsewhere, are insipid here. Nature seems, in this region, to have fashioned all her productions, animate or inanimate, on a scale proportioned to the feebleness of the people. The imbecility of the mind keeps pace with that of the body. There is no country, I believe, where one meets with so many stupid or silly creatures . . . . . What they are in point of courage, is well known; their natural cowardice being every where proverbial. Neither have they sufficient firmness of mind to resist any application that may be made to them on their weak side. Praise and flattery will induce them to part with any thing they possess. They are not less devoid of that provident spirit which makes other mortals think of their future wants and well-being, as much as of the present. Provided the Hindoo has just enough to support the vanity and extravagance of the day, he never reflects on the state of misery to which he will be reduced on the morrow, by his ostentatious and empty parade. He sees nothing but the present



moment, and his thoughts never penetrate into an obscure fatality. From this want of foresight chiefly proceed the frequent and sudden revolutions in the fortunes of the Hindoos, and the rapid transitions from a state of luxury and the highest opulence to the most abject wretchedness. They support such overpowering shocks of fortune with much resignation and patience. But it would be erroneous to ascribe their tranquillity under such circumstances, to loftiness of spirit or magnanimity; for it is the want of sensibility alone, that prevents their minds from being affected by the blessings or miseries of life.

‘ It was probably with an intention to make some impression on their unfeeling nature, and to stimulate their imagination, that their histories, whether sacred or profane, their worship and laws are so replenished with extraordinary and extravagant conceits. We must also ascribe to their phlegmatic temper, more than to any perverseness of disposition, the want of attachment and gratitude with which the Hindus are justly reproached. No where is a benefit conferred so quickly forgotten as among them. That sentiment which is roused in generous minds by the remembrance of favours received, is quite a stranger to the natives of India. (pp. 202, 3.)

“ What is a Brahman ?” I was one day asked, in a jocular way, by one of that cast with whom I was intimately acquainted: “ he is an ant’s nest of lies and impostures.” It is not possible to describe them better in so few words. All Hindus are expert in disguising the truth; but there is nothing in which the cast of Brahmans so much surpasses them all, as in the art of lying. It has taken so deep a root among them, that, so far from blushing when detected in it, many of them make it their boast. (p. 177.)

‘ When the Brahmans find themselves involved in (pecuniary) troubles, there is no falsehood or perjury which they will not employ for the purpose of extricating themselves. Nor is this to be wondered at, since they are not ashamed to declare openly, that untruth and false swearing are virtuous and meritorious deeds when they tend to their own advantage. When such horrible morality is taught by the theologians of India, is it to be wondered at that falsehood should be so predominant among the people ?’ (p. 107.)

‘ In general, the reserve of the Hindus in all the circumstances of their lives, makes it very difficult to discover what is at the bottom of the heart; and the skill which they possess in counterfeiting what best suits their interest, takes away all confidence in their most solemn protestations.’ (p. 189.)

‘ One of the principal ties that bind human creatures together, the reverence we feel for those from whom we derive our existence, is almost wholly wanting among them. They fear their father, while they are young, out of dread of being beaten; but, from their tenderest years, they use bad language to the mother, and strike her even, without any apprehension. When the children are grown up, the father himself is no longer respected, and is generally reduced to an absolute submission to the will of his son, who becomes master of him and his house. It is very uncommon, in any cast whatever, to

see fathers preserving their authority to the close of their lives, when the children are mature. The young man always assumes the authority, and commands those who are the authors of his being.' (p. 189.)

' The affection and attachment between brothers and sisters, never very ardent, almost entirely disappears as soon as they are married. After that event, they scarcely ever meet unless it be to quarrel. The ties of blood and relationship are thus too feeble to afford that strict union and that feeling of mutual support, which are required in a civilized state.' (p. 21.)

' As no pains are taken to curb the passions of their indocile infants, their minds are left exposed to the first impressions that assail them, which are always of an evil tendency. From their earliest years, they are accustomed to scenes of impropriety, which, at such an age, might be supposed incapable of imprinting any image on their fancies : but it is nothing uncommon to see children of five or six years old, already become familiar with discourse and actions which would make modesty turn aside. The instinct of nature is prematurely awakened by the state of bare nakedness in which they are kept for their first seven or eight years, and excited by the loose conversation which they frequently hear, the impure songs and rhymes which they are taught as soon as they can speak, and the lewd tales which they constantly listen to and are encouraged to repeat. Such are the sources from whence their young hearts imbibe their first aliment, and such the earliest lessons which they learn.

' It is superfluous to add, that, as they grow up, incontinence and its attendant vices increase with them. Indeed, the greater part of their institutions, religious and civil, appear to be contrived for the purpose of nourishing and stimulating that passion to which nature of itself is so exceedingly prone. The stories of the dissolute life of their gods ; the solemn festivals so often celebrated, from which decency and modesty are wholly excluded ; the abominable allusions which many of their daily practices always recal ; their public and private monuments, on which nothing is ever represented but the most wanton obscenities ; their religious rites, in which prostitutes act the principal parts : all these causes, and others that might be named, necessarily introduce among the Hindus the utmost dissoluteness of manners.' (pp. 190, 1.)

' Constant experience proves, that Hindu girls have neither sufficient firmness nor discretion to resist, for any length of time, the solicitations of a seducer ; which is no doubt a strong reason for disposing of them in marriage so soon. Those who cannot find a husband, fall into the state of concubinage with those who choose to keep them.' (p. 134.) ' But marriage itself is a feeble restraint in many cases, on the evil consequences of so profligate an education. Nothing is more usual than for a married man to keep one concubine, or several, out of his house, when he is able to afford the expense.' (p. 191.)

' Domestic discord cannot fail to be prevalent in a country where the youths are trained so early to licentiousness, where the number of young widows is so great, and where abortion is so common, from

most of them knowing the means of procuring it, and from believing it to be a smaller evil to cause the death of an unborn infant than to put to hazard the reputation of a frail matron. But many of these misled women, whose minds do not shrink from the crime of infanticide, and who use ingredients to destroy the innocent victim, become the sacrifice to their wickedness ; for it frequently happens, that the deadly drug extinguishes the life of the mother after that of the child.

‘ Besides the sources of corruption already noticed, which are common to all the Hindus, there is one of a peculiar kind, known in several districts, though chiefly among the Brahmans and some other classes of Hindus the most distinguished for licentious habits. Many of them possess a detestable book, which is known under the name of *Kokwa Sastra*, and *Padinetu Karnam*, in which the grossest lewdness and most infamous obscenities are taught in regular method and upon principle. I know not whether this abominable work exists in the various countries of India, and whether it be written in their several idioms ; but I know it is extant in writing, in the *Tamul*, and that it is met with in the districts where that dialect is used.’

‘ . . . . The mere connexion with unmarried women is not considered as an offence by the Brahmans ; and those men who attach the idea of sin to the violation of the most trifling ceremony, see none in the greatest excesses of profligacy, such as the institution, contrived for their gratification, of the dancing girls, or prostitutes, attached to the idolatrous rites in the different temples.’ (pp. 192, 3.) ‘ But it will appear almost incredible, that, notwithstanding this state of corruption and the relaxation of manners so widely diffused over all India, external propriety of behaviour is much better maintained amongst them than amongst ourselves. The indecent prattle and fulsome compliments which our fops are so vain of, are here entirely unknown. The women, *shameless and dissolute as they are in other respects*, would not join in such impertinent gossiping in public. The austere behaviour of the Hindus towards the fair sex, arises from the opinion in which they have been nurtured, that there can be nothing innocent in the intercourse between a man and a woman. The politeness, attention, and gallantry which the Europeans practice towards the ladies, although often proceeding entirely from esteem and respect, are invariably ascribed by the Hindus to a different motive ; and they cannot see a European conducting a lady under his arm, but they conclude she must be his mistress.’ (p. 194.) . . . . ‘ But we have said enough on the subject of women, in a country where they are considered as scarcely forming a part of the human species.’

(p. 220.)

‘ The very extravagance of the Hindu idolatry, the whole ritual of which is nothing less than the subversion of common sense, serves to give it a deeper root in the hearts of a people sensual, enthusiastic, and fond of the marvellous. Infatuated with their idols, they shut their ears to the voice of nature, which cries so loudly against it. But the Hindus are still more irresistibly attached to the species of idolatry which they have embraced, by their uniform pride, sensuality,

and licentiousness. Whatever their religion sets before them, tends to encourage these vices; and consequently, all their senses, passions, and interests are leagued in its favour. Interest also, that powerful engine which puts in motion all human things, is a principal support of the edifice of Hindu idolatry. Those who are at the head of this extravagant worship, most of them quite conscious of its absurdity, are the most zealous in promoting its diffusion, because it affords them the means of living.' (pp. 390, 1.)

'The Brahman lives but for himself. Bred in the belief that the whole world is his debtor, and that he himself is called upon for no return, he conducts himself, in every circumstance of his life, with the most absolute selfishness. The feelings of commiseration and pity, as far as respects the sufferings of others, never enter into his heart. He will see an unhappy being perish on the road, or even at his own gate, if belonging to another cast; and will not stir to help him to a drop of water, though it were to save his life.' pp. 196, 7.

We add a few more touches to this striking and horrible portrait, from the Letters before us.

'It cannot be denied, that the Hindoos are more generally disposed to knavery, dishonesty, and their concomitant vices, than the Europeans. The propensity of most of them to pilfering, for instance, is almost irresistible; and, in general, if a native can avoid discovery in being dishonest, he will be so as often as his own interests require it.' (p. 160.)

'The Hindoo has been bereft of his reason and understanding by his crafty religious guides: he cannot in any circumstance judge for himself, not even in his domestic concerns, or the most trifling occurrences. All is invariably ruled by his unchangeable institutions. Imparting or receiving knowledge is a crime, and listening for the purpose to any other but his religious leaders, the Brahmins, is considered as a heinous transgression. A Hindoo, and, above all, a Brahmin, by his institutions, his usages, his education and customs, must be considered as a kind of *moral monster*, as an individual placed in a state of continual variance and opposition with the rest of mankind, with whom he is forbidden all free and confidential intercourse; nay, whom he is obliged to shun, to scorn, and to hate.' (pp. 99, 100.)

'The more I consider the principles and conduct of those leaders of the public opinion in India, the more I become persuaded that there is something preternatural in this caste of Hindoos; I am the more appalled and confounded by the subject, and I cannot account for it otherwise but by supposing that on account of their quite unnatural habits, they are lying under the Divine wrath and curse. I cannot help looking upon them as upon those false philosophers of whom Paul speaks (Rom. i.), "who, professing themselves wise, are become fools;" whom, for having perverted their own reason, and that of others, "God gave over to a reprobate mind, and to the lust of their own heart," &c. &c.

“ In common with the philosophers mentioned by St. Paul, the Brahmins entertain, regarding the only true God, and his divine attributes, as clear and pure ideas as a people unassisted by the light of divine revelation can have; but to that Supreme Being they pay worship whatever, and besides they make it a duty never to communicate to what they term the stupid vulgar, this most important truth of the existence of only one God. “ They hold the truth in righteousness; so that they are without excuse, because that when they knew God, they glorified him not as God. They changed the truth of God into a lie. Wherefore the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against them, and God gave them up unto vile affections.”

“ In reading this chapter of our holy books, and the forcible style which the Apostle treats the subject, one would fancy that he had viewed the Hindoo Brahmins when he wrote it. If one would draw the character of this caste of Hindoos, it could not be better done than by literally transcribing the 29th, 30th, and 31st verses of this very chapter.” (pp. 103, 4.)

“ Are the worshippers of the Lingam less culpable than those of Belshazzar? and is the worship of Jagnot and Teroopatty less nefarious than that of Moloch? Are we not warranted, on beholding the unnatural and odious worship which prevails all over India, in thinking that these unhappy people are lying under an everlasting anathema; that by obstinately refusing to listen to the voice of the heavens, which “ declare the glory of God,” they have for ever rendered themselves unworthy of the divine favours; that by obstinately rejecting the word of God, which has been in vain announced to them without intermission, during these last three or four centuries, they have “ filled up the measure of their fathers,” have been entirely forsaken by God, and (what is the worst of divine vengeance) given over for ever to a reprobate mind, on account of the peculiar wickedness of their worship, which supposes, in those among whom it prevails, a degree of perversity far beyond that of all old Pagan nations.” (p. 112.)

Such is the Abbé Dubois’s own description of the character of the Hindoos. Imbecile, stupidly ignorant, cowardly, sensual, improvident, incapable of gratitude, deceitful, addicted to perjury, destitute of either filial or fraternal affection, quarrelsome, abusive, licentious and dissolute to the highest degree, unfeeling, dishonest, proud, given up to a reprobate mind, wicked beyond all the pagan nations of antiquity—it seems impossible to darken the portrait by one additional trait, unless it be that of cruelty as displayed in overt acts of murder. Nor is this wanting. The Abbé himself admits that homicide and suicide, “ though held in particular horror by the whole of the Hindoos, and though less frequent among them than in many other nations, are not unknown.” (p. 196.) The prevalence

of abortion, infanticide, and the diabolical *suttee*, furnishes the best comment on the 'particular horror' in which homicide is held. But, in the chapter on magic, we meet incidentally with a piece of information still more to the point.

'When the object is, to procure the death of any one, the rice offered up must be sprinkled with blood. And, upon the same principle, when the utmost effect is required from a magical operation, a human victim is sacrificed, and particularly a young girl.' p. 34

To this subject we shall have occasion to advert more specifically. In the meantime, we need only remind our readers of the declaration made by the author of a recent work on India\*, that 'infanticide, suttee, pilgrimage, and self-torture, destroy not more lives' in that country, 'than the same practices of the Brahmins.'

Yet, than this lowest deep of degradation and crime, there is still a lower deep. The above description applies to the Hindoos in general, including, more especially, the higher castes. But there are large classes in Hindoo society, which even the Hindoos regard as infamous. The Pariahs are computed by our Author to include at least a fifth of the whole population of the Peninsula; they are all held in the lowest repute; and, says Abbé, 'it must be admitted that they deserve to be so. They are exceedingly addicted to drunkenness,' and 'gorge themselves with their appetites' on the most 'abominable food.' (pp. 45, 46) But, besides the cast of Pariahs, there are some others peculiar to certain districts, which are held in equal or greater abhorrence, and which even surpass them, we are told, 'in the brutality of sentiment and irregularity of life.' Such is the cast of the *Pallis* in the parts bordering on Cape Comorin, and the *Pulias* in the mountainous tract of the Malabar coast, and 'in all the provinces of the Peninsula, the cast of the Shoemakers is held to be very infamous, and as below that of the Pariahs.' In the province of Madura, we are told, exists the cast of *Calaris* or Robbers, who exercise their profession without disguise as their birthright; and 'another cast in the same province, called the *Totiyars*, in which brothers, uncles, nephews, and other kindred, when married, enjoy their wives in common.' We do not implicitly receive all the statements, but they form a part of the Author's general description of the native character.

We shall not waste many words in pointing out the faithlessness and matchless effrontery with which the

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\* See Eclectic Review for May 1823. p. 441.



now comes forward to charge Mr. Ward and the rest with calumniating the Hindoos, and reversing the 'true picture' furnished by all preceding writers. Had there been some degree of discrepancy between the testimony of Mr. Ward, and that of this gentleman, an explanation would naturally have suggested itself to any candid mind, in fact, that the Abbé's personal information relates almost exclusively to the Peninsula, while the observations of Mr. Ward must be primarily founded on the manners and customs of the whole; and admitting a general uniformity of character among the millions scattered over Gangetic, Central, and South-Indian, one would expect to find some material local variations of their common habits. But the fact is, not that the separate evidence does not clash, but the account given by the Romish Missionary presents the darker picture. True, that both the "Description" and the "Letters" contain assertions of a palpably contradictory kind. For instance, the Abbé boldly and flatly contradicts Mr. Ward, whom he accuses as stating that 'dishonesty is so familiar to the natives that a Hindoo will never trust another;' saying, that 'the assertion is one of the most unfounded ever brought forward against these people;' when, in the very opposite page, he is speaking of their undeniable propensity to 'knavery, dishonesty, and their concomitant vices.' Again, he affirms, in the "Letters," that 'so far are the Hindoo females from being in that low state of contempt and degradation in which they are represented by every writer who has treated of them, that, on the contrary, they lie under much less restraint, enjoy more real freedom and are in possession of more enviable privileges, than persons of their sex in any other Asiatic country;' and that 'the austerity and roughness with which they are outwardly treated in public by their husbands, is rather a matter of form, and entirely ceases when the husband and his wife are in private.' This audacious assertion he makes in the face of his own statement as cited above, that in India, women are considered as scarcely forming a part of the human race. But the following sentence supplies a still more direct contradiction.

As degraded as the Hindu women are in *private life*, it must be admitted that they receive the highest respect in *public*.' p. 220.

The former part of the sentence is explained by the statement that 'the husband looks on his wife merely as his servant and never as his companion,' and that 'he thinks her unworthy of any attention, and never pays her any, in familiar intercourse.' She is never suffered to sit down with him to a



meat. Once more, the Abbé is exceedingly indignant at the Reverend Gentleman's insinuating, that chastity is almost unknown among the Hindoos.

'I can confidently affirm,' he exclaims, 'that this shameful accusation is unfounded. Knowing that the same unjust suspicions respecting the virtue of the Hindoo fair were entertained by many prejudiced and misinformed Europeans, I have made diligent enquiries to know how far such an injurious slander was grounded on fact; and as my profession has enabled me to live on a certain footing of familiarity with the persons of both sexes, and to entertain with them a confidential intercourse, I think that my information may be depended upon. I have generally observed that amongst good castes, the Hindoo females in general, and married women in particular, were worthy to be set forth as patterns of chastity and conjugal fidelity to the persons of their sex in more enlightened countries. I do not mean that breaches of those virtues never occur amongst the former; but I believe that they happen still more seldom with them than with the persons of their sex in countries which boast to have reached a much higher degree of civilization.'

'Such is the result of my own observations; and I am confident that every unprejudiced person, who will attend to the subject with the same impartiality and disinterestedness as myself, will render the same homage to the virtue of the Hindoo fair sex.' pp. 192, 3.

Delicacy forbids our citing from the Author's quarto volume any further details relating to this disgusting subject. We must do him the justice to state, that, in the very next page to that in which he describes them as 'shameless and dissolute' in every respect but outward deportment, he maintains that they are 'naturally chaste;' and that he seems disposed to attribute their continence to their education, and 'the spirit of reserve instilled into them from their early years,' after he has been informing us, that, from their earliest years, they are accustomed to every thing which can pollute and inflame the mind, and that they fall the ready victims of seduction. The chapters on Festivals and Temples, would supply us with facts most emphatically corroborating Mr. Ward's affirmation; but they are of a nature which forbids our more distinctly advert- ing to them. We shall content ourselves with citing two short passages.

'There are some (practices) so enormously wicked, that every thing recorded in history of the debauchery and obscenities that were practised among the Greeks in the temple of Venus, by the courtesans consecrated to that goddess, sinks to nothing in the comparison.' p. 412.

'It is unnecessary to remind the reader, that the manners of people who have adopted religious customs so indecorous as the Hin-

thus have done, must necessarily be very dissolute. Accordingly, licentiousness prevails almost universally, without shame or remorse. Every excess of debauchery or libertinism is countenanced by the irregular lives of their gods, and by the rites which their worship prescribes.' p. 424.

A bad memory is an unsatisfactory explanation of such flagrant self-contradiction as is exhibited in these extracts. We respect grey hairs, and would not treat with unnecessary harshness an unfortunate foreigner; but the unprincipled attempt of the Abbé Dubois to fasten the charge of calumnious misrepresentation on Mr. Ward, and that without any provocation, compels us to hold up his character in its true light, as that of a deliberate falsifier. We are sorry not to have yet done with him, but we must notice two other charges brought against that estimable Missionary. We again cite from the "Letters."

' "Every mother (exclaims the reverend gentleman) among the tribe of Rajahpoots, puts her female child to death as soon as born." This odious paragraph is one of the most shocking slanders contained in the Author's letter. There is a good proportion of married Rajahpoot sepoy in every battalion of the native army. I appeal to all the British officers of each battalion, serving under the three presidencies, and I boldly defy them to quote a single instance of this horrid kind. There are, in every province of the Peninsula, numbers of Rajahpoot families. I have been acquainted with many individuals of this high-minded tribe, and I am quite sure that there is no one who would not shudder at such an execrable imputation. I have, indeed, been informed, that this detestable practice formerly prevailed to a certain degree in some districts in the north of India, among two or three subdivisions of Rajahpoots; for this tribe, as well as every other, is subdivided into at least twenty others; but the Reverend — cannot be ignorant that owing to the mild, humane, and insinuating exertions of the late Governor Duncan, (a circumstance which will shed an unperishable lustre over the memory of that excellent man,) a stop was put to those abominable murders.' p. 200.

The phrase 'cannot be ignorant' is plainly meant to convey the idea that Mr. Ward conceals this fact. The truth is, that, in the published Letters, he calls upon his readers to 'imitate the noble example of Colonel Walker in rescuing these Rajahpoot female infants?'" Colonel Walker, the Abbé cannot be ignorant, was the political agent at Guzerat, employed by Governor Duncan to investigate the matter, and to endeavour to effect the abolition of the practice, which is said to have pre-

vailed in Kattywar and Kutch for two thousand years. But the Abbé cites from Mr. Ward's Letter, as it was given imperfectly in one of the London newspapers, and has since been inserted in No. lxii. of the Asiatic Journal. In that Letter, Mr. Ward certainly appears to have stated the fact in terms too unqualified. He seems not to have been aware that the Rajapoots constitute so numerous and widely diffused a body. As to the Abbé's vapouring, however, about that high-minded tribe's shuddering at the execrable imputation, it is worse than ridiculous, when it is admitted by Mr. Ward's assailants, that *some* of the tribes *have* fallen into this detestable practice, and that *a few* tribes still practise it. A Writer in the Asiatic Journal, who is very indignant at Mr. Ward for 'painting the devil blacker than he is,' calls in question the authenticity of an anecdote relative to a Rajapoot who murdered his daughter after she had arrived at a marriageable age, because 'it militates against the well-known custom of the Rajapoots who avowedly practice infanticide. They *only*,' he adds, '*put their daughters to death at the moment of their birth* : it would be considered by them as a cruel and unjustifiable murder, to commit the deed after they had been spared for a few days, and the offence would be still more heinous at the age mentioned by Mr. Ward.\* Here, then, the fact is admitted to be notorious, and the accuracy of Mr. Ward is substantiated, who expressly states, that the female infant is put to death as soon as born. The anecdote which he relates, is mentioned as a remarkable illustration of the prevailing sentiment; but no stress is laid upon it, and, from the very nature of the case, it must have been an isolated fact. That this practice was in force among the sepoy's of the British army, Mr. Ward could not be understood to intimate; but we strongly suspect that the Rajapoot families who have not followed the 'royal example' in which it originated, are either a small minority, or have given it up under British influence. The Abbé Dubois tells us that that tribe is subdivided into at least *twenty* others, besides those two or three divisions who practise infanticide. "Verus," in the Asiatic Journal, roundly guesses that there are '*probably a hundred* tribes of Rajapoots.' The natural inference from these conflicting authorities, is, that little is certainly known about the matter. There may be Rajapoot families scattered over every province of the Peninsula; but it is not among them, that we should expect to find the perpetuation of so horrid a peculiarity,

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\* Asiatic Journal, for July, 1821. p. 26.

which could be maintained only where the tribe formed a proportion of the population sufficiently powerful to frame laws for themselves, and to countenance each other in the dreadfully anomalous practice. At and around Benares, and on the western side of India, Mr. Ward, in a subsequent letter, states it to be especially prevalent. We only regret that he was not more specific in the first instance, since his statement required only a geographical limitation, to be correct.

The remaining charge against Mr. Ward, is as follows :

‘ I have reserved the review of the most audacious paragraph of the author’s address for the end of this letter : it is that where he emphatically exclaims, “ What must be the state of the female mind, when *millions* are found throwing the children of their vows into the sea ? ” &c. &c.

‘ I will confess that I could not refrain from shuddering at the perusal of this atrocious paragraph, and I am surprized that the public authorities at home have taken no notice of such a slander ; the tendency of which is to cast an indelible stain of infamy on the country government. Good God ! “ Millions of females throwing the children of their vows into the sea ; ” and doing so in the face of day, under the eyes of a government famed all over the earth for its spirit of humanity, of justice, and benevolence ! Of what exotic materials must not be composed the mind of that Englishman, when he dares bring forward falsehoods which tend to nothing less than to cast eternal disgrace on his nation, and his countrymen ; for, if it were true that “ millions of mothers are found throwing the children of their vows into the sea,” and the government should remain a passive and indifferent spectator of so many horrid murders, such a government would deserve to be held forth to the execration of all Europe, and of all the civilized world, and its memory handed down with everlasting infamy to the remotest posterity.’ pp. 203, 4.

The typographical blunder in Mr. Ward’s Letter, which gives rise to this burst of eloquence, had laid him open to the imputation of exaggeration, not without apparent reason, from other quarters. In reply to a writer in the *Asiatic Journal*, who styles himself “ A Bengalee,” Mr. Ward says :

‘ Here he is merely attacking an error of the press. If he will apply to Samuel Hope, Esq. of Liverpool, he will find that, in my copy of that letter, the word *mothers* is plainly written, and not *millions*, in this sentence.\*

Accordingly, in the “ Farewell Letters,” the error is corrected. The Abbé’s Letter to Capt. M. C., was professedly

\* *Asiatic Journal*, for July, 1821. p. 2.

written in 1821. Mr. Ward's explanation appears in the Asiatic Journal for July 1821: it could not, therefore, have reached India at the date of the Abbé's Letter. But what excuse does this furnish for republishing that Letter in its original shape, in London, in June 1823, without taking any notice of the explanation given almost two years before, of the passage on which the charge is founded? Does Monsieur l'Abbé never see the Asiatic Journal? If not, had he no friend to prevent his exposing himself to the suspicion of disingenuousness the most disgraceful?

But the Abbé's anonymous coadjutor, while pointing out the supposed exaggeration, supplies, like Verus, a confirmation of the fact.

'I leave him' (Mr. Ward), he says, 'to reconcile the fact of a guard being stationed to prevent this cruel immolation of infants, with his alleged sacrifice of millions, in spite, it would appear, of all the vigilance which this guard can exert. *Every one knows, that occasional immolations of this nature do occur*; but I appeal to those seafaring men in particular, who have necessarily the best access to know what goes on at Gunga Saugor, to say, whether I, who maintain that such instances are rare, or Mr. Ward, who makes them amount to millions, gives the more correct statement of the fact.'

*Asiatic Journal, Feb. 1821. pp. 145, 6.*

So then, the notorious prevalence of this practice, which was such as rendered necessary the interference of the English government, still demands the constant vigilance of a guard stationed there for the purpose, to prevent this cruel immolation of infants, which, nevertheless, does occasionally occur in spite of all these precautions. And yet, the Abbé Dubois has the base effrontery to charge Mr. Ward with calumniating the Hindoo women, and, in the teeth of this fact, ventures to assert, that 'the Hindoo parents of all casts, above all, mothers, 'if equalled by any people on the earth in tenderness towards 'their progeny, both males and females, are surely surpassed 'by none!!'. He should have excepted *the Chinese*.

The spirit in which he has undertaken this vindication of the Hindoos, is again betrayed in his manner of referring to what he terms the '*stale subject*' of the burning of widows. Yes, that is the epithet chosen by this pious Missionary for a subject revolting to human nature, when, in the same breath, he complains of the *increase* of the practice, which he has the audacity to attribute to the '*clamours* raised in Europe and India' by the new reformers.

'It is a well-known fact,' he says, 'that these nefarious sacrifices have increased of late years; but the reverend gentleman is not per-

haps apprized, that many persons of good sense who have made inquiries about the causes of this increasing evil, have been of opinion, that its aggravation was in a great measure owing to his intemperate zeal, and that of many of his associates in the work of reform. He is not, perhaps, aware, that owing to their abrupt attacks on the most deep-laid prejudices of the country, the zeal of the Hindoos had been roused to a determined spirit of opposition and resistance, when they saw their most sacred customs and practices publicly reviled, laughed at, and turned into ridicule, by words and in writing, in numberless religious tracts circulated with profusion, in every direction, all over the country.

‘ Those horrid suicides called *suttees*, have unfortunately prevailed from the earliest times to the present in the country, chiefly in the north of India; and the putting a stop to them altogether by coercion, appears a measure too pregnant with danger to be attempted. . . . But after all, is suicide confined to the Hindoo widows; and are our countries free from such detestable excesses? So far from this being the case, I am persuaded that more persons perish in France and England in *a month* through suicide and duelling, than during *a whole year* in India, through *suttees*.’ pp. 197—9.

In the very paragraph from which we cite this extract, the Abbé admits the ‘lamentable fact,’ (which rests, indeed, on the *official* returns made to the Calcutta government,) that, in the year 1817, *seven hundred and six widows* were either burned alive or buried alive with the dead bodies of their husbands, within the presidency of Bengal alone. In the following year, the number amounted to between *eight and nine hundred*. The Abbé supposes, that, in the South of the Peninsula, the number of *suttees* does not amount to thirty in a year, in a population of thirty millions. This supposition is, no doubt, a wilful miscalculation, but they are much less frequent there than in the North. In his “Description,” he assigns a reason for it, which admirably corresponds to his present declaration, that, to put a stop to the practice altogether, appears a measure too pregnant with danger to be attempted. The ancient and barbarous custom, as he there styles it, is, he says,

‘ confined to the countries under the government of the idolatrous princes; for the Mahommedan rulers do not permit the barbarous practice in the provinces subject to them; and I am persuaded the Europeans will not endure it where their power extends.’ p. 236.

Not having before us *data* for a calculation of the total number of *suttees* throughout India, we can only conjecture from the above limited return, that they cannot amount to fewer than from fifteen hundred to two thousand in the course of a year. They have been estimated at ten thousand. Taking the smallest number, the Abbé’s assertion, that more persons perish in



France and England through suicide and duelling in a month, than during a whole year through suttees, will give us 18,000 suicides and murders by duelling in the course of a year!! So much for his senseless comparison in point of numbers. His attempt to confound *suttees* with private suicides, such as no law can prevent, is worthy of the cause he has espoused; but his unprincipled insinuation respecting the reason of their increase, demands attention. The fact is, that the measures resorted to by the Government of India, with the view to check the practice, have had the effect of *legalizing* and *sanctioning*, under certain restrictions, what was previously unauthorized and of equivocal lawfulness. No suttee can now take place without the sanction of the Company's authorities; a sanction, we are told, 'always withheld whenever *the Hindoo law* furnishes 'the slightest pretext for doing so.' And yet, they have increased! Consequently, to every murder of this kind which now takes place, the English Government is a party: it has their authoritative sanction. 'Formerly,' remarks a gentleman who has but recently left Calcutta, 'when Europeans beheld the 'scene, and spoke of it with horror and detestation, it was not 'so common; because the Hindoos then knew, that, though 'the English did not interfere, they abhorred the deed: but 'now they affirm, here is the licence of your own Government\*.' Mr. Townley was asked by a Brahmin who was in attendance on one of these horrid occasions, whether he was come to see *the fun*. 'You may call it fun,' said Mr. Townley, 'but God 'will call it murder.' The reply was: 'It is the custom of our 'country, and if there be any blame, it belongs to your Govern- 'ment.' It seems quite unaccountable that this consequence should not have been foreseen, in adopting the temporizing half-measure, which has transferred the responsibility to the Christian rulers. But what will now be thought of the Abbé Dubois's charging this increase of crime on the benevolent exertions of the Missionaries?

Our readers have seen, that Mahomedan rulers do not permit the practice; and the Abbé Dubois was confident, when he wrote his former work, that European rulers would not endure it. The Portuguese, in fact, found no difficulty in putting it down. The idea that its total suppression would be attended with any danger of insurrection, is perfectly ridiculous. The sacrifice of children at Saugur was at once abolished in 1802, when Marquis Wellesley was governor-general, by an order in council, by which the practice was declared to be murder punish-

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\* Missionary Register, June 1823. p. 266.



able with death; and no symptoms of disaffection on the part of the Hindoos were produced by it. The burying alive of widows, which prevailed among the Jogee tribes, was abolished in the year 1815 without resistance. Mr. Townley remarks, that 'a considerable part of the population is Mahomedan, and all the Mahomedans abhor the practice of *suttee*, as do the English and Europeans; and a very large caste of Hindoos themselves abhor it, and count it murder: so that, in favour of its suppression, there is all the European influence, all the Mahomedan influence, and the influence of all those Hindoos who abhor the practice\*.' The Writer in the Asiatic Register who subscribes himself "A Bengalee," admits that palliatives are more likely to increase than to mitigate the evil; and that between rescinding the late regulation, and adopting a law which should 'render it *criminal, on any account whatever, to burn or be present at the burning of a widow*, there appears to be no effectual expedient.'

'I am not one of those,' he adds, 'who approve of interferences with the religion and customs of the Hindoos; but so ambiguously is this duty of the widow burning herself with her husband laid down in the ablest commentators on the Hindoo law, that I should apprehend no evil consequence from the Government widening the circle within which no such sanguinary spectacle should be exhibited.'

May we not allow ourselves to hope, that one early result of a recent ecclesiastical appointment, which has given such universal satisfaction, will be the exertion of an effective influence in the highest quarters, that shall lead to the total suppression of this monstrous abomination†? In forming an estimate of the Hindoos, however, we must take into account not only the existing practices, but all which have been abolished by European authority. The Abbé Dubois, whose powers of reasoning are on a level with his information and his candour, complains that Mr. Ward has very unfairly overlooked the abolition of infanticide at Saugur, through a determination to represent 'these poor Hindoos under the blackest and most odious colours.' It would be idle to call on him to explain, how the character of the Hindoos is rendered lighter by a single shade of criminality, in virtue of the humane coercive policy of the

\* Missionary Register, June 1823. p. 266.

† The gentry, clergy, &c. of the county of Bedford, much to their honour, have set the example of petitioning the British Parliament to put an end to this practice. (See Missionary Register, June 1823.) We trust that this example will be extensively followed, should no steps have been taken by our Government before the next session.

Marquis Wellesley. Were the detestable practice of burning widows suppressed by the British authorities to-morrow, the historical fact would for ever remain as an illustration of the spirit of the Hindoo institutions and the native character of the people. The same remark applies to the prevalence of infanticide among the Rajapoots, to the sacrifice of children at Ganga Saugur, and to all the nameless atrocities and deeds of darkness which may have been checked by either Christian or Mahomedan interference. Mr. Ward's opponents will not for a moment pretend that any of these reforms have originated with the Hindoos; and all their quibbles, therefore, about his alleged over-statements, only go to prove how much more might safely have been done by the British authorities in abatement of the enormous mass of evil, since practices as inveterate and as 'sacred' in the eyes of the Hindoos as any which are now tolerated, have been put down. The Abbé Dubois has not succeeded in making good his Vindication of the Hindoos on any one point: he has sacrificed his own character without any benefit to theirs. That of the Hindoos was already past redemption, a moral carcase, shapeless and loathsome; but, with more than the self-devotion of the widow, this poor man has resolved on immolating his integrity and his fair reputation by a sort of literary *suttee*, the miserable victim of bigotry and fanaticism.

We should now advert to the subject of Biblical translations, but we must reserve this topic, as well as the consideration of the alleged impracticability of converting the Hindoos, for a separate article in our next Number.

Art. II. *Memoirs, including original Journals, Letters, Papers, and Antiquarian Tracts of the late Charles Alfred Stothard, F.S.A.* By Mrs. Charles Stothard. 8vo. pp. 497. Price 15s. London. 1823.

**T**HE recollections awakened by the name of Stothard, refer us at once to some of the most exquisite productions of modern art. The elder Stothard is unrivalled among painters of the present day, for the fluency of his line and the beauty of his pastoral scenes. We are told by the Compiler of the present volume, that he was, by his son, 'deemed the Raphael of 'our day,' and, though much deduction is to be made from this estimate, which speaks the language of filial partiality, there is, at least, in some important points, a general resemblance. In the feeling of his subject, and, to a certain extent, in its management, Stothard often reminds us of the illustrious native of Urbino. The attitude and grouping of his figures,

the beauty and facility which distinguish his forms, shew that he has kept a steady eye on the works of the great Italian. But the Englishman has chosen to move in a lower sphere : he has neglected some of the most indispensable requisites of his art. His simplicity too often degenerates into poverty, his ease into negligence, his beauty into affectation, and his mechanical dexterity into a pretext for multiplying vague and shadowy sketches, in lieu of producing works of finished excellence. Much, indeed, of this is to be attributed to accident ; and before we condemn a man of genius for preferring the lighter graces of Watteau to the lofty aims of the leader of the Roman school, we should advert to the circumstances in which he has been placed. The patronage which fostered the infancy, and cherished the manhood of Italian art, gave full scope for the boldest efforts of genius and mastery. The wealth which traffic and superstition poured into Rome and the commercial Republics, was lavished with discriminating magnificence. There was nothing puny in the taste of that age and that country. The power of mind and mechanism which raised the Coliseum, survived in the architects of St. Peter's ; and the rich decorations of Hadrian's villa, were emulated and surpassed in the stanzas of the Vatican. The extent and loftiness of the temples and palaces of Rome, Florence, and Genoa, required that the paintings and sculptures by which they were adorned, should be on a proportioned scale ; and while ample room was given for the full display of the artist's skill, there was no opportunity for concealing want of learning by minute elaboration. When the human figure was to be displayed in full or colossal size, and in all the varieties of action and repose, all positive and relative defects were immediately and offensively conspicuous. The anatomy of bone and muscle became an object of as indispensable acquirement to the artist as to the medical student, and the laws of muscular exertion were investigated with the most vigilant and successful curiosity. Every other branch of knowledge connected with the profession, was studied with equal care ; and all this was the result of circumstances acting powerfully on minds of the highest order. Angelo and Leonardo were men of universal knowledge. Independently of their own peculiar pursuits, they were architects, engineers, mechanists, and authors. They, as well as others of their honoured tribe, were the pride of their native provinces, the companions of nobles and princes, the welcome visitants of kings and pontiffs. Thus favoured and cherished, thus made the highway, not only to fame, but to wealth and dignity, it ceases to be a matter of astonishment, that Art ob-

tained its highest triumphs amid circumstances so favourable to success.

We are not aware of any other obstacles than those arising from difference of times and habits, in the way of similar achievements in the present day. We do not profess to be very intimately acquainted with the history of Mr. Stothard; but, as far as we can trace it from recollection, his principal works have been produced under the patronage of the *Traveller*. His earliest, and some of his most attractive designs appeared in the *Novelist's Magazine*; he was among the decorators of the *Boydell Shakspeare*; one of his most delightful series of drawings was made for an edition of *Robinson Crusoe*; his *chef d'œuvre*, both in design and execution, the *Pilgrimage to Canterbury*, was painted for a speculation of Cromek's; and, if our information be correct, his exquisite illustrations of *Boccaccio*, were originally intended to ornament an edition of that author, which had been planned without a sufficient reference to the licentious character of his tales, and was laid aside when their objectionable nature was ascertained. Now it is quite clear, that such a patronage (if the abuse of terms may be allowed) as this, must have an effect the reverse of favourable to the higher efforts of the artist. He is limited in scale and in price, and has no scope for the higher efforts of intellectual or manual skill. A certain fertility of invention, united with dexterity of hand, is the main requisite in this department; and it is the high praise of Stothard, that, while he has been turned out of a path which would have led him to the noblest eminences of Art, he has, on a lower level, surrounded himself with forms of transcendent gracefulness, and scenes of unequalled beauty.

The son of such a father could not but answer in some degree to the excellence of his tuition; and the younger Stothard, possessed as he undoubtedly was of much native talent, availed himself to the utmost of the advantages of his situation. He had the eye, the hand, the enthusiasm, the perseverance of the genuine artist; and, even in the short interval of a life prematurely closed, he gave to the world fragments which entitle him to high admiration as an artist and an antiquary. He was born in London, on the 5th of July, 1786. 'The most remarkable qualities of his infant years, were, an uncommon sweetness of temper, an early propensity to study, and the strictest regard for truth.' He does not seem to have been carried through a regular course of professional instruction; but an early talent for drawing manifested itself in various ways, and decided the character of his mind as well as the

jects of his life. His elder brother, Thomas, a youth of excellent disposition, had shewn indications of even superior powers in the same pursuits; but a strong propensity to military adventures, determined his choice in favour of a soldier's hazardous career. His schemes were, however, cut short at an early age of sixteen. A school-fellow, handling a loaded gun without proper precaution, shot him dead upon the spot.

Eager in the quest of knowledge, Charles Stothard ran round the whole circle too hastily for much permanent acquisition, but never lost sight of his main object. Fully determined on the choice of an artist's life, he hesitated for some time respecting the particular branch to which he should direct his attention. He had felt some inclination to start as a portrait-painter;

but an accidental occurrence altered this determination; for one morning, chancing to call upon a friend who was of that profession, he found him busily engaged in finishing the portrait of a lady of rank. A party, who knew nothing of art, but its name, happened to call in to look at the picture of the lady, who was the head of their family—a woman of plain features and vulgar character. The likeness was so true, that it offended all the company. One complained there was something genteel about the person; another, that the features were masculine. In short, the painter was universally condemned, for representing an ugly woman as Heaven made her. Charles was so disgusted at witnessing this scene, that he left the house with a determination never to become a portrait-painter; feeling that he could not submit to give up his own independence and judgment to be the sport of ignorance and vanity.' p. 6.

We were rather disappointed in that portion of the volume which should have contained the detail of young Stothard's early studies. He must have derived so much benefit from the early hints of his father, that we much regret the entire absence of every thing of this kind. The observations which are substituted for these useful memoranda, are somewhat commonplace, and have too little of specific elucidation to be of much practical use.

In the year 1802, the elder Stothard being employed to decorate the staircase of Burleigh House, his son accompanied him, and, at the recommendation of his father, employed himself in making studies of costume from the monumental remains preserved in the neighbouring churches. This circumstance had, probably, a considerable influence, combined with accidental considerations, in determining him in after-life to antiquarian pursuits. His first efforts, however, were made in historical painting; and his *comp d'essai*, exhibited in 1811, representing the assassination of Richard II. in Pomfret Castle,

gave a fair promise of future excellence. In the work by which he will be advantageously known to posterity, is the masterly series of graphic illustrations of the "Monumental Effigies of Great Britain." The history of this publication contains, in part, the narrative of his life. He engaged in it as offering a prospect of profitable and gratifying employment; and the circumstances under which he commenced the undertaking, were so much to the credit of his character and feelings, that we shall state them in his own words.

“ When I first determined upon publishing the work myself, I knew I should require a small sum of money exclusively for it, to begin with ; and, at the time, my purse was on the decline. I might have had what I wanted by applying to my father ; but I know not how it was, I had a feeling I could not conquer, of wishing to begin the world without calling upon his assistance. Added to this, I thought my not doing so, as I was the elder, would be a good example to my brothers. I therefore applied to a friend, who had plenty of money, and requested him to lend me the sum I wanted. He did so. This was the first time I had ever borrowed money ; and I felt uneasy till it was repaid. Accordingly, when I brought out my first number, I laid by every pound note I received, till I found sufficient of them lying together to discharge my debt. I then carried the sum to my friend, and as soon as I saw it deposited in his pocket, I felt I had *regained my independence*, and resolved never again to become a borrower.” p. 38.

His skill and tact in ascertaining the age and character of antiquities, were the natural result of the ability, enterprise, and perseverance with which he conducted his investigations. To secure an important subject, he would place himself in the most hazardous situations ; he scaled monuments, exposed himself to privations, and followed up intimations, with an entire disregard of personal convenience, and sometimes even of safety. The consequence of this determined spirit was, a *real* and ready conversance with antiquarian lore, very different from the insufferable charlatanism by which, in the present day, the science is so frequently disgraced. He examined with close attention, the joints and braces of a suit of ‘ complete steel,’ the peculiarities of the Almain rivet, the varieties of mail armour, and the singularities of a sword guard. The forms and colours of stained-glass figures and decorations, were to him familiar indications of the age of their execution. To all this knowledge, at once minute and extensive, he added a fine artist-like feeling and execution, which took away from his drawings the slightest appearance of stiffness or mere elaboration. Hence his “ Monumental Effigies” could not but be a work of the most masterly kind. Yet, it seems to have



met with so little encouragement, at least in its commencement, as to make him hesitate respecting its continuance.

‘As we are on the subject of public taste,’ he says, ‘I must tell you that I feel a sad want of encouragement in the prosecution of my work, and were it not for a chosen few, and feeling devoted to the object, I should give it up. Would not such a thing be a disgrace to the Society of Antiquaries, who ought to be the first to espouse my cause? I am thus severe upon them, as, out of seventy subscribers, I have but five of that body. I do not conceive I have done more than any one else might, with patience and attention; yet still, I cannot be deceived as to what must be the product. I am well convinced that some time or other *my labours will find their value.*’ p. 97.

The applause of his brother artists in some degree indemnified him for the neglect of pretenders; and the late Samuel Lysons spoke the language of all competent judges, when he said, ‘You have given us a work, Stothard, that does honour to our country; we have till now seen nothing like it. Persevere; complete the thing,—and I hope yet to live to see you as great as you deserve to be.’

In 1815, he was elected Historical Draughtsman to the Society of Antiquaries. In 1816, he was deputed by that Society to visit Bayeux, for the purpose of copying the celebrated Tapestry preserved at that place. While engaged in this task, he discovered in the Abbey of Fontevraud,

those most interesting effigies of our early monarchs and their queens, of the race of the Plantagenets; the existence of which, in consequence of the destruction and universal havoc caused by the Revolution, had become matter of doubt. Charles found the Abbey converted into a prison; and, in a cellar belonging to it, were then deposited the effigies of Henry II., his queen, Eleanor of Guienne, Richard I., and Isabella of Angoulesme, the queen of John. The chapel where these figures were placed before the Revolution had been destroyed; and, since their removal to the cellar, they were exposed to continual injury from the prisoners, who came twice in every day to draw water at the well. Charles made several beautiful and accurate drawings from these effigies, in both front and profile views; and, by a most careful and minute investigation, succeeded in discovering the painting upon their surface. Of this he made a separate drawing, depicting the figures with their dresses, ornaments, &c. in their original magnificence and gilded splendour.

‘Shortly after the above mentioned discoveries, my husband visited the abbey of L’Espan, near Mans, in search of the tomb and effigy of the famous Berengaria, the beautiful and accomplished queen of Richard I. He found the Abbey converted into a barn, and the effigy of the princess in a mutilated state, concealed under a quantity of wheat. In the following year, however, he succeeded in making drawings of this interesting remain; and likewise executed his cu-



rious *fac-simile* drawing from the enamelled tablet of Geoffrey Plantagenet, the father of our Henry II., which he discovered at Le Mans. This tablet he considered the earliest specimen of what is termed a sepulchral brass, and of armorial bearings, depicted decidedly as such.

‘ During his first continental journey, he made also above an hundred of the most beautiful and elaborately finished drawings, and sketches of the scenery, architecture, and costume, that arrested his attention in a foreign land. Nothing escaped his observation; and few things were deemed beneath his notice. The interior of a room, or even the arrangement of a *table d’hôte*, as novelties, he thought worthy of insertion in his sketch-book.’ pp. 219—21.

As a specimen of the perseverance with which Mr. Stothard followed up his object, we shall insert his account of the difficulties which he had to overcome in order to secure a copy of Queen Berengaria. Visiting, in August 1817, the Abbey de l’Espan, he found the statue still covered with wheat, and the proprietor, M. Toret, was unwilling to remove it. The eager artist was not, however, to be so easily repulsed. Provoked at the unhandsome way in which he had been treated,

‘ and extremely vexed,’ he writes in his journal, ‘ in the expectation of going away without completing my errand, I instantly went to Mr. Mair, and detailed the affair. We held a consultation, and resolved to attack this man through the channels of his interests. Mr. M. accounted in some degree for his behaviour, by telling me, he was a violent Bonapartist. We found one English gentleman of the name of Robinson, to whom this Toret was in some way obliged. Our antiquarian, Colonel Clairmont, was, perhaps, our best ally, for a son of Toret’s was in his regiment, and looked to him for promotion. These, the chanciers Romon, and two others, in the course of three hours after my repulse, were ready to make the attack. Myself, Mr. Mair, (who also knew Toret,) and Mr. Robinson, went first. M. Toret seemed much vexed at seeing us again; and, perhaps, more so, in finding others engaged in the business. He made various excuses; complained of the loss it would be to him, &c. He had not proceeded far, before I marched Colonel Clairmont: this began to bring him to his senses. He then consented, to see what could be done. Colonel C. laughed at him. But the entry of another of our allies bringing the scene rather to a ridiculous pitch, he gave his consent, (I believe to get rid of us,) to go with me at four o’clock that afternoon and remove the wheat. The hour came, and he set off with me, his great dog accompanying us. His constrained good-nature would have amused any one; for he was all the time inwardly vexed, and could not help muttering, at times, “ *Pas commode* ;” but his old housekeeper at De l’Espan having brought out a bottle of Bordeaux, with some bread and butter, we sat down to it, and by the time we had finished the bottle, he was an altered man, beginning to cry, “ *Past ten o’clock !*” and “ *No popery !*” He had been in London in the year eighty.’ pp. 216—218.

✱ In February 1818, he married, and in the same year, again visited France, in company with Mrs. S.

✱ "During our continental journey," says his affectionate Biographer, "wherever we were, or whenever my husband was spoken of, one remark seemed common with all; and I often heard it repeated, 'Madame, Monsieur votre mari est si modeste.'" Whilst residing in Paris, we once chanced to spend the day with a public librarian of that city, a man of great learning and talent. Towards the evening, he said to Charles, "You are a Stothard. Are you any relation to a great antiquary of that name, who has executed a most beautiful work on the monuments of his own country?" This question, made in such terms, sadly hurt the modesty of poor Charles. He looked embarrassed, and not immediately replying, "Sir," said I, "you should have asked me that question, for I am his wife." Upon hearing this, the librarian seized Charles by the hand, and appeared so delighted, that I thought he would have given him the French hug of salutation. "Is it possible," cried he, "that I have spent the day with you, and never heard this? Had you been a Frenchman, it is the first thing you would have told me."

✱ I trust I may here be allowed to insert another striking instance of the respect with which my husband was treated by foreigners. During our last journey, in 1820, a violent rain obliged us to pass the whole of the morning in the library at St. Omer. Charles, desirous of referring to a book that gave some account of the effigy of Crito, Earl of Flanders, requested the librarian to indulge him with a sight of it. This aged gentleman had formerly been a monk, I believe, in the Abbey of St. Bertin. He was that morning in no very good humour, having been troubled by the idle curiosity of some silly travellers. He evaded, and almost refused shewing the book. Charles's importunity at length prevailed. The volume was produced, but did not afford the desired information. Upon some remarks that casually dropped from my husband about a MS., the heart of the librarian softened, and he condescended to enter into conversation with him. After a while his manner entirely changed; instead of the stern and morose stranger, he grew affable, polite, and anxious to lay before him every thing that he deemed worthy his attention. A MS. was produced, which, if I remember correctly, (but I will not vouch for it,) was stated to be of the time of Charlemagne. Charles contradicted the assertion, and argued the point, in order to prove that it was of a later period. This produced a discussion, that soon brought about them other persons in the room. Amongst these was a young officer of the army, who we afterwards heard was distinguished for his learning and talents, and an old good-humoured gentleman, a professed antiquary, who spoke English with great fluency. I stood near the party, listening to their conversation with considerable pleasure, not unmingled, perhaps, with a little share of pride, when I found my husband had not only completely refuted their assertions, but that they asked him many questions, with that air of inquisitive respect observed by those who seek information from a superior. These subjects led to a general discussion on matters of an-

tiquity. Here poor Charles was completely at home. At length, the old gentleman, (who, I know not for what reason, had concluded that we were brother and sister,) turned to me, and exclaimed, "*Je ne sais pas, mademoiselle, qui est Monsieur votre frere, mais il faut qu'il soit Monsieur Stothard, ou l'ange des antiquaires.*" pp. 279—82.

The antiquarian details which fill up a large portion of the remainder of the volume, are highly valuable and far from uninteresting; but we find it impracticable to compress them without injury, and shall therefore pass on at once to the awful catastrophe which deprived society of the amiable and accomplished subject of this memoir. In April 1821, he received a commission to execute some drawings connected with the *Magna Britannia* of Messrs. S. and D. Lysons, and, on the 16th of May, he left town for that purpose. The previous circumstances—all the melancholy presentiments and ominous occurrences which grief delights to recollect, are detailed in an exceedingly interesting manner by Mrs. Stothard. The church of Beer Ferrers, where the fatal event occurred, contained portraits, in stained glass, of the founder and his wife. The rector, Mr. Hobart, had given ready permission to copy them, and had invited Mr. Stothard to the hospitalities of his house. A ladder had been procured at his desire, and carried into the church.

Monday, May 28th

' At eleven o'clock my beloved Charles ascended the ladder, and both commenced and finished the tracing of the glass, representing the founder's lady. Mr. Servante was repeatedly in the church during the morning. At half-past two, my husband removed the ladder to the north side of the altar. He then stood about ten feet from the ground, immediately above the tablets containing the creed and the commandments. The communion-table below was on the right hand side: to the left, a very narrow passage (intercepted only by the railing of the altar) came between the communion-table and the wall. Under a low Gothic arch, within a recess of the wall, elevated about three feet above the ground, reclined the monumental effigies of a knight and his lady. The moulding of the stone slab upon which these figures rested, projected about two inches beyond the tomb.

' At half-past two o'clock, Mr. Servante took his leave of my beloved husband. He was then stationed upon the ladder, and tracing the portrait of Sir William Ferrers. This was the last time he was seen alive.

' Five o'clock was the dinner hour of Mr. Hobart. His guest did not appear. It so chanced that a gentleman, by profession a surgeon, Mr. Honey of Beer Alston, who had called upon him, was then going to Plymouth, and in his way, must pass the church of Beer. Mr. Hobart requested him to look in, and to hasten poor Charles's return. He obeyed the request; and upon entering the church by the little door near

the altar, he beheld my husband, my beloved husband, lying extended—senseless—dead, at the base of the monument from which he had received the fatal blow;—every sign of life gone. He was dead, quite dead—all human aid vain. The ladder remained resting against the window; the step on which he had stood being found broken on the floor.—From all circumstances, it is supposed that the step must have suddenly given way; that my husband, in the effort to save himself, probably turned round; and in falling—terrible to relate!—struck against the monument with such force that little doubt can be entertained (especially as the fatal blow was received upon the temple) of his having been killed upon the spot. 'The hour of his fall cannot be precisely ascertained, as he was alone in the church; but from the state of the tracing upon which he was engaged, it is conjectured to have occurred between three and four o'clock. It is one sad consolation, to think that my beloved Charles did not suffer either from the knowledge or the pain of his most awful situation. His countenance looked calm and composed, with not even a trace of the last mortal agony.' pp. 467—69.

Such was the premature end of a man whose character, in all the relations of life, was most exemplary, and whose talents as an artist were, in that branch to which he had devoted himself, of the highest order.

The volume is agreeably written, and a well executed portrait is prefixed.

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**Art. III. 1. *Flora Domestica*, or the Portable Flower-Garden; with Directions for the Treatment of Plants in Pots; and Illustrations from the Works of the Poets. 8vo. pp. xii. 396. Price 12s. London.**

**2. *Hortus Anglicus*; or, the Modern English Garden: containing a familiar Description of all the Plants which are cultivated in the Climate of Great Britain, either for Use or Ornament, and of a Selection from the established Favourites of the Stove and Greenhouse: arranged according to the System of Linnæus; with Remarks on the Properties of the more valuable Species. By the Author of "The British Botanist." 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 1126. Price 16s. London. 1822.**

**T**HERE is as wide a difference between a love of botany and a love of flowers, as there is between poetry and philology. To be a thorough-paced botanist, a man ought to have a microscopic eye, an anatomist's hand, and the memory of Jeremiah Buxton; he must have a passion for order and arrangement for its own sake, must have a turn for sorting things, and treasuring up dates, and casting up figures; he should have learned Grey's *Memoria Technica* when at school, and have taken lessons of Professor Feinagle after leaving it;

he should be a person that thinks chronology the soul of history, prefers *Propria quæ maribus* to the finest modern poetry, revels in dictionaries and catalogues, and glories in the Alphabet as the key to knowledge and the foundation of all learning. Such a man only is worthy of becoming in due time, a F.L.A. But a lover of flowers needs be nothing like this. He may be a careless unscientific loiterer among woods, and green lanes, and pasture-lands, with a quick eye for beauty, but a dull memory for names; or he may be a lover of gardening, and may grow fond and tender over his nurslings, with a hatred of your prying and rude-handed botanizers; or, like the Authoress of this *Flora Domestica*, he may be a lover of the country, caged in London, who

‘ still retains

His inborn, inextinguishable thirst  
Of rural scenes, compensating his loss  
By supplemental shifts, the best he may.’

Upon such persons, the botanist would look down with all the proud superiority of a philosopher. He is a man of science, and knows that the hue and smell of flowers are their least distinguishing properties; that colour is a mere accident varying in the same genus, and that the flowers dearest to florists, are scentless. He is a man of learning too, and can overwhelm a mere poet with his cotyledons, his stamens epigynous, hypogynous, and perigynous, his whorls, peduncles, umbels, involucre, panicles, legumes, his serrate, ovate, pinnate, cordate, lanceolate, and all the gynias, cecias, and andrias of his classification. We are not surprised that Botany has never made its way into general popularity, invested as it is with so horrific a nomenclature. A man who is no scholar, is told that he must learn Latin to understand flowers, and he declines the labour, contenting himself with the Gardener's Calendar. Or if he has not forgotten all the Latin which was flogged into him at school, he finds himself but little the better for it when he encounters the motley Latinity of the Botanists. And should he succeed in mastering the vocabulary, what does he find to repay him in what is termed botanical literature? Nothing that addresses itself to either the heart or the fancy, scarcely any thing of the least practical value, but names and technical descriptions *ad infinitum*.

Nature, however, is worth studying, every page of her great volume, if the commentary is not; and Botany, properly so called, is a branch of natural history not less attractive or important than that which comprehends the varieties of the animal kingdom. If it cannot furnish so much interesting

anecdote as zoology, or so many wonders as entomology, it has the advantage of coming more within the compass of ordinary observation, and of being more intimately connected with the most delightful associations. The sentiment of admiration is more powerfully awakened by the study of the insect world, but the love of nature is, perhaps, most directly promoted by conversing with the exhaustless treasures of the vegetable kingdom. On this account, we are disposed to bestow our warmest commendations on works which, like the *Flora Domestica*, are adapted to excite an interest in the study of Botany, by shewing that flowers, as well as quadrupeds and insects, have their biography, their literary as well as their natural history, their moral character, and local attachments, and physical habits, as well as their medicinal virtues. Who would think of teaching a young person the natural history of beasts, birds, and fishes, by giving him a compendium of the Linnæan system of classification? As well might he be taught Latin by being made to commit to memory the columns of a dictionary. Compendiums and indexes are for the use of the adept. The first process which the mind must learn, is to observe; the second, to generalize; and therefore, in education, history always precedes science. In like manner, the most proper introduction to systematic and technical arrangements, does not consist in definitions of terms, but in interesting details and specific information. The natural history of flowers and trees is the proper introduction to systematic Botany; and this sort of knowledge, which is so much the more delightful, notwithstanding the contempt with which the initiated treat such details, claims to be considered as the more instructive also.

The immediate design of the Author of this elegant volume, is to assist in the formation and preservation of a *portable garden*. It is intended for the especial use of persons condemned to reside in cities, who, like herself, can receive consolation for such imprisonment, in the shape of a myrtle, a geranium, an hydrangea, or a rose-tree.

‘Liking plants, and loving my friends,’ says our Author, ‘I have earnestly desired to preserve these kind gifts; but, utterly ignorant of their wants and habits, I have seen my plants die one after the other, rather from attention ill directed than from the want of it. I have many times seen others in the same situation as myself, and found it a common thing, upon the arrival of a new plant, to hear its owner say, “Now, I should like to know how I am to treat this? Should it stand within doors, or without? Should it have much water, or little? Should it stand in the sun, or in the shade?” Even myrtles and geraniums, commonly as they are seen in flower-stands, bal-

conies, &c. often meet with an untimely death from the ignorance of their nurses. Many a plant have I destroyed, like a fond and mistaken mother, by an inexperienced tenderness; until, in pity to these vegetable nurslings and their nurses, I resolved to obtain and to communicate such information as should be requisite for the rearing and preserving a portable garden in pots. This little volume is the result; the information contained in it has been carefully collected from the best authorities; and henceforward, the death of any plant, owing to the carelessness or ignorance of its nurse, shall be brought in, at the best, as plant-slaughter.'

The volume, it will be seen, comes professedly under the head of Horticulture, rather than of Botany: it relates to a specific branch of Horticulture, however, which may be distinguished by the appellation of *parlour-gardening*, upon which let no lover of the country look down with contempt, as if such a garden could not afford range at least for the mind. There is in some respects an intenser interest attaching to plants reared and tended under such circumstances. They are as it were the love-tokens of Nature, the keep-sakes of an absent friend, serving us, as Cowper says,

' with a hint

That Nature lives.....

Though sickly samples of th' exuberant whole.'

Then, as fellow-exiles and fellow-prisoners, they inspire a sort of sympathy even greater than that which we feel for the caged bird, who seems so merry over his trough and fountain, that it is plain he does not quarrel with the conditions of his servitude. But shrubs and flowers never forget their native soil, and are apt to put on a melancholy aspect, and hang their heads like a sick child for want of a change of air. One is insensibly led, on this account, to contract a fond feeling towards them, such as Gray displays in his Letters. He ' did not think it beneath him to supply the want of a larger garden with flower-pots in his windows, to look to them entirely himself, and to take them in, with all due tenderness, of an evening.' And flowers thus cultivated, acquire the power of influencing the character. This is the case with all simple pleasures whether rural or domestic. The employment in question partakes of both, and while it adds a grace to home, it supplies a source of quiet amusement well adapted to promote mild and serene sentiments and amiable feelings.

Cowley quaintly remarks, that

' God the first garden made, and the first city Cain.'

Which no doubt suggested the often cited line of Cowper,

' God made the country, and man made the town.'



And he exclaims in the same ode,

‘ Who that hath reason, and his smell,  
Would not among roses and jasmine dwell,  
Rather than all his spirits choke  
With exhalations of dirt and smoke,  
And all th’ uncleanness which does drown,  
In pestilential clouds, a populous town?’

But, as God does not all persons bless ‘ with the full choice of ‘ their own happiness,’ that Writer deserves well of the public, who contributes any thing towards softening the privations, or counteracting the moral disadvantages of a town life, by suggesting the best substitutes or apologies for the pleasures of the country. The Babylonian monarch has acquired a deserved celebrity by his hanging gardens; but those stupendous works were oriental luxuries. Every private gentleman may, at small expense, enjoy his portable garden, by attending to our fair Author’s recommendations.

The charm of the volume lies, however, in the rich poetical illustrations with which the horticultural and botanical remarks are enlivened. These will please all lovers of flowers and lovers of poetry, whether residing in town or country; whether expatiating in fields and heaths, or circumscribed within the narrow confines of a walled slip of garden, with a straight gravel walk between rows of bright red flower-pots, or, still worse, their only parterre their balcony and flower-stands. These quotations are flowers which

‘ —have been watered at the Muse’s well  
With kindly dew.’

And the Author has shewn both taste and industry in selecting and arranging them. We shall best convey an idea of the work by a specimen.

#### ‘ ARBUTUS.

‘ [*Ericineæ. Decandria Monogynia.* Strawberry-tree.—*French*, le fraisier en arbre, l’arbre à fraises, both similar to the common English name: the fruit is called arbouse, arboise, or arboust.—*Italian*, arbuto, albatro, albaro, corbezzolo, from the fruit, called corbezzola. By Pliny the fruit is called unedo.]

‘ This is called the strawberry-tree, from the resemblance of its fruit to a strawberry. Although it attains a considerable size, it is frequently grown in pots, and will bear transplanting very well. For this operation, April is the most favourable time: the cultivator taking care to preserve the earth about the roots, and to shade them from the mid-day sun, when newly planted.

‘ As the leaves of the Arbutus remain all the winter, and in spring are pushed off by the shooting of new ones, the tree is always clothed.

In June the young leaves are extremely beautiful ; in October and November it is one of the most ornamental trees we have ; the blossoms of the present, and the ripe fruit of the former year, both adorning it at the same time. There is an *Arbutus* now in the garden (in October) before my window, more lovely than I can find language to express. When other trees are losing their beauty, this is in its fullest perfection ; and realises the exuberant fiction of the poets,—bearing at once flowers and fruit :

“ There is continual spring and harvest there  
Continual, both meeting at one time ;  
For both the boughs do laughing blossoms bear,  
And with fresh colours deck the wanton prime,  
And eke at once the heavy trees they climb,  
Which seem to labour under their fruit’s load :  
The whiles the joyous birds make their pastime  
Amongst the shady leaves, their sweet abode,  
And their true loves without suspicion, tell abroad.”

SPENSER’S FAERIE QUEEN.

—— “ Great Spring, before,  
Greened all the year ; and fruits and blossoms blushed  
In social sweetness on the self-same bough.”

THOMSON’S SPRING.

—— “ the leafy arbutus spreads  
A snow of blossoms, and on every bough  
Its vermeil fruitage glitters to the sun.” ELTON.

‘ This tree is a native of Greece, Palestine, and many other parts of Asia ; of Ireland, and of many parts of the South of Europe. In Spain and Italy the country people eat the fruit, which is said to have been a common article of food in the early ages. Virgil recommends the young twigs for goats in Winter :

‘ ——— “ Jubeo frondentia capris  
*Arbuta* sufficere.”

‘ It was used in basket-work :

‘ “ *Arbutæ crates, et mystica vannus Iacchi.*”

‘ *Arbutus* and oak formed the bier of the young Pallas, the son of Evander.

‘ “ *Haud segnes alii crates et molle pheretrum  
Arbutæis texunt virgis et vimine querno,  
Exstructosque toros obtentu frondis inumbrant.*”

VIRGIL *ÆNEID*, lib. xi.

‘ “ Others, with forward zeal, weave hurdles, and a pliant bier of arbutus rods, and oaken twigs, and with a covering of boughs shade the funeral bed high-raised.”—DAVIDSON’S TRANSLATION.

‘ Horace, too, speaks of it, and celebrates its shade :

‘ “ *Nunc viridi membra sub arbuto  
Stratus.*”

‘ Millar, after giving some of these quotations, adds, “ I hope we

shall no more have the classical ear wounded by pronouncing the second syllable of *Arbutus* long, instead of the first." This little ebullition of impatience, natural enough to a person who knew the right pronunciation, would have pleased his friend Dr. Johnson, who speaks of him somewhere as "Millar, the great gardener."

'Some species of the *Arbutus*, from being mere shrubs, are better adapted for the present purpose than the beautiful one called the Common Strawberry-tree, which is the best known in our gardens; as the Painted-leaved, the Dwarf, and the Arcadian *Arbutus*. These trees mostly like a moist soil, but the Arcadian prefers a wet one: it is a native of swampy land, and if grown in a pot should be kept very wet: the earth, also, should be covered with moss, the better to retain the moisture. The other species should be watered every evening when the weather is dry, but not so liberally. When the frosts are severe, it will be more secure to shelter them; for though they will bear our winters when in the open ground, they are somewhat less hardy in pots. In mild seasons, a little straw over the earth would be a protection sufficient.

'The berries of the Thyme-leaved *Arbutus*, which is a native of North America, are carried to market in Philadelphia, and sold for tarts, &c. Great quantities of them are preserved, and sent to the West Indies and to Europe. The London pastry-cooks frequently use these instead of cranberries, to which they are very similar; but they are inferior to cranberries of our own growth.

'In Tuscany, many years ago, a man gave out that he had discovered a mode of making wine from the *Arbutus*. His wine was very good; but, upon his leaving the country, his wine-casks were found to contain a quantity of crushed grapes.

'Upon the whole, the *Arbutus*, with its strawberry-like fruit, its waxen-tinted blossoms hanging in clusters, their vine-coloured stems, its leaves resembling the bay, and the handsome and luxuriant growth of its branches, is one of the most elegant pieces of underwood we possess: and when we have reason to believe that Horace was fond of lying under its shade, it completes its charms with the beauty of classical association.' pp. 29—31.

From the *Arbutus* to the Daisy is not quite so wide a range, as from the Cedar of Lebanon to the Hyssop: it leaves little room, however, to complain of a want of variety. We can only make room for part of the article on this modest little favourite of poetry.

'Who can see, or hear the name of the Daisy, the common Field Daisy, without a thousand pleasureable associations! It is connected with the sports of childhood, and with the pleasures of youth. We walk abroad to seek it; yet it is the very emblem of home. It is a favourite with man, woman, and child: it is the *robin* of flowers. Turn it all ways, and on every side you will find new beauty. You are attracted by the snowy white leaves, contrasted by the golden tuft in the centre, as it rears its head above the green grass: pluck it,

and you will find it backed by a delicate star of green, and tipped with a blush colour, or a bright crimson.

“Daisies with their pinky lashes,”

are among the first darlings of spring. They are in flower almost all the year ; closing in the evening and in wet weather, and opening on the return of the sun :

“The little dazie that at evening closes.”—*Spenser*.

“By a daisy, whose leaves spread  
Shut when Titan goes to bed.”—*J. Withers*.

‘No flower has been more frequently celebrated by our poets, our best poets. Chaucer, in particular, expatiates at great length upon it. .... He makes a perfect plaything of the Daisy. Not contented with calling to our minds its etymology as the eye of day, he seems to delight in twisting it into every possible form, and, by some name or other, introduces it continually. Commending the showers of April, as bringing forward the May flowers, he adds :

“And in speciall one called ie of the daie,  
The daisie, a flower white and rede,  
And in Frenche called La Bel Margarete.  
O commendable floure, and most in minde !  
O floure and gracious of excellence !  
O amiable Margarite ! of natife kind——”

‘But the Field Daisy is not an inhabitant of the flower garden ; it were vain to cultivate it there. We have but to walk into the fields, and there is a profusion for us. It is the favourite of the great garden of Nature :

“Meadows trim with daisies pied.”

‘The reader will doubtless remember Burns’s Address to a Mountain Daisy, beginning,

“Wee, modest, crimson-tipped flower.”

‘The Scotch commonly call it by the name of Gowan ; a name which they likewise apply to the dandelion, hawkweed, &c. :

“The opening gowan, wet with dew.”

‘Wordsworth, with a true poet’s delight in the simplest beauties of nature, has addressed several little poems to the Daisy.

One of these is given, playful and quaint, the verse running wild like the flower. We were disappointed at finding no reference to a sweet little ode to the Daisy, which appeared in Montgomery’s first volume. The omission is doubtless accidental. But, in a future edition, the article may be still further enriched by an exquisite poem which has recently appeared, by the same Author, entitled “the Daisy in India,”—

supposed to be addressed by the Rev. Dr. Carey of Serampore, to the first plant of this kind, which sprang up unexpectedly in his garden, out of some English earth, in which other seeds had been conveyed to him from this country. This poem will give a new interest to the Daisy as a type of its native soil, while it will indissolubly connect with it the name of Montgomery, who must be considered as having fairly won it from all preceding candidates. It has been to him a propitious star. As few of our readers, probably, have as yet met with the poem, we make no apology for transcribing it here.

‘ THE DAISY IN INDIA.

- ‘ Thrice welcome, little English Flower !  
 My mother-country’s white and red,  
 In rose or lily, till this hour,  
 Never to me such beauty spread :  
 Transplanted from thine island-bed,  
 A treasure in a grain of earth,  
 Strange as a spirit from the dead,  
 Thine embryo sprang to birth.
- ‘ Thrice welcome, little English Flower !  
 Whose tribes beneath our natal skies,  
 Shut close their leaves while vapours lower ;  
 But when the sun’s gay beams arise,  
 With unabash’d but modest eyes  
 Follow his motion to the west,  
 Nor cease to gaze till daylight dies,  
 Then fold themselves to rest.
- ‘ Thrice welcome, little English Flower !  
 To this resplendent hemisphere,  
 Where Flora’s giant-offspring tower  
 In gorgeous liveries all the year :  
 Thou, only Thou, art *little* here,  
 Like worth unfriended or unknown ;  
 Yet to my British heart more dear  
 Than all the torrid zone.
- ‘ Thrice welcome, little English Flower !  
 Of early scenes beloved by me,  
 While happy in my father’s bower,  
 Thou shalt the blithe memorial be :  
 The fairy-sports of infancy,  
 Youth’s golden age, and manhood’s prime,  
 Home, country, kindred, friends,—with thee  
 Are mine in this far clime.
- ‘ Thrice welcome, little English Flower !  
 I’ll rear thee with a trembling hand :  
 O for the April sun and shower,  
 The sweet May-dews of that fair land,

Where Daisies, thick as starlight, stand  
 In every walk !—that here might shoot:  
 Thy scions, and thy buds expand,  
 A hundred from one root !

‘ Thrice welcome, little English Flower !  
 To me the pledge of Hope unseen :  
 When sorrow would my soul o’erpower  
 For joys that were, or might have been,  
 I’ll call to mind, how, fresh and green,  
 I saw thee waking from the dust ;  
 Then turn to heaven with brow serene,  
 And place in God my trust.—*J. Montgomery.*”

It would be easy to suggest other additions to the poetical illustrations. The beautiful and touching Ode to the Herb Rosemary by Henry Kirke White, ought not to have been forgotten by a Writer who has raked the unreadable poems of the atheist Shelley for extracts. We were very sorry to meet with a eulogy on that unhappy being in the Preface to the work. It is evidently dictated by the partiality of private friendship ; but it is ill judged, and only serves to excite suspicion of the Author’s own principles. Shelley might love flowers, but he hated their Creator. He might read his Bible, but his works declare for what diabolical purpose. He was not quite like his own Lionel :

‘ For he made verses wild and queer,  
 On the strange creeds priests hold so dear  
 Because they bring them land and gold.  
 Of devils and saints and all such gear,  
 He made tales which whoso heard or read,  
 Would laugh till he were almost dead.’

“ *Rosalind and Helen.*” p. 38.

But the only difference is, that Mr. Shelley’s tales, written under the same inspiration, will make nobody laugh. In this same poem, he speaks of ‘ Faith, the Python undefeated ;’ and he makes his fair and virtuous Helen laughing say,

‘ We will have rites our faith to bind,  
 But our church shall be the starry night,  
 Our altar the grassy earth outspread,  
 And our priest the muttering wind.’

This is sufficiently intelligible, as is the line in the Hymn to Intellectual Beauty,

‘ I called on poisonous names with which our youth is fed.’  
 But the deep-rooted hatred of religion, which seemed his

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\* London Magazine, June, 1823. p. 675,

ruling passion, breaks out, in the following stanza, into more daring impiety.

‘ No voice from some sublimer world hath ever  
To sage or poet these responses given :  
Therefore, the names of Demon, Ghost, and Heaven,  
Remain the records of their vain endeavour :  
Frail spells, whose uttered charm might not avail to sever  
From all we hear and all we see,  
Doubt, chance, and mutability.’ p. 88.

It is well known, indeed, that Mr. Shelley repeatedly subscribed himself an *Atheist*. This is a digression, but we have felt it to be a needful one, when an attempt is made to hold up such a person to veneration, because he was a lover of flowers, and had a gentle countenance. He too, however, has his emblem : it is the Aconite. To return to our flowers.

The article on *Campanula* disappointed us, in not containing a single poetical reference. On turning, however, to the *Hyacinth*, we find that, with the name of Harebell, that flower has run away with praise apparently intended for the modest bell-flower of Autumn. There seems to have been some confusion in the application of the term harebell. Botanists seem now to agree in assigning this appellation to the *Hyacinthus non scriptus*, sometimes ranked under the genus *Scilla*, and familiarly known among the common people under the name of blue bells, while the *campanula rotundifolia* is denominated *heath bells*. But the *campanula*, we strongly suspect, is the harebell of the poets, alluded to in the following extracts.

‘ The harebell, for her stainless azured hue,  
Claims to be worn by none but those are true.’

W. Browne.

————— ‘ thou shalt not lack  
The flower that’s like thy face, pale primrose, nor  
The azured harebell, like thy veins.’

Shakspeare.

‘ E’en the light harebell raised its head,  
Uninjured from her airy tread.’

Walter Scott.

The Author of “ May you like it ” is evidently of the same opinion. His beautiful poem to the Harebell, (which will be found at p. 520 of our seventeenth volume,) deserved a place in the *Flora Domestica*. His description of it as bending ‘ so  
sadly meek, beneath autumnal breezes,

‘ Pale as the pale blue veins that streak  
Consumption’s thin, transparent cheek,  
With death-hues blending—’

exactly agrees with the passage from Shakspeare.



The Poppy is illustrated at some length; some of the extracts are scarcely relevant. There is a very elegant ode to the Poppy, which our Author had probably not seen; printed, if we mistake not, in some work of Mrs. Charlotte Smith's, but written by another lady, and connected, we believe, with an affecting story. The first stanza is as follows.

‘ Not for the promise of the laboured fields,  
Nor for the good the yellow harvest yields,  
I bend at Ceres’ shrine :  
For dull to humid eyes appear,  
The golden glories of the year :  
Alas ! a melancholy worship’s mine.  
I hail the goddess for her scarlet flower.  
Thou brilliant weed,  
That dost so far exceed  
The richest gifts gay Flora can bestow,  
Heedless I passed thee in life’s morning hour,  
Thou comforter of woe !  
Till sorrow taught me to confess thy power.’

We should have thought that the Wall-flower had been illustrated by some of our poets. One slight notice only is given from Thomson. An elegant sonnet has been addressed to this picturesque flower, by the anonymous Author of “Sixty-five Sonnets,”\*—a volume which escaped our notice at the time of publication, but which contains, under an unattractive title, some very felicitous specimens of that delicate species of poem. We shall make room for the sonnet alluded to.

‘ I will not praise the often flattered rose,  
Or virgin-like, with blushing charms half seen,  
Or when in dazzling splendour, like a queen,  
All her magnificence of state she shews ;  
No, nor that nun-like lily, which but blows  
Beneath the valley’s cool and shady screen ;  
Nor yet the sun-flower that with warrior mien,  
Still eyes the orb of glory where it glows ;—  
But thou, neglected wall-flower, to my breast  
And muse art dearest, wildest, sweetest flower,  
To whom alone the privilege is given,  
Proudly to root thyself above the rest,  
As genius does, and, from thy rocky tower,  
Lend fragrance to the purest breath of heaven.’

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\* “Sixty-five Sonnets; with prefatory Remarks on the Accordance of the Sonnet with the Powers of the English Language.” 12mo. pp. 124. London. 1818.

Another anonymous poet has some very beautiful lines on the subject of flowers, in the singular poem entitled, "The Comforter," reviewed in a former volume. Speaking of the healing influence of natural scenery, he attributes this charm to

‘ Each flower brocaded on earth’s mantle green,  
From the pale primrose, on the lowly ridge  
Crowned with the quick-set, pushing forth its bloom  
Through winter-mellowed and commingled spoils  
Of faded autumn, to the latest gleam,  
O’er purple moor-lands, of *the heath-bells’ bloom*  
*That quench their blushes in descending snow.*  
\* \* \* \* \*

—— ‘ every little undistinguished weed  
Whose tiny lustre helps the flush of May,  
Or that bright light that from the summer fields  
Fit for the scythe arises,—whose warm hue,  
Caught from the roses of the bending bough  
Of over-arching wild-briar, is combined  
*With the bright blue of many an upcast eye*  
*Of gay veronicas that bask beneath,*  
And heightened by the cups of burnished gold  
That glitter in the noontide, or convey  
To mouths invisible a draught unseen,—  
Conveys a blessing: for the most obscure  
Hath a perfection it is good for thee  
Often to muse on.’

The whole passage is worthy of finding a place in this literary flower garden. Other additions will, we doubt not, have been pointed out to our Author by her private correspondents. In the event of a new edition, we should be glad to see the plan somewhat extended, so as to comprise the poetical character and natural history of all the plants or weeds which belong to the British Flora. For this purpose, the fair Horticulturist must travel out of the precincts of her portable flower-garden, spacious as they are; must escape from the metropolis and its suburbs, and make herself thoroughly acquainted with the innumerable tribes which bloom unnoticed and despised by all but clowns and poets, beneath hedge-rows, or by the stream’s side, or on heathy uplands, or in the recesses of the Hamadryad’s retreat. If the old English and provincial names can be given, all the better; and then, after we have heard the botanist’s account, let us have all that our poets have said about them. The volume thus completed, would make one of the most elegant introductions to Botany imaginable. It is in vain to wish that a higher tone of sentiment pervaded the

work ; such as Cowper expresses, when he speaks of all nature being, by an emphasis of interest, his, who can

— ‘ lift to heaven an unpretentious eye,  
And smiling say, My Father made them all.’

The *Hortus Anglicus*, which we have associated with this work as relating to a common subject, is of a very different character, but will be found highly useful to those who have leisure and opportunity to pursue the study of Botany. As a work of science, it is of course far more valuable than the slight and elegant volume we have been reviewing ; it is designed for those who are already initiated in the elements of botanical science, and who wish to possess some knowledge of the beautiful objects which surround them in nature. ‘ An easy, intelligible, and compendious guide to an acquaintance with those plants which form the pride and delight of the modern garden, is not,’ the Author remarks, ‘ to be found in the English language.’ The very comprehensiveness of the larger works, renders them unfit for the use of the inexperienced inquirer, who, amid a description of more than 20,000 plants, finds himself bewildered. We warmly approve of both the plan and the general execution of the present work. If we have any fault to find, it is with the nomenclature, which is very much too Latinized to be intelligible to the non-initiated without a glossary. If Botanical works are written in English, it should be English. The pedantry which leads to the perpetual coining of technical barbarisms, half Latin half English, is exceedingly offensive : it serves only to deter many persons from entering upon the study. It is all very well for Swedes, and Russians, and Germans, to write their systems and criticisms in Latin ; but an Englishman ought to be too proud of his language, (which bids fair to surpass the French itself in its extensive diffusion, as much as it does in every noble quality,) ought to respect his mother-tongue too much, to submit to have this disrespect put upon it ; as if it could not express the shape and structure of a plant, or the most common earth, such as clay or slate, without foreign assistance. And after all, while such words as funnel-shaped, heart-shaped, salver-shaped, &c. are freely used, it seems absurd to mix up with these, the uncouth Latinisms which are to be found sometimes in the same sentence, such as ‘ umbel peduncled,’ ‘ terminal cymes,’ ‘ decurrent,’ ‘ villous,’ ‘ ringent,’ ‘ crenate,’ &c. In this respect, the present compiler, however, has but followed his authorities. The essential generic characters, which are placed at the beginning of each class, are collected from the last edition of the “ *Species Plantarum*” edited by Willdenow, with occa-

sional emendations and additions from the Hortus Kewensis and the works of Sir J. E. Smith. The place of each genus, when ascertained, in the natural systems both of Linnæus and of Jussieu, is also inserted. The etymology of the genera, which our Author has been careful to give as far as it can be discovered, will not a little add to the interest of the work. Both the generic and the specific names are accented. The specific characters are generally followed by a concise description, drawn from Rees's Cyclopaedia and the larger works on English Botany; the time of flowering, native country, and date of introduction of each plant, being given on the authority of the Kew Catalogue. The utility of the work is considerably enhanced by a double index, both of Latin and English names. This, to a sciolist, is the more necessary, from the circumstance of the same name being sometimes used for a generic, sometimes for a specific appellation, with a different meaning. For instance, the genus *Syringa* belongs to the order *Diandria Monogynia*, and includes the lilacs. The common *Syringa* is found under the genus *Philadelphus* in the class of *Icosandria*. The *Althea Frutex* is found under the genus *Hibiscus*, while the *Althea* genus comprehends the common marsh mallow and others of the same description, which would naturally be sought for under the genus *Malva*. In Jussieu's system, all the mallows, together with other genera of the same order, range under *Malvaceæ*. On the whole, the work contains much useful and entertaining information; it is at least a capital descriptive index, and entitles the Compiler to the thanks of the public.

‘ To unite botanical science with useful information, has been,’ he states, ‘ the constant aim of the Author. He confides his work, therefore, to the favour of the public; trusting that it will be found to promote the prevailing regard for the attractions of the vegetable creation; the contemplation of which, said old Gerarde in his Herbal, as long ago as the year 1597, “ is a study for the wisest, an exercise for the noblest, a pastime for the best.” ’

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**Art. IV. *Remarks on Female Education*, adapted particularly to the Regulation of Schools. 12mo. pp. xiv. 394. Price 5s. 6d. London. 1823.**

**T**HE comparative advantages and disadvantages of a home and a boarding-school education for girls, have often been zealously and anxiously canvassed; but no general decision on the subject could, we are persuaded, be laid down, so as to meet all the circumstances of the case. The choice of the best mode of education, could that be determined, would go

so little way towards securing the effective application of that mode, that the parent might be led to place a fallacious reliance on the approved plan, so as to be less particular or watchful as to the manner in which it was carried into execution. With all our decided preference for home education, when the alternative presented is that of a good school or an ill-regulated family,—competent instruction with school discipline, or half-education and no discipline—we confess that we should decide without scruple for the former. But these matters are not always at the option of the most judicious parent. The question not unfrequently becomes, not what is preferable, but what is practicable; and schools are had recourse to, not as abstractedly the best mode of education, but that which is best under all the circumstances of the case. The very intelligent Author of this volume candidly and frankly concedes, that the balance of advantages will generally be found to lie in favour of a private education. But the word ‘generally’ may be thought even too strong, taken in connexion with the considerations which belong to the conditions of the question.

‘To those parents,’ remarks the Writer, ‘who, regarding their offspring as the heirs of immortality, seek to render every species of instruction, and all the discipline of early life, subservient to the great end of their existence, the associations and the pursuits of childhood will appear too important to be entirely confided to any other superintendence than their own. And the feelings of natural affection will thus unite with many serious considerations, in inducing a preference of home education; respecting which it may be fairly conceded, that it affords opportunities of communicating the most valuable instruction, of watching and correcting the temper, and of aiding the gradual development of the rising character, which cannot be ensured in an equal degree in the best regulated school. These advantages, however, if not altogether neglected, are too frequently counterbalanced by many and most serious evils; some of which are too obvious, and unhappily too well known by experience, to require particular enumeration. Such, for instance, as arise from deficiency of resolution in a mother, from her want of confidence in a governess, from occasional, if not frequent, opposition of sentiment between them, which children seldom fail to discover, and of which, when discovered, they never fail to take advantage. To these may be added, the successive changes in the superintendence of the school-room, which, whether they are the result of caprice, of unreasonable expectations on either side, or of circumstances that could be neither foreseen nor prevented, are equally unfavourable in their influence on the improvement of the children.’

When, indeed, the home plan is adopted, not so much from a deliberate conviction of its superior recommendations, as from economical motives, or from parental fondness, the danger

failure is exceedingly increased, and the advantages become more problematical. No circumstances can be much more unfavourable to a child, than those in which the parent devolves the whole task of education on a domestic governess, without treating her substitute with confidence and affection, and delegating to her a portion at least of maternal authority. But the education of a child cannot be devolved altogether on a stranger, while it has ready access to its parents, and while a considerable measure of the moral influence to which it is constantly exposed, proceeds from their conduct. If, therefore, as may very possibly occur, there should take place a relaxation of parental authority and parental vigilance, on the strength of the supposed maternal proxy in the nursery or school-room, the *moral* education of the child, at all events, is likely to be more neglected than if it were totally removed from the sphere of indulgence. The situation of the private governess is, indeed, a most delicate and arduous one. The Author of this volume, after pointing out the comparative ease and tranquillity which it holds out, has feelingly drawn the reverse of the picture.

‘ In addition to all the petty mortifications and occasional embarrassments which may, and often do arise from some *unacknowledged hesitation* on the part of a mother with respect to the footing on which the governess of her children is to be placed in the family; of which the governess may at one time be admitted as a part, and, at another, find herself unexpectedly excluded as a being of an inferior order; there are evils to be endured of a greater magnitude and a more serious aspect. The governess in a private family is brought into immediate contact with the parents of her pupils; and what parents, or what human beings, can be expected to prove, on all occasions, judicious, considerate, and indulgent? If she is not subject to frequent counteraction, if her objects are not misunderstood or undervalued, her best efforts neutralized, and her most important purposes defeated, still, her proceedings are under a species of control which may often suggest doubts of their propriety; and she may be expected, if not absolutely required, to pursue a course, or to adopt a system of instruction and discipline, which would never have been the object of her own deliberate choice. And, at the same time, she may be held in a certain sense responsible for a result which she had little share in producing. In a word, the governess, exerting her doubtful authority and precarious influence in the school-room of a private family, may not unfrequently envy the mistress of the kitchen, or even the meanest of her assistants, who can rarely be disturbed by any revolt of her own judgement or feelings, in the exercise of her humble functions.’

The general plan of education, then, and the theoretic advantages of different systems, which have occupied the chief

attention of most writers on this subject, may justly be considered as of subordinate importance, compared to the manner in which any scheme is filled up and acted upon. The same leading principles are applicable, under some modifications, to public and to private education; and the same requisites will be found for the most part essential to the right discharge of the office of instructor, whether in the person of the mother, the governess, or the school-mistress. The design of the present work is, to arrange a few general observations on *the mode of tuition, the general regulations, and the moral discipline* best adapted to female education, with a primary application to the 'ordinary routine of school occupation.' The work will, however, be found extremely useful to young persons entering on the untried and arduous business of tuition, in any situation or department. To them it is especially dedicated in the Preface, which breathes the language both of kindness and of encouragement.

'It must be admitted that many young persons, too many even of those who have been educated with a direct view to this object, enter on an arduous task of instruction, with very inadequate ideas of the difficulties they must encounter, or of the serious responsibility which they are about to incur. Nor can they be too frequently reminded, that, to preserve an honourable independence by means of their own exertions, however laudable in itself, ought not to be the sole, or even the chief object of their solicitude, when the hopes of a future world are intrusted to their care. It is one of the melancholy consequences of those frequent reverses in the commercial world, of which the present times afford so many examples, that numbers of young women are suddenly reduced from circumstances of ease and affluence, to a state of complete dependence on their own talents and industry for the means of a moderate support. The education of children offers them a natural, and, in many instances, a suitable resource. But it is not probable that they will, in general, enter with other feelings than those of apprehension and reluctance, on the duties of a sphere necessarily associated with many painful recollections, and presenting, at first view, little to console them for all that they have been compelled to resign. To such as, possessing the requisite qualifications, are yet dismayed at the prospect before them, it may be justly and earnestly represented, that, to the diligent and conscientious, there can arise no insuperable difficulty. And while a constant, deep, and lively interest, added to a sensible pleasure in the society and in the improvement of young people, will be found indispensably necessary to ensure the humblest measure of success, that success which will generally attend well-directed efforts, will become in itself an improving source of interest and delight. Thus, by a happy interchange of cause and effect, the difficulties of this arduous occupation will be continually diminished in proportion as its enjoyments are increased; and every advance in knowledge and experience will strengthen and



Confirm that well-founded hope of usefulness which, to a well-regulated mind, is the most animating and the most powerful incentive to exertion. And if it must be admitted, that the education of children is a task which few, having duly weighed the responsibility attending it, would presume to undertake, it is equally true, that still fewer will relinquish it without regret, after having acquired a genuine taste for its pleasures.

‘To offer the result of a little experience to those who have had no previous opportunity of acquiring it, and to present to them, in a small compass, a series of observations which, possessing no claim to originality, may not be equally destitute of practical utility, is a design which will, it is hoped, be regarded with indulgence, if not with approbation. Probably there are few, the fruits of whose limited experience, if fairly produced, would be absolutely incapable of adding any thing to the general stock of knowledge, or to the resources of human happiness.’

The Contents are arranged under the following heads:—Introductory Remarks.—Religious Instruction.—Moral Discipline.—General Instruction.—Health and Recreation.—Neatness, Order, and Domestic Arrangements.—Intercourse with Parents.—Teachers in Schools.—Private Governesses.—Conclusion.

The chapter on Religious Instruction is marked by decision of principle and that sound judgement which is to be obtained only from experience. It is placed first, because, in the Author's view, Religion

‘must be regarded not merely as the sure basis of sound morality, or the only means of attaining real dignity of character, or of preserving a uniform consistency of conduct; (though, in this view, it is indispensable;) it must appear not solely in the light of a useful, or even an essential part of education, but as the *ultimate object* of all education; the end to which every other pursuit is to be rendered subservient, and for which nothing that actually comes into competition with it, is too valuable to be sacrificed without hesitation. This just principle, if fully established in the minds of all who profess to acknowledge it, would prevent much of that inconsistency of conduct which becomes the source of so many painful regrets.’

That this acknowledged principle is not adhered to in the education of their children, by all religious parents, is but too obvious. Religion never can come into competition with any thing essential to the child's *moral* education, because it is itself the great means of moral improvement; but it may, and does continually cross the plans and schemes which have for their object the intellectual and outward accomplishments. As a boy may become a first-rate Grecian at too high a cost to his morals, so, a girl may pay too dear for a good French accent. The notion, that the child must be, or must do like other peo-

ple's children, is too often allowed to over-rule the higher consideration. We do not say that religion forbids the highest degree of mental culture and outward accomplishment, but forbids the aiming at this at all events. Some excellent remarks occur in this chapter, on the proper mode of conveying religious instruction to the young. One of these is particularly deserving of attention.

‘ With all the levity of temper incident to childhood and youth, the heart is more susceptible of deep religious impressions than, humanly speaking, at any subsequent period of life; and the opportunities most favourable to such impressions ought to be wisely and conscientiously improved. Yet, in the endeavour to convey religious sentiments to the minds of the young, *much injury may be done by presuming too far on their sympathy with feelings in which they have no share*; especially if they are led, as they sometimes may be, through mere insensible imitation, into an artificial expression of them. It is impossible to guard with too much care against every thing tending to induce a habit of self-deception, which might eventually be productive of the most fearful consequences.’

We quite coincide with the Writer in her remarks on preaching, in reference to the young, and on the best method of teaching them to listen with advantage. The following hint will, we hope, not be lost on the parties to whom it applies.

‘ And while the various subjects of public instruction, will naturally furnish a theme of conversation and remark in the family circle, it is desirable that such as is received from other quarters, should exactly correspond to it in every essential principle. They who conform, from motives of convenience or policy, to a system of worship which does not accord with their private sentiments, must resign the most important advantages in the instruction of youth.’

The whole chapter on Moral Discipline is admirable, and deserving of repeated perusal. We shall transcribe the Writer's just remarks on the evils of severity, as tending especially to generate deceit.

‘ While habits of order, regularity, and strict subordination among the pupils, will be found essential to the very existence of a school, it is necessary to be careful that such a system be not maintained at too serious an expense. The cost would be rendered heavy indeed by the exercise of a rigour and severity which inevitably expose the sincerity of children to frequent temptation. When great advantages with respect to religious and moral instruction, have been enjoyed in very early life, the principles of children may be correct, but they can seldom be firm; and they ought never to be subjected to unnecessary or capricious trials, by any requisitions connected with their ordinary duties and occupations. *Deceit, the most discouraging of all*

*the faults of childhood, is the usual resource of fear and weakness; their natural defence against oppression, whether real or imaginary. To excite lively apprehension in a timid spirit, is an experiment too dangerous to be knowingly and wilfully repeated: it is enough that this unhappy effect is sometimes unconsciously produced under circumstances of which the tendency has not been suspected. It is one evil inseparable from the nature of general regulations, that they bear with an unequal weight on different dispositions and characters, which are variously affected by the same measure of restraint. To obviate this inconvenience, it is necessary to watch, not merely their general effect in the arrangement of the whole department to which they relate, but also their particular influence on each individual mind. Ingenuousness should be encouraged in children, not by an applause to which it is never entitled, and which moreover conveys an implication of its rarity, but by carefully removing the temptations to deceit. And when such a habit exists, it will be most effectually corrected, not by exposing the erring individual to a public, however merited disgrace; not even by inflicting a just punishment; but, by gradually infusing a degree of moral courage, by inspiring the hope of recovered confidence as the reward of reformation, and, above all, endeavouring to annihilate the principle of deceit, by substituting for the servile fear of man, the fear of Him who is acquainted with the thoughts and intents of the heart.*

*'It is then necessary, and happily it is not difficult, to establish a permanent ascendancy over the mind of the young on a more generous and better principle than fear, and to secure, by gentle means, an influence which is to be exerted only for their benefit. The dependence of children gives an interest in their affections, to all who possess the means of contributing to their enjoyment; and there are few instances in which they do not become warmly attached to those who treat them with ordinary kindness..... No one who has not made the experiment, can calculate the extent of the influence to be derived from such a sympathy (with the feelings of children) when accompanied with a just and mild control. And it cannot be too deeply impressed on the minds of all who are engaged in the work of education, that restrictions which are not mild, can never be permanently beneficial; and that, while present inconvenience may sometimes be prevented by summary measures of severity, their remote consequences will seldom fail to be highly injurious. They who wish to learn wisdom from their own experience, must at once perceive the importance of encouraging in children, that degree of freedom which is essential to the discovery of their characters. That kind of restraint which tends to repress all the natural indications of the feelings, cannot be too strongly deprecated, or too carefully excluded from every plan of education. Among other evil consequences of that duplicity which excessive restraint will inevitably produce in the pupils, it must be evident, that their instructors can derive no knowledge from a series of experiments conducted in the dark, or of which all the immediate results are concealed.'*

A Writer in the *Edinburgh Review*,\* who, in common with some amiable philanthropists of the present day, seems disposed to object to all punishments, after remarking that there is reason to believe the greater portion of vices to be ‘not inbred, but instilled,’ expresses his opinion—‘that a child removed from all example of evil, and taught no bad habits by injudicious treatment, above all by severity, the parent of fear, *the grand corrupter of the infant heart*, would grow up naturally generous, and honest, and placid.’ We confess that, putting theological truth out of the question,—though the fact of depraved *tendency* is sufficiently established by the inevitable and undeniable effects of simple neglect,—yet, we have never been so fortunate as to obtain any practical proofs or illustrations of the doctrine which represents the mind of a child as resembling a sheet of white paper. Such white paper specimens have never come under our observation. We believe with this Writer, however, that bad example and injudicious treatment are a main cause of much that is unamiable, and even vicious, in the child and in the man. We believe too, that the sort of fear produced by excessive or injudicious severity, does tend to corrupt the heart, especially by leading to habits of deceit. But before we yield our assent to the broad assertion, that fear is the grand corrupter of the infant heart, we shall need inquire, whether there be no such thing as a salutary instinct of fear, and whether there be no occasions on which it ought to be called into exercise. We will not contest with the Reviewer the inexpediency of admitting ‘what is usually termed punishment’ into Infant Schools, where its liability to abuse, presents a serious objection to allowing its introduction. Fear, however, may be produced without rod, or twig, or *green tail*; and fear must be produced, or there can exist no authority. If, then, fear could be produced only by severity, we should contend that for this reason severity is necessary. But the words, thus loosely employed, convey in fact no fixed or definite meaning. Severity may mean punishment, or it may mean habitual rigour, or it may mean petty tyranny; and, according to this its varying meaning, it may produce submission, discouragement, deceit. That severity of discipline is never to be resorted to, few persons, we imagine, would soberly maintain. Correction or chastisement—for why employ the repulsive word punishment in speaking of children?—will never, in our humble opinion, be wholly superseded by any modern improvements in the art of education. Solomon’s

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\* *Edinb. Review*. No. lxxvi. *Art.* Early Moral Education.

proverb, though too often perverted, is not to be disregarded with absolute impunity; nor need we expect that the Apostle's argument will be taken from him, when he says, "What son is he whom his father chasteneth not?" His idea of the effect of paternal severity was assuredly different from our Reviewer's notion, when he represented it as inspiring filial "reverence." But, in fact, the fear inspired by the idea of authority, far from being the grand corrupter of the infant mind, is the most effectual preservative from vice; and in the absence of this feeling, all other ties will be weak. Fear, when it has respect to a just authority and a right standard, when its dictates are coincident with a sense of demerit, and when what it apprehends, is at the same time acquiesced in as just, — is neither an ungenerous nor a debasing sentiment. The fear which debases, is always connected with a sense of injustice, is inspired by a usurped or an abused authority, or by caprice and excess in the exercise of it. The principle itself is inherent in our nature, and is implied in every species of government. It may be over-wrought, so as to take on, if we may so express it, a morbid action; but it appears to us altogether visionary to proscribe, either in education or in jurisprudence, all expedients which appeal to this natural instinct.

With the general observations of the Author of the present volume, however, we are well satisfied, convinced as we are that her object has been, in the passage we have cited, to guard against the exercise of a rigour and severity which, superadded to the necessary restraints of a school, can have no good tendency. 'The young,' she remarks, 'may easily be directed, and *they must be controlled*, but they should never be thwarted or exposed to unnecessary and vexatious contradictions.' 'An external influence, to be effectual, must always be gentle.' These remarks, it is especially important to bear in mind in the management of a school; and it will not be thought any fault in the present work, that its Author leans so decidedly to the side of gentle methods of discipline.

Upon the whole, we have perused these "Remarks" on the hackneyed but far from exhausted subject of Female Education, with no ordinary satisfaction, and they have inspired us with a high respect for the unknown, but very intelligent Author. It is a volume which we would particularly recommend to all young persons who are about to engage in the arduous work of tuition, in any of its departments; and we think we may safely add, that there is no mother of a family or mistress of a school, who may not derive some useful hints from the perusal.

**Art. V. *Memoires Historiques, Politiques, et Militaires, sur la Revolution du Royaume de Naples, en 1820 et 1821, et sur les Causes qui l'ont amenée* : accompagnés de Pièces Justificatives, la Plupart Inédites. Par le General Carrascosa. 8vo. pp. 564. Price 12s. London. 1823.**

**E**UROPE has not yet ceased from wondering at the Neapolitan Revolution,—its glorious promise and its contemptible results. It is not now three years since the kingdom of Naples presented the animating aspect of a nation roused to arms in vindication of its civil and political rights, and crowding in military array to its frontier in defence of its menaced liberties. A few months passed away, and these resolute patriots disbanded at the first cannon-shot; a new and iron rule was imposed upon the country, and it submitted without a murmur to the presence of a foreign garrison, and the severities of military domination. The secret of all this has never been clearly explained, and the inquiry appears to involve facts and considerations of the greatest importance, not merely in their connexion with a particular point of history, but with reference to the safety and defence of political communities in general.

We have been apt to think,—more perhaps from feeling than from rational conviction,—that the true safety of a state lies in its determination not to be conquered; that no mere military power could be finally prevalent against a nation armed and devoted in its own defence; that standing armies are useful only for purposes of parade or intimidation, and that the obvious danger of their misemployment as engines of power to the enslavement of their own country, makes it desirable to intrust the guardianship of a land wholly to the steadiness of its militia, and the annihilation of invaders to the overwhelming numbers of its levy-in-mass. It is to be feared that historical evidence will not sustain this theory, and that, with whatever jealousy an army under the direction of the executive power may require to be watched, it is the only efficient rampart against aggressions from without. In the earlier ages of Rome, though every one of her citizens was liable to military service, her discipline seems to have been but little superior to that of the nations around her. Her Samnite and Etruscan wars contributed to its improvement; it was perfected amid the campaigns against Pyrrhus and Hannibal; and her regular legions invariably triumphed over the militia of Spain, Gaul, and the northern nations, until her enemies learned that assemblages of armed men have no legitimate pretension to the name of armies.

Without entering on an extensive application of these re-



marks, we may observe, that the recent revolution of Naples, affords a striking illustration of the necessity of giving to the institutions of a nation surrounded or approachable by powers of equal or superior strength, a decidedly military character. The Neapolitans had nothing more than the show of this. A long interval of peace had been broken by the events connected with the French Revolution; but these had not led to any permanent melioration of the army. The reign of Joachim had not been of sufficient duration or enterprise to give a warlike impulse to the people; and in the military transactions which were the result of the occupation of Sicily by the English, his main reliance seems to have been on his French auxiliaries. The effects of this were exhibited in the mock defence of their country by the armies of Pépé and Carrascosa, when the Austrian divisions of Frimont presented themselves on the frontier. The Hun triumphed over the Italian, almost without a struggle; and if he had chanced to imbibe a propensity to classical quotation, during his brief sojourn in the atmosphere of the 'Eternal City,' he might, with no hyperbole, have repeated Cæsar's famous bulletin. That party feelings and intrigues were mixed up with the spirit of insubordination and cowardice, so highly probable in itself, is clearly proved by General Carrascosa; but all these facts go together into the general mass of evidence which illustrates the entire destitution of discipline and military habits in the troops of Naples.

The position of the Neapolitan Court during the different wars of the French Revolution, was certainly one of extreme peril and difficulty; nor does it seem ever to have stumbled on the right method of encountering the embarrassments of its situation. Its policy was always false. When peace should have been preserved at all cost, war was eagerly urged on; and when the latter might have been engaged in with hope of a favourable result, the opportunity had been forestalled by the previous rashness. The King was a mighty huntsman, but a feeble governor; and the Queen, imperious and voluptuous, supported the minister Acton through a long course of misrule. About 1793, a momentary effervescence, occasioned by a mere handful of young men of heated imaginations, and regarded with apathy by the people at large, was made the pretext for a series of injurious measures. A system of rigorous *espionage* was put in activity throughout the kingdom; the privacies of domestic life were invaded, and the intercourse of man with man rendered utterly unsafe. Thus, the social principle was tainted at its source, and a restless, suspicious, and disaffected temper extensively diffused. Nor were subsequent measures of a more prudent cast. The unwise defiance



of the power of France, and the opposition of an army of raw troops to her triumphant veterans, led to the disasters of Mack and the evacuation of Naples. The resumption of the government by Ferdinand and his favourites, after the expulsion of the French, was marked by the adoption of a political system just as narrow and mischievous as all that had gone before. Instead of throwing a veil over the past, and acting on the enlightened principle of a liberal amnesty, the ministers of the negligent monarch considered the country as a conquest, and treated the inhabitants as rebels. The kingdom was deprived of its privileges by a kind of general interdict, and the punishment of high treason was inflicted on several individuals. These vindictive measures had the inevitable effect of dividing the nation ; and from that period, under various names, two parties have been constantly in array against each other. Jacobins and *Santafedi*, Muratists and Bourbonists, *Carbonari* and *Calderaji*, Liberals and Royalists, have hated each other with the most unfeigned cordiality. All this tended, no doubt, materially to facilitate the conquest of Naples by Napoleon, and the accession of Joachim to a throne abdicated by the flight of its *legitimate* possessor.

‘ During the ten years of the French government, the public spirit of the Neapolitans was sensibly meliorated. Uniform institutions were given to the kingdom ; the distribution of justice was more impartial, and rested on an established system ; the administration of the public income was more regular and equal ; feudalism, until then feebly assailed, was totally abolished ; a code of fixed laws was promulgated ; substitutions and the rights of primogeniture (*majorats*) were destroyed ; successions were better regulated ; the sequestration of the monastic revenues, the division of manorial demesnes, prevented the accumulation of riches in the hands of a few, and dispersed them through society at large ; the hypothecary inscriptions banished from circulation three fourths of the ordinary issues ; (*firent disparaitre les trois quarts des procès ordinaires ;*) the youth of both sexes were received into public seminaries. And while these liberal institutions every where banished ignorance and indolence, the brilliant and instructive society of the French communicated to the Neapolitans, amenity of manners as well as the love of learning and the genius of invention. Besides, many of our citizens had enlarged their minds by travelling during the seven years of exile which preceded 1806 ; many others, attached to the profession of arms during the French domination, had visited the most civilized countries of Europe ; and all, returning to their native land with minds enlightened and liberalized, contributed to the advancement of general knowledge. Such was the state of the kingdom of Naples, when the present king returned for the second time from exile into his peninsular dominions, after the fall of Napoleon, which

had drawn with it, that of king Joachim, as well as of all the secondary monarchs whose existence depended entirely upon him.'

When Ferdinand returned from Sicily, after the fall of Murat in 1815, a system of wise forbearance was adopted, and many of the reforms which had been introduced by the French, were adopted as parts of the national *regime*. With respect to the army, however, a most injurious plan was pursued. A crowd of worthless hangers-on, who had accompanied the King in his flight, were to be provided for, and, among other means of accomplishing this, a considerable number of these ravenous parasites were invested with rank in the army; thus impairing its quality, and disgusting those who had earned their military advancement by actual service. In addition to this deteriorating measure, the Government determined on changing the whole system which had been introduced by the French, though experience had proved its practical excellence. In four years, as we learn from General Carrascosa, the Neapolitan armed force was subjected to no fewer than five distinct organizations, besides being exposed to innumerable privations in pursuance of impracticable schemes of economy. Hence, the army, which was approaching to an effective character under the administration of Murat, fell rapidly back to its former state of indiscipline and nullity. A system of marked favouritism gave insolence and impunity to those whom royalism, interest, or timidity had led to Sicily in the train of Ferdinand, and filled with apprehension and disgust those who had served under the orders of Joachim.

'The military superior no longer durst punish, nor even reprimand his subordinate officer, if the latter had been in Sicily, or if he himself had served the other government. In either case, the inferior held himself dispensed from all necessity of obedience, and all military discipline, towards his commander. I shall cite the following facts in support of these observations. At Capua, a captain of the king's regiment killed *publicly*, with the blow of a stick, an old man of seventy, guardian of the military edifices. He was brought before a council of war, sitting *at Capua itself*, and was declared *innocent*! An officer of the clothing-board committed a considerable theft in the exercise of his functions. The delinquency was detected, and *he was unable to deny it*. He dared, however, require that he should not be placed upon his trial, and *offered to reimburse immediately to the Treasury the loss occasioned by his prevarication*. The captain-general accepted his offer; but the general who was the president of the board, opposed it firmly. He represented the impropriety of limiting the punishment of theft to simple restitution, and that the example of compromising with crime would be fatal. The captain-general admitted the justice of these remarks; the officer

was brought before a council of war ; but that tribunal *declared him innocent* : he was set at liberty, and the Treasury was not even indemnified. A captain, in garrison at Gaeta, guilty of gross neglect of duty, was slightly punished by the governor. He had the impudence to send him a most arrogant letter, which concluded with these words :—“ *The King knows me, as well as my family, and our fidelity ; and he knows you too.*” The governor was not allowed to send the captain to a court-martial ; and, a few days afterwards, an official letter, written in a tone of protection, inquired if the culprit had been released from arrest.’

The origin of the association of the Carbonari is involved in some obscurity ; but the most commonly received opinion refers it to the officers of a Swiss battalion, quartered at Capua in 1807. It appears to be an imitation of Freemasonry. Like that system, it has its vows of secrecy, its signs, both mute and vocal, of recognition, and the highest mysteries are known only to the adepts of the most elevated orders. That it was a political sect, there can be no question ; and it has exercised a decided influence on the events of the last twenty years. The Carbonari are said, by General Carrascosa, to have held the government of Joachim in abhorrence. In 1812, they excited revolt against him in Calabria, and, two years afterwards, in the Abruzzi. In 1815, they are affirmed to have occasioned the ruin of Murat’s army after the battle of Tolentino. At the restoration of Ferdinand, the lodges of the Carbonari had nearly suspended their meetings ; but the ultras, by reviving the fraternity of the Calderaji, compelled the resumption, in self-defence, of the opposite system. A number of causes, all connected with mal-administration, combined to extend the revolutionary feeling ; and the affiliated societies speedily spread themselves from the Faro to the Fronto, comprising a heterogeneous mixture of men of all characters, and even of all opinions. Still, nothing more existed than the elements of disorder, which a wise and liberal government would have been able easily to calm and disperse. Unhappily, such a government did not exist at Naples.

‘ The government was the chief author of these calamities, both by inactivity, and by the adoption of a wretched system, destructive of the salutary influence which the people had a right to expect from excellent laws and liberal institutions, but intrusted, for their execution, to unfaithful or incapable agents. These laws and these institutions, the precious legacy of the French government, had procured for us many of the advantages of a constitution ; they were preserved to us in theory, but too often were rendered null or ineffective in practice. Feudal rights were abolished, legal equality was proclaimed, authority abstained from direct invasion of persons and property ; but

a general uneasiness was produced by the unpunished misconduct of subordinate agents, and by the universal laxity of the public administration. Every one felt that he was without any guarantee for the rights which he still enjoyed. It became, then, indispensable to effect a reform among the official agents of Government; and, in addition to this, a change of policy, voluntarily conceded, would have been highly beneficial. So entirely was the expediency of this acknowledged, that, notwithstanding the pretended disinclination of the King, and a secret compact with Austria, Naples was on the point of receiving a kind of national representation, of which the then existing *Grand-chancery* would have supplied the elements. The number of its members would have been raised to sixty, and it would have had a consulting voice in legislative matters; the discussions would have been public, and open to the press.'

The wish for a constitution was universal among the landholders, who were suffering under the effects of excessive imposts, and of an extensive importation of corn from the Crimea. But the principal sources of the general dissatisfaction were to be removed only by making the provinces less dependent on the capital, and by improving the system of municipal administration. The complete subserviency of the provinces to the metropolis, had been one of the main and most injurious causes of the national degradation.

In a country thus circumstanced, disaffection would find no difficulty in becoming fashionable. In 1819, it shewed its first symptoms, in the 'tangible shape' of Carbonarism, among the individuals of a regiment of cavalry, under the command of General Carrascosa at Aversa. They were, however, repressed with 'vigour' for the time, though the evil day was not far off. A simultaneous movement had been determined on by the chiefs of the Association, but its date had been fixed for January 1821; and they were taken completely by surprise, when the insurrection broke out in July of the preceding year. The colonelcy of a regiment of cavalry, stationed at Nola, had been given to one of the Sicilian refugees, an officer without talent or diligence, and the troops were suffered to conduct themselves without the slightest attention to military discipline. Their disorganization became at length so complete, that it was found necessary to give them another commander. The very first attempts at the enforcement of order, produced mutiny; and a detachment left the town on the road to Monteforte, where, having been joined by a few of the militia, they took up a strong position, covering their small division of about three hundred and fifty men, by trenches and abatis. When the news of this insurrection reached the capital, it excited great alarm, and apprehensions were entertained that, in the known

state of the public mind, it might lead to the most disastrous events. A council of general officers, assembled by the commander in chief Nugent, appointed General William P  p   to the command of the troops destined to act against the insurgents ; but this designation was set aside by the Government, and General Carrascosa was nominated in his stead to the command of the third military division, with unlimited powers, but without soldiers. In the mean time, Colonel Deconcili had taken the command of the rebels, and his measures were so prompt and effectual, that, although on the *second* of July, the movement was confined to the handful of men whose numbers we have just cited, on the *third*, two whole provinces had declared in their favour, and two entire regiments, with the provincial militia and *gendarm  rie*, had joined in the constitutional cause. It is, of course, impossible for us to enter into the minute detail of the measures which were adopted in this emergency. General Carrascosa was under the necessity of temporizing ; he entered into negotiations, collected and consolidated a *corps d'arm  e*, and when, at length, he was about to try the event of a direct attack on the principal position of the insurgents, he was stopped short by the intelligence that the King had proclaimed the Constitution. He has been accused of dissimulation and double dealing. If his own statements are correct, (and they certainly have no appearance of being otherwise,) there is no foundation for this charge, though there may be a difference of opinion respecting the wisdom and energy of his measures. He mentions names freely, where such frankness appears necessary for the explanation of his conduct, though he maintains a praiseworthy reserve when his statements might prove injurious to individuals. He quotes and communicates documents which, as far as they go, have a favourable aspect towards his case ; and as far as we can form a judgement without more extensive information, he seems to have made out a satisfactory plea in defence of the purity of his intentions. The Captain-general Nugent, an officer of the Austrian army, gave his express approbation to the conduct of General Carrascosa, who, on his departure, was nominated to his post. At this time, every thing was in confusion. General William P  p   had assumed the command of the army at Monteforte, which still maintained a threatening position, and made extravagant demands, to which the Government was under the necessity of yielding. Naples was in a tremendous state of agitation. The King had resigned the exercise of his office to the Prince Royal with the title of Vicar-general. In this state of things, the insurgents advanced upon the capital, and General P  p   requested an interview with General Carrascosa

previously to entering the city. The picture of the rebel army, drawn by the latter, is sufficiently graphic.

‘ Filled with fatal apprehension I reached the camp, where about fourteen thousand men composed a most disorderly assemblage. More than the half of this mob was, it is true, composed of troops of the line, or of militia, in soldier’s attire, but without any subordination. The rest, having no uniforms, were awkwardly handling their wretched muskets; and these men, who had the appearance of mere rustics, were grouped together without any regard to order. In some of these collections there was no authority whatever; in others, there was none but that of their own immediate commander. There was no principle of union among the chiefs, and cries and altercations resounded on every side. As I passed along, I was assailed with imprecations and threats to such an excess that I expected every instant to become the victim of these madmen in their rage. At length, I found General P  p  , who perceived my danger, and endeavoured to dispel my apprehensions: he took my arm, to shew the multitude that I was under his protection. He then told me, in a low voice, that he was in as much danger as myself, but that it was necessary to put a good face upon a bad business. I inquired what was the meaning of these armed masses, and whether he thought it safe to permit them to enter the city. He replied that they were the most worthless fellows from several districts of the Terra di Lavoro, who, on his march, had demanded permission to join his column, and who, pretending to be Carbonari, claimed to take part in his triumphant entry into Naples; that he had been obliged to dissimulate, and that he was anxious to get rid of them, but did not know how it was to be done.’

With much difficulty, General P  p   succeeded in persuading this rabble to return, and the probably mischievous consequences of their entry into Naples were averted. Up to this point, P  p   had not expressly joined the association of the Carbonari; but, finding his popularity and influence on the decline, he soon afterwards yielded to the importunity and intrigues of interested men, and inscribed his name on the rolls of the society.

The meeting of the Neapolitan parliament did not produce any permanently beneficial effect on the state of things. Time was lost in making speeches, which should have been occupied in decision and execution. The best troops of the kingdom were sent to quell the Sicilians; and when Florestano P  p   had made a moderate and politic convention with the inhabitants of Palermo, it was imprudently annulled. In addition to these injurious circumstances, the Carbonari had extended and confirmed their system, and had committed the guidance of their concerns to a superior and central lodge. General Car-



rascosa and the other ministers were displaced ; and the storm which was visibly approaching, was contemplated with an unaccountable indifference, that paralysed every measure of defence. When, at length, the movements of the Austrian troops left no doubt of their ultimate destination, and it became necessary to take decided steps in opposition, the General was fixed on both by the parliament and the ministry, as commander in chief of the larger division of the army, and, notwithstanding his reluctance, was constrained to accept it. A second *corps d'armée* was formed, the command of which was given to General Guglielmo Pèpé.

The details connected with the mock campaign which ensued, are much too minute for any attempt at analysis. It appears that the Neapolitan armies took the field, nominally in formidable masses, but really in small numbers, and that such was the state of destitution in which the whole *materiel* of the army had been left, that all chance of a formidable resistance was taken away. Treachery and cowardice were at work, and it is absolutely ridiculous to read report after report, communicating the successive desertion of the soldiers by hundreds at a time. The lives of their officers were frequently attempted, and in some instances blood was shed. The volume concludes with a statement of circumstances personal to General Carrascosa, and which ultimately induced him to leave the kingdom.

On the whole, this is an interesting work, and contains much valuable matter illustrative of the history of the Neapolitan Revolution. The General uniformly expresses himself in opposition to the anarchists, and in favour of a moderate constitutional system. We are, of course, unable to form a perfectly accurate estimate of the facts and inferences of his own case ; but, on a *prima facie* judgement, we are inclined to think that he has been harshly dealt with. He was first induced to quit his country, then tried in his absence, and is now under sentence of death, without having been heard in his defence. We believe he is now in England.

Art. VI. *A Comparison of Established and Dissenting Churches.*  
By a Dissenter. 8vo. pp. 108. Price 3s. 6d. Edinburgh. 1823.

THE present situation of the Church of England is a very novel one for that venerable hierarchy to occupy. For nearly a century and a half, it has had, properly speaking, no assailants. King James II. was the last who durst lay a finger on its prerogatives ; and since his time, till very lately, it has had no worse enemies to contend with, than the ghosts of the



Roundheads and Micaiah Towgood. The Pope, that ancient enemy, had grown so friendly, that the Rev. Mr. Wix was sanguine as to the possibility of converting him; and as to Presbyterianism, that has got its *quietus* in a snug Establishment on the other side of the Tweed, which keeps it within bounds. The state of perfect ease, and conscious security, and dignified leisure which the most apostolic of Churches has for some time past been enjoying, appears in nothing more clearly than this, that its rulers in Bartlett's Buildings have decided its greatest existing danger to arise from the British and Foreign Bible Society, and its greatest enemies to be the evangelical clergy. The apprehension of an imaginary danger is a tolerably good proof that no real danger exists, at least within the sphere of vision; and a Church that can venture to treat the most popular and effective portion of its clergy, with contumely or coldness, must either be very strong or very blind, very secure or very infatuated. It is true, we have heard of the dangers of Popery to this Church, and the dangers of Infidelity also; but the former generally become imminent only at an election time, and the latter, it is now generally understood, have been obviated by the Constitutional Society. It may be decent still to lament the spread of irreligion; but no apprehensions are any longer entertained for the safety of the Church from that quarter.

The last twelvemonth, however, has presented us with the unprecedented spectacle of the Church of England being put upon the defensive. A new enemy, wearing neither the guise of Jesuit, Puritan, nor Methodist, has opened a battery on the most vulnerable and least guarded part of the Establishment; and while the Church was gravely debating how far it might safely give away the Bible without the prayer-book, and whether those who deny baptism to be regeneration ought to be tolerated within its pale, down come Mr. Hume and the Edinburgh Reviewers with an impeachment of the said Church for high crimes and misdemeanours, including charges of embezzlement and extortion, and humbly praying for a Parliamentary investigation. Never, since the Divine right of tithes was first called in question, has there been so daring an assault made on ecclesiastical prerogatives. The controversy seems now for the present taken out of the hands of theologians and polemics. Bishop Marsh has drawn in his horns and his questions. Norris only is left to bark at the Bible Society. We should not be surprised if the evangelicals should obtain another bishopric, and the 'old Dissenters' be shaken hands with again, as the Church's faithful allies in former times of danger. For really, Mr. Hume with his armies of figures, is

not like a ghost that will yield to holy water, or an incubus that flees at the light, or a polemic that can be extinguished by authorities. Not Mr. Peel and all his constituents can do any thing more than outvote him. And then comes Mr. O'Driscoll with his views of Ireland; and, month after month, the Northern Hydra breathes forth more facts, and figures, and facetiousness than the Rev. Mr. Phillpot can any wise dispose of. And still from the hated North, another and another still succeeds, all holding the same language of retrenchment and reform, and profanely mooting the dangerous topic of church revenue.

The present writer, who styles himself a Dissenter—a Scotch Dissenter, be it remembered, and so he may be an Episcopalian for any thing thereby implied to the contrary—states his object in this comparison, in the following terms:

‘ In these times, when ecclesiastical concerns are attracting such a share of the public attention, it is of some importance to understand the policy which prevails in the churches of the Dissenters. Rejecting, as they do, all political control in matters of religion, and compelled by their circumstances to suit themselves to human nature in every variety of condition, we may confidently expect them to discover not a few of the elements of a good system, and likewise the expedients which are useful for bringing it into practice. The policy of the Dissenting Churches, however, is very imperfectly known. While their enemies entirely misrepresent it, many of their friends are not fully aware of its true character, nor of the nature of the foundation on which it rests.

‘ Impressed with these considerations, the author of the following Inquiry, who belongs to the most numerous class of Dissenters in Scotland, has endeavoured to unfold, in the subsequent disquisitions, not indeed the general policy of the Dissenters,—a task to which he is totally unequal,—but one of the most important principles by which it is affected,—*their supporting the ministrations of religion at their own voluntary expense*;—and to compare it with the opposite principle which prevails in the Churches of the Establishment, *which afford the ministrations of religion at the expense of the public*. It may be proper, however, before entering on this comparison, to ascertain, as far as possible, the numbers, in our own country, who receive religious instruction under the latter principle, or that of Church Establishments.

The public property allotted to the Churches of Great Britain and Ireland, he takes at from 6 to 7 millions annually, a round calculation, the *data* of which had better been intimated. In estimating the numbers who receive instruction by means of this expenditure, he deducts six millions and a half of the Irish population, four millions of English Dissenters, and half a million in Scotland, as belonging to non-established churches; making

total of eleven millions, or more than one half the population of the whole united empire. But this estimate under-rates the Dissenters, especially in Scotland. In Edinburgh and Leith, according to a census lately taken by the constables, the sittings in the churches of the Establishment, including chapels of ease, are only about 20,000; those in the non-established churches are about 39,000; outnumbering the Establishment by more than one third.

‘ In Glasgow, and other manufacturing towns and districts, she is probably outnumbered in a still higher proportion; and even in many villages and open parts of the country in the Southern and midland counties, she is outnumbered by the United and Relief Churches alone. It is chiefly in the north, where the population, in general, is thinly scattered, that she maintains the superiority.’

In England, according to a paper ordered to be printed by the House of Commons in 1812, the number of churches and chapels belonging to the Establishment, in parishes containing a population of a thousand persons and upwards, was 2533; the number of Dissenting places of worship in the same parishes, was 3438. If this return was at all correct, the proportion must now be very much higher in favour of the Dissenters.

But, in estimating the numbers who receive instruction at the public expense, we have further to deduct from the gross population, all who belong to chapels of ease, which are maintained by voluntary contributions. Though these persons are not Dissenters, they pay, like the Dissenters, for the support of their own minister, and are in no wise indebted for the means of instruction to the immense public revenues of the Establishment. The number of these chapels amounted, in 1812, in parishes containing a thousand inhabitants and upwards, to about 600. The attendants at such chapels cannot, we imagine, be estimated at fewer than 250,000. So that, in fact, two thirds of the population are not at all indebted to the Establishment for religious instruction; and, of the remaining third, a large portion are receiving the ministrations of religion at their own charges, the revenues of the Church being not at all applied or applicable to the maintenance of their ministers.

Such is the remarkable state of things which the increase of Popery in Ireland, and the progress of population and of Dissent in England, have conspired to produce. In both countries, the majority of the empire respectively support their own religion, besides contributing their *quota* of support to the Established Church. In both countries, the majority are Dissenters: in England, the actual attendants are probably 2 to 1;

in Ireland, 13 to 1. Taken in connexion with these striking facts, it becomes, then, an interesting inquiry to the political economist, what is 'the influence of the opposite principles which prevail in the Established and Dissenting Churches, as regard to the mode in which the ministrations of religion are maintained.' To this inquiry, the present Writer confines himself. Waiving all religious discussion, he examines the operation and bearing of the two principles, 1. In regard to the instruction of the great body of the people; 2. In regard to the liberal and impartial spirit of the Gospel; 3. In regard to the relation of Church and State; 4. In regard to ministerial faithfulness; 5. In regard to some miscellaneous particulars; 6. In regard to the general condition of society, particularly of the lower orders. He then points out the conduct to be observed by the parties interested in these principles, by the friends of religious liberty in general, by the land-holders, and by the legislature.

Having given this brief outline of the object and contents of the pamphlet, it is by no means our intention to pursue the Writer through the detail of his argument. He writes like a shrewd, rather than a profound, a liberal, rather than a religious man. We wish by no means to be understood as pledging ourselves to an approbation of all his statements or principles. We were startled almost at the outset by the ungracious phraseology, to say the least, which ascribes to the Established Church of either country, 'a religion in opposition to the conscience of the majority of its inhabitants.' In regard to Ireland, this is true; but to speak of Episcopalians being compelled to support the religion of Presbyterians, and Presbyterians the religion of Episcopalians, as if Episcopacy was one religion and Presbyterianism another, is manifestly absurd. There are conscientious objections held by either party to the mode of church government and form of worship respectively maintained, and there are doctrinal differences also on minor points; but the religion is one, and is mutually acknowledged to be so. To exaggerate matters in this way, cannot answer the purpose of sound argument. Again, when the Writer reproaches Dissenters with inconsistency in tamely contributing to the support of institutions which they disapprove, and asks, 'Would their reforming ancestors have displayed such imbecility?' we must say, that he seems to us to argue very weakly. Dissenters, he says, allege

'that their conscience will not suffer them to worship in the Established Churches, on account of the errors and corruptions they discover: but who sees not, that if it suffer them to give their property

to uphold such institutions, it may just as well suffer them to give their personal attendance. In reality, it is their property which is the main circumstance; for, if there be errors and corruptions in the case, it is this which perpetuates them. With consciences so pliable, it is no ways surprising that their enemies oppress and despise them.'

We protest, in the first place, against language of this inflammatory kind, as both unwise and uncalled for. We know of no good purpose that could have been answered, had the practice of the Quakers in respect to tithes, been followed by all classes of Dissenters; except that it might have hastened the adoption of some equitable principle of commutation, which would at the same time have made the Church property more secure than ever. The Quakers bear their testimony against tithes, but they pay them nevertheless; and the payment, as our Writer maintains, is every thing. It does not appear to us, that the payment is really less compulsory on the part of other Dissenters, than on theirs, or that the payment is regarded by them in any other light than as a compulsory exaction. There seems to us, however, no solid ground for the conscientious objection. With regard to the tithe, no individual has a right to withhold it; it is not his property; he has purchased, or rents his land or house on certain conditions, and if he does not abide by them, he is acting a dishonest part. If he had any conscientious objection to paying the tithe or church-rate, it should have operated in making the bargain. He should say to his landlord, You must let me have the land tithe-free, and I will pay you the higher rent, but I cannot pay the tithe-gatherer. But this would still come to the same thing: the 'pliability of conscience' would be much the same. To confound a voluntary contribution with a tax exacted by the State, is very bad reasoning. If the mal-application of the public revenue could afford a solid reason, on conscientious grounds, for scrupling to comply with the demand of the State, then, on the same plea that is urged against supporting a religion which we disapprove, by paying tithes, we should be authorized in refusing to pay our assessed taxes—nay, all taxes, direct or indirect, that went to support what we might deem an unjust war, or an unconstitutional standing army. In this case, there would be no peaceably living under any government whose acts we did not individually approve. Now, as we never find the Apostles and primitive Christians refusing tribute to whom tribute was due, because their money might go towards the support of a military tyranny and a heathen priesthood, we cannot think the Dissenters of modern times chargeable with either imbecility or inconsistency, in submit-

ting to the laws of their country in the matter of civil and ecclesiastical taxation.

The question has, however, been sometimes put in this shape: What would have been the conduct of the primitive Christians, had a tax been specifically levied upon them, for the support of the heathen worship? It is not an unfair question, and yet it is supposing a case which, with all its actual circumstances, ought to be fully laid before us, to authorize us in giving a decisive answer. We know that both civil and military service were refused by the primitive Christians, at the peril of martyrdom, when compliance would have involved a compromise of their religious profession. And had the supposed tax been levied *as a test*, we have no doubt that they would have laid down their lives sooner than seem to participate indirectly in the guilt of idolatry. But otherwise, we are not prepared to concede that the Christians would have resisted the payment of any legal impost, for whatever purpose levied. Idolatry must, moreover, be considered as an extreme case. A fairer parallel would be the case of the Jewish Christians, during the continuance of the Temple worship; and we cannot conceive of their conscientiously refusing to pay the tribute raised for that specific purpose, notwithstanding their *dissent* from the Jewish Church, when our Lord himself had set the example, and had wrought a miracle to furnish the didrachma. But, in short, civil obedience is at an end, if the demands of the State may be resisted by individuals in the matter of taxation; and we cannot believe that Christianity warrants or sanctions such resistance, for this very good reason, that there is nothing in Christianity subversive of civil government.

To speak of such payments as fines, as religious persecution, as a seizure of property, &c. is, we think, at once puerile and mischievous. But such representations will have no effect on Dissenters in general; they will but serve to weaken the force of those general reasonings which might be urged against the tithe system on political grounds, as a national grievance. We must beg that our consciences as Dissenters, may not be mixed up with a question already sufficiently intricate and sufficiently interesting. Churchmen are quite as much concerned as Dissenters are, in obtaining a reduction of the burden and a redress of the abuses; and in concurring with them in petitioning the Legislature on this subject, we should much prefer honestly to take the common ground, that of seeking relief from our burdens, not relief, in this matter, for our consciences.

The present Writer finds fault with Mr. Hume, because his motion in the House of Commons during the last sessions,



which went to regulate the livings of the Irish clergy, still recognised the principle of paying those Protestant clergy with funds drawn from a Roman Catholic population. The principle of Mr. Hume's measure, and that of Mr. Goulburn's, were, he maintains, precisely the same; namely, 'that though people should ever so conscientiously renounce the established religion of the country, they must nevertheless pay for supporting it.' According to this Writer, nothing short of the total abolition of the ecclesiastical Establishment ought to be thought of. Now, our objections, both religious and economical, to the principle of all Establishments, are perhaps as strong as his own; but, for the reasons already assigned, we see no wisdom or correctness in this representation of the matter. To repeat a remark we had once before occasion to cite from Burke, we see 'a great difference between what policy would dictate on the original introduction of such institutions, and on a question of their total abolition, where they have cast their roots wide and deep, and where things more valuable than themselves are in a manner interwoven with them.' Admitting that the Irish Establishment partook originally of the character of a usurpation, we cannot concede that this forms of itself a sufficient reason for abolishing it; for what property might not be called in question, if its original tenure were nicely investigated? Nor is it the hardship which the Roman Catholics are represented as suffering, in paying for the support of a religion which they regard as heresy, that affords the proper ground for attacking the monstrous abuses of the Irish hierarchy. For, were it a Roman Catholic Establishment, the alleged conscientious hardship would cease, but the objection to it as an Establishment, would remain. The present anomalous state of Ireland arises from her being a conquered country which has never received the religion of her conquerors; but of all the crime and injustice connected with the original conquest and appropriation, the present Government is surely innocent; and whatever is given back to the people, is not to be demanded of their rulers as restitution, but must come in the shape of a boon. Mr. Hume's motion recognised no other principle than this; that Parliament has the right of disposing of the national revenues, and that the property of the Church is public property. The abstract question, whether it is expedient that any order of clergy should be paid by the State, has little to do with the right of the State to make or to perpetuate such provision, and to levy a tax for this purpose. If, instead of persevering in his motions for retrenchment, and attacking in detail the items of expenditure, that gentleman had launched forth into a learned



argument on the unconstitutional nature of a standing army in the time of peace, and the necessity of abolishing our whole military system, he might have won the hearts of the Quakers, those friends of peace, but he would have accomplished nothing towards the relief of the country.

We maintain, then, that it can never be made out as 'a manifest attack on the rights of conscience, to give away the public money in this way,' however unwise or inexpedient may be such an application of it, however mistaken the principle on which all ecclesiastical Establishments rest. 'The same principle,' the Writer remarks, 'would give the national money to the Methodists in England, the Seceders in Scotland, and to the various other Dissenting Churches throughout the Empire.' Granted; and there would be neither oppression nor injustice in such a distribution of the national money. The Writer himself flies off from the ground he had taken, to dilate on the evil consequences of such grants. But that is quite another matter. We believe that the principle of ecclesiastical Establishments is a mistaken one, that their operation is mischievous, that the bounty of the State does not answer the end proposed, that the voluntary principle is at once the most in unison with the spirit of Christianity, and with sound policy. Had the Writer confined himself to this view of the subject, he would, we think, have done more credit to his judgement and to the cause he has espoused. But the necessity for ecclesiastical reform is quite independent of these views of the principle of an Establishment, and it is most unwise to blend them together. A palpable expediency, a pressing imperious necessity, the vital interests of the State, not less than common equity and sound policy, urge to a severe revision of our ecclesiastical system, while the original expediency of Establishments is a question which, for the present at least, polemics and politicians must be left to investigate.

Believing the voluntary principle to be a Scriptural one, we can have no doubt of its being adequate to all the Scriptural ends of the Christian ministry. This is our position; and in appealing to facts in its support, we claim from our opponents the acknowledgement that our system at least *works well*. On this point, we are glad to avail ourselves of the present Writer as an auxiliary. Dr. Chalmers alleges that, in the case of an Established Church, the Gospel is taken to the people; in the case of a non-established one, the people must come to the Gospel. The former, he tells us, is a centre of emanation, while the latter is only a centre of attraction. This representation, the present Writer successfully combats.

‘ Not to speak of foreign churches, let us look to the state of Ireland. What active influence is there emanating from the Establishment to instruct the people? Instead of converting the inhabitants to Protestantism, is not Popery gaining ground?.....It will be readily admitted, that, in the case of the Gospel, “it were vain to wait for any original movement on the part of the receivers,” and that “it must be made on the part of the dispensers.” But who does not see that this is the most powerful reason why clerical establishments should be avoided? The people have naturally no wish for religion. It must be urged and pressed on their attention in every possible way. Hence, clergymen should be ever diligent; and hence, they should have no establishment; for that, with individual exceptions, annihilates all diligence; but should be supported by voluntary associations, the only expedient by which diligence can be generally secured.

‘ Nor has this mode of support the smallest tendency to degrade them in the public estimation. It makes them indeed dependent, in some measure, on their constituents; but the sum which each has to pay is so very trifling,—not, at an average, to the extent of ten shillings annually, that it is hardly worth mentioning. A physician, or a lawyer, is incomparably more dependent on individuals than the generality of Dissenting Clergymen, and yet *their* profession is never thought degrading. It is merely that species of general dependence, or rather that reciprocity of good, which constitutes the soul of human intercourse, and by which the wealth of every one is promoted. No man who witnesses the assiduity of a Dissenting Clergyman in instructing his people, his strictness in reproofing their occasional errors, and their readiness, notwithstanding, to promote his comfort, though they could easily have the ministrations of religion for nothing, will ever imagine that any other dependence subsists between them, than that which is founded on affection and esteem.

‘ There are several circumstances, indeed, in the profession of a Dissenting Clergyman, that materially contribute to the respectability of his pecuniary condition above that of many engaged in the other learned professions. If a physician or a lawyer be abandoned by even one of his employers, the loss he sustains is exactly the sum which that employer had paid for his services; but a Dissenting Clergyman, in such a case, is subjected to no loss at all. His income has certainly some reference to the contributions of his people, but it has merely a general reference. It bears no exact proportion to them, nor would the loss of one, of ten, of twenty, or, if his congregation be numerous, of several hundreds of his people, hurt him to the extent of a farthing. His full salary would be paid by the rest. It is on the body of his people that he depends, and not on the liberality or justice of individuals. But this is not all. His salary does not even bear any exact proportion to the services which he himself may be called to perform. He is not paid a specific sum for each sermon, for each visit to the sick, for each diet of catechizing. He receives a fixed sum for the whole. The details are left to his own discretion, and the omission or performance of any one of them, on a particular occasion, would neither, in a pecuniary point of view, hurt

nor profit him. If a physician or a lawyer omit any one duty, he cannot honestly charge for it. His gains are not only proportioned to the payments of individuals, but to the particular services which he himself renders them. A Dissenting Clergyman is on a more generous footing. A multitude of people are engaged, in honour and honesty, to support him, if faithful to his general trust, and his services are never measured with such exact precision, but that, without any pecuniary loss, he can take considerable latitude. It is impossible to devise a scheme better fitted to unite general diligence with individual independence. Instead of that debasement which his enemies are so fond of attributing to his condition, he is actually induced, in as far as money can induce him,—and it is of money only we speak at present,—to be at once diligent in his duty and resolute in maintaining that tone of character which rebukes and repels all individual impertinence. It is with his people as a whole that he has to do in his pecuniary concerns; and nothing is better known than that the people, though willing to be ruled by their pastor, will not be ruled by any private influence exercised over him. So jealous, perhaps we should rather say so honourable, are their feelings here, that a thousand times rather would they see their pastor do wrong from himself than doing right from the interference of another. The whole pecuniary condition of a Dissenting Clergyman has a tendency to make him cultivate habits of diligence, prudence, conciliation, and respectability.

‘ Nor must we overlook the influence which his general dependence on the body of his people, and his independence on individuals, have in enabling him to exercise a reasonable and scriptural discipline. At first sight, hardly any thing appears more marvellous than that a Dissenting Clergyman, who is dependent on his people for the very means of existence, should so frequently rebuke them both in public and in private, and even at times exclude or suspend them from the distinguishing rites of Christianity altogether, while an Established Clergyman, on the other hand, who is utterly independent of his people, is usually very indulgent; never rebukes in public at all, and in private very seldom and very gently, and admits to the distinguishing rites of Christianity persons of every description of character under the sun. To say that the former is more faithful than the latter is to say nothing.—The question is, What makes him more faithful, when his rival has such a decided advantage over him?—A moment’s reflection will clear up the mystery, and shew that, though in appearance the advantage is against the Dissenter, it is, in reality, all on his side. There is no occasion for entering deeply into the subject. It is enough to remark, that of all the duties which a Clergyman has to perform, the most unpleasant by far is to administer reproof, or refuse people admission to the sealing ordinances of the Gospel. A person, for instance, applies for baptism to a child, and does so with every expression, and perhaps with every feeling, of personal respect. To refuse, is to tell him to his face that he is reckoned a very unworthy character. What Clergyman among a thousand, if left to his own feelings, would do this?—But a Dissenting Clergyman

is not left to his own feelings. If his congregation be in tolerable order,—for we speak not of extreme cases,—he knows very well that he receives his salary for executing its laws; that it is expected he shall execute them faithfully; and that, if he do not, general dissatisfaction and ultimate injury to himself will ensue. These considerations must have some influence in strengthening his feelings. Another arising from the same source has still more. He is aware, that, owing to his situation, the public must view him merely as the ministerial organ of his congregation; that, in every exercise of discipline which his people have a right to expect, he is doing nothing but what his official character obliges him to do, and that no offence therefore should be taken with him as an individual. This has still more influence; and, in point of fact, if he be faithful to his general trust, even the individuals who suffer are not in the practice of blaming him. When injustice is supposed to be received, the pastor is usually exculpated, and the blame thrown on the congregation, or on the inferior office-bearers.

An Established Clergyman is not thus protected. Both himself and the public know that he is under no real responsibility to any one; that though his church may have plenty of good laws about admonitions, and suspensions, and excommunications, yet they are merely words in the statute-book of some general assembly, or convocation, or parliament, and that he is by far too independent to be affected by such matters. Every act of discipline therefore is viewed as coming exclusively from himself, and taken as a personal insult; and, while human nature is constituted as it is, this must have influence even with good men, and lead them gradually to give up, first one point and then another, till discipline be lost altogether, and the drunkard, and the man of sobriety, the profane swearer, and the man of godliness, the Sabbath-breaker and he who remembers the Sabbath-day to keep it holy, be all admitted to the most sacred ordinances of religion, even to the table of the Lord itself, without question and without discrimination.' pp. 47.—53.

This is a view of the subject which, we think, particularly claims the attention of those Dissenters who may be tempted sometimes to falter in the assertion of their own principles, as if doubtful of their validity, when some case of offence or inconvenience may arise in a Dissenting church, owing to circumstances against which no system can provide. There are many other sensible remarks in this pamphlet, many valuable hints and just sentiments, intermixed with some few things which we think erroneous or exceptionable; but we have already exceeded our proper limits, and must for the present take leave of the subject.

**Art. VII. *A Second Part of the Case of Eusebius*, by the Author of the First: with an Appendix on the Eighth of the Author's Bampton Lectures, in Reply to Observations contained in a Book entitled *Palaeoromaica*. 8vo. pp. 46. 1823.**

**T**HE First Part of the Case of Eusebius was noticed in our Tenth Volume. (p. 563.) In that article, we expressed our satisfaction with the arguments adduced by the Author in refutation of the hypothesis which he had undertaken to examine and expose, and which was offered to the public in support of some novel critical doctrines advanced by Mr. Nolan in his work ‘*On the integrity of the Greek Vulgate.*’ In the manner of the Examiner of that hypothesis, we could not perceive that any occasion had been furnished to a Reviewer of his pages to make an unfavourable report of the temper which pervaded them; and we were only discharging our customary duty, in paying the Author the tribute of our acknowledgement for the zeal and ability with which a subject of so much moment as the transmission of the text of the New Testament, had been treated in the ‘*Case of Eusebius.*’

Mr. Nolan, however, is too much attached to his Eusebian hypothesis, to abandon it because it has been met with powerful objections; and in his “*Remarks on a Passage in Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History, with Translations in modern Greek and Italian, communicated by M. Calbo, to the Rev. F. Nolan,*” he contends, *pedibus et unguibus*, for the truth of his allegations and the accuracy of his deductions. These “*Remarks,*” however, are too much in the form of special pleading, and by far too weak to establish the charge in the support of which they are so anxiously adduced.

In resuming our attention to the “*Case of Eusebius,*” we wish our readers to give us credit for being influenced by the great importance of the subject, in which every believer in the Divine authority of the New Testament is most deeply interested. To him it cannot be a matter of indifference, whether the text of the Christian Scriptures has ever been so entirely in the power of an individual, as to receive from his hand erasures and alterations to render it conformable to his own opinions. For, if any individual ever had such control over the whole text of the New Testament, other persons may have had the same kind of control; and we can then have no security for the integrity of a book which, on this supposition, has been subjected to the caprice, the prejudice, the bigotry, or the fraudulent designs of unknown individuals. Who is not interested in discussions, the results of which are to determine, whether, in receiving the New Testament, the believers in re-

vealed religion are receiving words which the Holy Spirit teaches, or words which have been introduced by dishonest and artful men, who had previously removed or corrupted the sacred text? If, as Mr. Nolan wishes us to believe, Eusebius 'removed those parts of Scripture, which he judged to be: 'neither conducive to use nor doctrine,'—if he had the will and the power to do this, and if he thus expunged and corrupted the sacred text in the early part of the fourth century, the grounds of a Christian's faith must, we should imagine, be much less secure than we have been accustomed to regard them. We must therefore consider the controversy to which Mr. Nolan and Mr. Falconer are committed, as not of small account, but of great and essential importance.

The whole of this controversy is comprised within very narrow limits: it turns principally on the interpretation of a passage in Constantine's letter to Eusebius, which was quoted in the article of our Review to which we have already referred. Mr. Nolan has adopted a most singular mode of replying to the objections of his opponent against the interpretation which he had given of this portion of the letter, in his "*Integrity of the Greek Vulgate*." He has procured from M. Calbo a translation of his English Version into modern Greek; the modern Greek Version has been rendered into Italian, and the Italian Version has been translated into English; 'As the version which I 'have there given,' (in the "*Integrity of the Greek Vulgate*,") says Mr. Nolan in his communication to M. Calbo, 'if it. 'possess any fidelity, should bear a second change, without. 'losing its likeness to the original, may I solicit, as a favour, 'that you would submit it to the process; and when you have 'turned it into modern Greek, compare with the text of Eusebius, and then state the result of the experiment.'—'I 'wish only to draw your attention to the terms *σύνεσις* and *λόγος*; 'on which words, particularly the latter, I should feel highly 'flattered, if you would favour me with your opinion, as on 'them particularly depends the inference which I have deduced from the Instrument in Eusebius.' (Remarks, p. 3.) M. Calbo accordingly transmits the solicited versions in modern Greek and Italian to Mr. Nolan, who is quite elated with the supposed success of this circuitous mode of interpreting the Bishop and Historian's text. We say supposed success, because, in fact, this method of proceeding can answer no good purpose whatever, the text of Eusebius still being the disputed subject, and the meaning of the terms *σύνεσις* and *λόγος* requiring exclusively another method for its determination.

'Let us suppose, that this sarrago of versions were extended to all the known languages, what would be gained by this transfusion of



the meaning of words through so many media? What number of versions, and into what tongues, would decide this question? In the place of the usual aids of criticism, as history, the style of contemporary persons, the consideration of the manners, customs, and institutions of the age and country in which the writer lived, and perhaps above all these, the language of the author in other parts of his work, is substituted a Polyglot, not a Polyglot of separate versions of the original, but a Polyglot of versions of versions, a multiplication of images, reflection succeeding reflection, where the errors of the first version of the original must, in proportion to their respective fidelity to each other, pervade all the other versions in succession.

Second Part of the Case, p. 3.

Who would for a moment think of ascertaining the import of a word or a phrase in the Hebrew or Greek Scriptures, or in a Greek or Latin Classic, by such a process as this? To us it seems, that a fair inquirer who had no predilection to indulge, would limit his investigation of the meaning of words to less indirect modes of criticism.

The question to be determined is, whether the letter of Constantine to Eusebius invested him with authority, and conveyed to him the direction of the Emperor to revise and new model the text of the New Testament according to his own will. 'The authority,' says Mr. Nolan, 'thus committed to Eusebius, seems to have vested him with a discretionary power of selecting chiefly those sacred Scriptures which he knew to be useful and necessary to the doctrine of the Church.' The original words of the document in Eusebius are, *το δεῖξαι τῇ σοφίᾳ σου*, which Mr. Nolan renders '*to submit to your consideration*.' Now *το δεῖξαι*, we apprehend, has no such meaning, implies nothing discretionary; it simply denotes purpose of mind in the sense of *to declare, to signify*. This is the sense in which Mr. Falconer very properly understands the expression; and he accordingly translates the words, '*to signify to your Intelligence*;' asserting that the word *σοφία*, 'is a term denoting an abstract good quality, a virtue, or excellent property, which it was usual to convert into an expression of compliment or a title of respect.' There are in Eusebius numerous instances of this usage in respect to other words, and we are decidedly of opinion that the word in question is so used in several examples. Though Mr. Falconer has not availed himself of the testimony to be derived in aid of his representations from the vernacular versions of Eusebius, it occurred to us that it might be of some service in the present controversy, to consult them for the purpose of ascertaining the manner in which they have rendered the expressions in question; and they cannot be suspected of giving partial evidence in reference to a discussion



which was to arise so long subsequent to their own times. We regret that we have no means of access to other versions of Eusebius, than the translation published at Cambridge in 1683. From this version we shall extract a few passages. ‘ Since, therefore, your Devotedness understandeth that’—*ἡ καθεστώσῃς* *ἡ σὺν*. Eccles. Hist. Lib. x. c. 5.—“ which libels when your Gravity shall have read’—*ἡ ὑμετέρα στήριξις*. *ib.*—‘ that he take care to pay to your Gravity’—*τῇ σὺν στήριξιν*.—‘ if your Gravity demanded any money’—*ἡ σὺν στήριξιν*. c. 6.—‘ to be diligently observant about Your Holiness’s orders’—*τῷς ὑπο τῆς σῆς ἱερότητας ἀπορροαῖς*. Vita Const. Lib. II. c. 46.—‘ which letters when Your Holiness shall have perused’—*ἡ σὺν καθάρισιν*. *ib.* Lib. III. c. 61.—‘ It will behove Your Prudence (*τῇ σὺν συνέσει*) to be present at their council.’ *ib.* ‘ It seemed good, therefore, to give Your Prudence notice’—*ἀγγεῖλαι τῇ συνέσει ὑμῶν*. *ib.* c. 63.—‘ For such matters as these being well prepared and ordered, Your Prudence will be able so to direct’—*ὑμῶν ἡ συνέσις*. *ib.* The translator of 1683 was a person perfectly competent to his task ; and we see that he understood the terms above as denoting an abstract good quality converted into a title of respect. But, if any further considerations were necessary to elucidate the use of these expressions, it might be sufficient to cite a note of Valesius, who is unquestionable authority on the subject. ‘ *Vox ἀγγίσις parum convenire videtur Antistitibus. Utuntur quidem hac voce Imperatores in literis suis ad Rectores provinciarum. Sed cum sacerdotes alloquuntur, sanctitatem, gravitatem, vel prudentiam frequentius dicunt.*’—‘ The term *ἀγγίσις* seems but little agreeable to prelates. The Emperors do use this term indeed in their letters to Governors of provinces. But when they speak to prelates, they do more frequently use Sanctity, Gravity, or Prudence.’ Euseb. Vit. Const. Lib. II. c. 68. Ed. Reading. We may also quote from the Translation of 1683, the following note, which occurs in a passage in the letter of Sabinus to the governors of provinces, Eccles. Hist. Lib. IX. c. 1.—*καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας καθεστώσῃς τῇ σὺν ἀγγίσιδι διαχρησάμενοι*—‘ nostræ devotioni præcepit, ut ad tuam solertiam literas dærem’—‘ enjoined our devotedness to write to your Prudence.’ ‘ I suppose, these are the terms of honour which these great officers had given to them in all addresses ; and which they themselves also made use of, when they mentioned themselves in any letters they wrote to others.’ The word *σύνεσις* is one of the terms of honour which are frequently so occurring in the pages of Eusebius.

But we must now consider what assistance Mr. Nolan has received from M. Calbo’s attentions to the Eusebian documents : his versions of the passage are the following :—

*Eusebius.*

τὸ δηλῶσαι τῇ σῇ σύνοσι.

*Mr. Nolan's Version.*

To submit to your consideration.

*Mod. Greek.*τὸ ἵνα δηλοποιήσωμεν εἰς τὴν σύνοσιν  
σοῦ (Φρονησιν σου).*Mod. Greek.*

ἵνα φερῶμεν ὑπὸ τὴν προσοχὴν σου.

*Italian.*

Notificarlo alla vostra prudenza.

*Italian.*

Di sottoporre alla vostra considerazione.

Now if, as Mr. Nolan asserts, the words of Eusebius mean ‘*To submit to your consideration,*’ and nothing else, how should it happen that M. Calbo’s Italian version of Eusebius’s Greek is so different from his Italian version of Mr. Nolan’s English? But Mr. Falconer must now be heard.

‘The translations of the original into modern Greek and Italian express that personification of the quality specified, for which I have contended, but there is no such personification in the word “consideration.” I therefore repeat my former objection, that ΣΥΝΕΣΙΣ does not here denote “consideration,” and assert that it is a titular and honorary appellation, and I confirm this opinion by new authority, which others may verify and estimate for the fabricator of the hypothesis: “ΣΥΝΕΣΙΣ titulus honorarius apud Basilium et alios.

“If I am not deceived,” says Sig. Calbo, “this word (Σύνεσις) had originally but the signification of an union or concourse of physical objects. Hom.” I am not disposed to contradict this remark as far as it relates to Homer, who, according to Damm, the celebrated lexicographer, expresses the confluence or junction of rivers by ξύνεσις.

“The notion of *comparing, reflecting, judging, selecting, re-uniting, and combining* by the mind, was not annexed to it, until about the time when Greece applied to philosophy, (Plat. Aris. Xen. Mem.) from whence it then signified as it signifies now, *prudence, intelligence, good-sense, ratiocination, and more precisely what Condillac understands in his logic by le jugement.*”

‘Damm, as Sig. Calbo, as well as myself, knows, says: recentiores (referring to Homer) ponunt τὴν ξύνεσιν ἐπὶ φρονήσεως, si quis *comparat inuicem pluribus scit eligere optimum*:’ and hence Sig. Calbo’s notion of “*comparing, reflecting, judging, selecting.*” A writer, however, who lived before those whom Sig. Calbo has mentioned, has used Σύνεσις in the sense of reflecting, judging. Pindar, whom Sig. Calbo might have seen quoted by Damm, has these words,

τόλμαι τε καλῶν ἀραμενῶν  
ΣΥΝΕΣΙΣ οὐκ ἀποδλίπει φρενῶν.

‘Damm explains ΣΥΝΕΣΙΣ by prudentia, and Sig. Calbo by prudenza, intelligenza, among other senses, when it occurs in the prop

writers. In the age of Pindar then, it denoted with φρονῖς (which I conceive is the complete form of the figurative expression,) prudentia. The question therefore is, whether prudence or intelligence (for Sig. Calbo and myself do not differ but with respect to the *date* of those significations of σύνσις) is used as a title.

‘ “ I do not believe,” he continues, “ that any other meaning was annexed to it, unless shortly after the Establishment of the church, and *not previously to the death of Constantine himself*; since the bishops of those times are given (the Italian is better, non si davano) no other title than that of ἀδελφοί.”

‘ I am not contending for *any other meaning* than prudence or intelligence, but simply for the application of *that same* meaning as an honorary designation, and I may be allowed to argue, that it does not follow because the bishops of the age *preceding* that of Constantine had no other title than ἀδελφοί, that those who were *contemporary* with Constantine, might not be addressed in other forms of respect and compliment.

‘ “ And it seems,” says Sig. Calbo, “ that from the use that prince (Constantine) made of the word in his letters to the bishops, (See Euseb. Vit. Constant. lib. III. c. 60—2.) it consequently received some tincture of what (allowing for the difference of the persons) the words ὑμετέρας φιλανθρωπίας, πραότητος, καλοκαγαθίας, φιλαγαθίας, have in speaking to a monarch, which are not used as so many titles, nor signify *fully* humanitas, mansuetudo, benignitas, and bonitas.” There is a concession in the words *quelle tinte* “ some shades of a title,” beyond which it would be unreasonable to expect or require *more*, because it is the concession of the very matter in dispute. Sig. Calbo was called in as a judge to condemn, and inflict shame upon an ignorant pretender, but the judge turns out to be an accessory, an accomplice, an approver, timid and reluctant indeed, but still a party in the crime imputed, “ the barbarous murder of the finest language in existence.” And what has been murdered? A *single term* applied as a complimentary appellation of a dignified ecclesiastic, and applied probably, as we may have reason to think, *for the first time* in that manner by the Emperor Constantine to an ecclesiastic of rank,’ pp. 7—9,

This, we think, is quite satisfactory. The aid which Mr. Nolan has solicited from M. Calbo, is entirely denied, and his communication is available for nothing so much as the support of the position of Mr. Nolan's opponent, that σύνσις is, in the passages of Eusebius, a titular designation. For it is most undeniable, that if the term, as used in the letters of Constantine to the bishops, have such relation to those other terms as M. Calbo admits, which are expressive, not of qualities, but of compliment, it cannot strictly and simply (as Mr. Nolan in support of his hypothesis contends,) signify a quality to be exercised in discharging a duty; for this assumption excludes the usage which M. Calbo has asserted, and which is in entire

accordance with Mr. Falconer's remark, that, 'It was this very relation of such qualities to the duties of the respective stations, that constituted their convertibility into the titles of those who were placed in them.' 'As in the Roman empire,' says Selden, 'it was a solemn custom to give to the Emperor the titles of Pius and Felix, which were the most usual, and Clemens and Tranquillus, Sanctissimus, and many others, such denoting *their quality*, or that *which should be their quality*, by way of *honorary*, but arbitrary addition.' Such honorary and arbitrary additions are the terms, 'Your Purity,' 'Your Gravity,' 'Your Prudence,' in Eusebius; Constantine evidently using this mode of address, for the purpose of expressing the high respect which he entertained for the superior ecclesiastics of his time.

It would exceed our limits, to enter largely into the discussion of the use of the words τῇ τῆς βασιλείας λόγῳ, which, Mr. Nolan insists, are to be explained as if they conveyed an intimation from the Emperor Constantine to Eusebius, that the latter was to exercise his discretion in accommodating the new copies of the Scriptures to that which he apprehended to be the 'doctrine of the Church,' but which, we agree with his opponent in maintaining, have no reference to doctrine, and as little to the *credenda* of Eusebius as the model on which the text of the new copies was to be formed. The Scriptures are indispensable to the service of Christian congregations, and it was necessary that copies of them should be placed in the churches which the Emperor had erected in his new Metropolis. But this specification of the local communities for which the copies were to be obtained, excludes, we think, most completely, the notion of Mr. Nolan, that the letter of Constantine was written for the purpose of directing Eusebius to the use of his own discretion in furnishing a text; because, on this supposition, the mention of particular churches must have been entirely out of the question. For the use of the new churches, Constantine directs that fifty copies of the Scriptures should be supplied; and that the preparation of those copies had no reference to alterations of the text, is evident because, while the direction of the Emperor refers the care of procuring them to Eusebius, he at the same time informs Eusebius, that orders had been given to the Rationalist to supply the necessary materials; and those orders would just as much prove that the Rationalist was to exercise a discretionary power of 'selecting and amending' those Scriptures which he might conceive to be 'useful and necessary to the doctrine of the Church,' as that such a power was committed to Eusebius by Constantine. Mr. Nolan insists,

part of the letter (ἐν τῇ ἐπισκευῇ καὶ τῇ χρῇσιν, τῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας οὐκαὶς ἵνα γινώσκῃς) is specified as the necessary cause to contingent effect, their use to the doctrine of the church; and at the end their preparation, he remarks, could not in any way have contributed. But whatever the ἐπισκευή might denote, as being connected with the knowledge of Eusebius, precisely denoted in the orders of the Rationalist—ὅπως καὶ πρὸς ἐπισκευὴν αὐτῶν ἐπιτήδεια παρασχέιν φροντίσειν. If ἐπισκευή denoted the selection and amendment of the Scriptures in the manner of Eusebius, what could the Rationalist supply towards the object? Of what kind was the assistance which he was to supply? Was he to be co-adjutor with the Bishop in revising and re-forming the sacred text? But if the ἐπισκευή in the letter denoted only the providing of copies of the Scriptures, in that respect simply of transcribing from copies already existing, it is quite obvious what it must denote in the other. ἐπισκευή was the preparation of the copies, the superintendence of which was committed to Eusebius, and the ἐπιτήδεια were entrusted to the care of the Rationalist, were the scribes: he was to provide scribes and parchment, and when the scribes had finished their labours of transcription, the work was completed.

The temerity with which he ventures to support his hypothesis, Mr. Nolan has exposed himself to the refutation of his opponent; and on perusing the following extracts from the "Second part of the Case," every reader will perceive that the confident assertions of Mr. Nolan are in direct opposition to the truth of the case. Nor can he be allowed in defence of his transgression, any 'benefit of clergy.'

In regard to the language of the Letter, the fabricator says, on my own part, after the striking remarks, which you (Sig. Calaneo) made on the internal evidence of the instrument, no doubt came on my mind, that it was originally framed in Latin; and *and any hesitation* on this point, one consideration will probably come into your mind, in which I feel myself established by your observations. *It is in fact only necessary* to my hypothesis to suppose that the instrument, by whomsoever drawn up, was submitted to the approbation of the Emperor; and *this being granted*, it is not denied that it was submitted in Latin, as *Constantine was acquainted with NO OTHER LANGUAGE.* "As indeed the Emperor and Bishop, between whom the communication was made, were very well acquainted with that language, the difficulty really lies in giving how a different language should be chosen as the medium of communication, of which one of the parties possessed NO KNOWLEDGE." For an assertion of this kind, repeated with so much confidence, it is natural to require some reference to an authority contemporary, to his biographer for example; but there is

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no such reference, no such authority. The reason why the Emperor used Greek, is recorded in unsuspected sentences, and it is the simple and plain reason, *because he understood it*: Constantine opened the Council of Nice in the language of the empire, and in his imperial capacity, in Latin, which the Bishops did not understand. The speech of the Emperor was interpreted for the Bishops, but no one interpreted the speeches of the Bishops for the Emperor, or assisted him in carrying on his conversation with them. Eusebius describes his condescending and affable behaviour, and his conversation with them in their own language: *πράως τε ποιούμενος τὰς πρὸς ἑκάστην ἐκκλησίαν, ΕΛΛΗΝΙΣΤΩΝ ΤΕ Τῇ ΦΩΝῃ, ΟΤΙ ΜΗΔΕ ΤΑΥΤΗΣ ΑΜΑΘΕΣ ΕΙΔΕ, γλυκίως τις ἦν, καὶ ἰδίως.* 'Vit. Constant. lib. iii. p. 584. It seems then, that the Emperor, who removed the seat of the Roman government to Byzantium, actually understood the Greek language. On one side you have a Bishop, a contemporary, a friend, affirming that this prince understood Greek; and on the other, an English ecclesiastic, not yet a Bishop, and living in the 19th century, affirming that the Emperor "understood no other language than Latin." "Fond of the arts and sciences, he had carefully studied philosophy, history, and law, and could *speak* and *write* equally well in Greek and Latin." p. 181. Sketches of Church History, by John Erskine, D. D.' pp. 19, 20.

For the humiliation to which the Author of the "Integrity of the Greek Vulgate" is here reduced, he has only to blame his own predilection for hypothesis, and his rash proceedings in support of a fabulous assumption, which no sober reader can peruse without surprise, and no intelligent reader can examine without perceiving its entire repugnance to the spirit and letter of the documents adduced as the basis of the heterogeneous and most extravagant figment. For other instances of detected errors and exposed sophisms we must refer to Mr. Falconer's pamphlet. Every reader who is well affected to the Bible, and whose reception of its doctrines is the pledge of his satisfaction with the completeness of the evidence which supports its integrity, must, with him, regard it as 'a matter of infinite moment, not to disturb the testimony of history by unfounded hypothesis, or to affect to supply the want of historical proof by fabricated facts;' and no person entertaining such a sentiment, and influenced by such a feeling, will consider the labours of Mr. Falconer as either unreasonable or of little importance.

**Art. VIII. *A View of the Present State of the Scilly Islands; exhibiting their vast Importance to the British Empire, the Improvements of which they are susceptible, and a particular Account of the Means lately adopted for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Inhabitants, by the Establishment and Extension of their Fisheries.* By the Rev. George Woodley, Missionary from the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge; and Minister of St. Martin's and St. Agnes, Scilly. 8vo. pp. xvi. 344. Price 12s. London. 1822.**

**T**HE most venerable of Societies has not for many years done a more serviceable or praiseworthy thing, than sending out a Missionary to the Scilly Islands. Our readers will have in recollection, the appeal which was made to the British Public in the year 1819, on behalf of the then distressed inhabitants.\* 'To the honour of British generosity be it recorded,' says Mr. Woodley, 'that at a time of great national difficulty, embarrassment, and consternation, near £9000 was collected for these beneficent purposes.' The venerable Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, which, we are told, has 'ever manifested a particular regard for the Islanders, displayed its accustomed benevolence and liberality on this occasion by a noble donation.' We are glad to hear such good things of the Society. The money thus raised, appears to have been most judiciously and effectively applied. A fish-cellar has been erected in the island of Tresco, for the purposes of storing and curing the fish; boats adapted for the mackarel and pilchard fisheries have been bought, and others repaired, and nets, tackling, &c. have been liberally furnished; by which means the inhabitants of these desolate rocks have been placed in a condition to earn their bread, and maintain their families, without the fear of absolute starvation. In the year 1820, the quantity of pilchards caught and stored, was, 140 hogsheads, which, at £5 per hogshead, made a return of £700.

'What has hitherto been done, however,' says the reverend gentleman, 'can but be considered as the incipient measures of an undertaking which, if duly and spiritedly pursued, (by giving suitable encouragement to the exercise of the skill and industry of the Islanders, and thus enabling them to avail themselves of the resources which Providence has placed before them,) cannot fail to be attended with immense advantage to the country at large. But this can only be effected by enlarging the fishery at

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\* See E. R. Vol. X. N. S. p. 493.



Scilly, and establishing it on that extended scale on which it may be proved capable of acting. Hitherto, the fishermen have seldom been able to proceed further than four or five leagues from the land, in pursuit of the cod and ling fishery, through the want of proper boats; whereas, from the peculiar situation and conveniences of these islands, the catching of such fish might be carried on by the natives, under suitable encouragement, to almost any extent. Boats or busses can proceed for the Channel from Scilly, with the wind from W. S. W. to S.; while, under the same circumstances, those in any part even of Mount's Bay would be wind-bound. It is lamentable to observe, that, by the present regulations of Government respecting the fisheries, the Dutch fishermen are protected at the expense of our own.

The importance of the Cornish fisheries does not rest merely on what they supply for home consumption: they furnish a considerable export trade. Pilchards, after having been salted and pressed, are exported in hogsheads to the Mediterranean, where they are stated to be in great request. Upwards of 30,000 hog-heads are annually consumed in England, and above 100,000 hogsheads have been exported in one year. The mackarel are for the most part sold fresh; otherwise they are pickled in casks. During the mackarel fishery, which lasts from about the middle of March, till July, many boats arrive from Southampton, Bristol, and other ports in both Channels, which take from the natives considerable quantities of mackarel. The pilchard season commences when the mackarel disappear, and lasts till the latter part of October. During the summer months, various species of fish are caught with hook and line; and among the smaller kinds caught and salted by the Scilly Islanders, for winter consumption, are many whose names will be for the most part new to our readers, such as 'bass, wrass, chad, scad, brit, barne, cuddle, whistlers, &c.'—all included by the Islanders under the general name of rock-fish. But, besides their importance as a source of provision and of wealth, the fisheries are constantly rearing a numerous race of skilful pilots and hardy sailors, alike useful to the naval and the commercial interests of the country. Hardy, and intrepid, and enterprising they must be in no ordinary degree, to follow their hazardous calling. It is a common saying in Scilly, and meant as a compliment to the healthiness of the place as favourable to longevity, that for one man who dies there a natural death, nine are drowned.

There is something marvellous in the tenacity with which man clings to his native soil, his attachment to it being found strongest where there seems least to excite or sustain that attachment. But the principle pervades all nature. The plant

easily loosened from a generous soil, while the lichen is inseparable from its rock. These human lichens—to what else can compare them?—evinced the same fondness for their inhospitable shores. ‘I do not know one instance,’ remarks our author with his usual simplicity, ‘of any eminent man having been born in Scilly.’

Indeed, the people of these Islands seem to be wholly unambitious raising themselves to eminence by any of those ways which have long been marked out as the paths of genius. Content with their lands, their rocks, their seas, and the common productions of the soil, they have no desire to leave the hearths and employments of their forefathers.

He gives them a good character, however, for morality, society, civility, and loyalty; and adds:

‘The Scillonians pay such attention to the external duties of religion, that, in those Islands (St. Mary’s and Fresco) where dissenters have established themselves, many of the people, “halting between two opinions,” repair to the meeting-house in the morning, to church in the forenoon and afternoon, and again to the meeting in the evening.’

This is absolutely making a sandwich of the Church services. These persons, who thus attend four distinct services on the Sabbath, what would they think of the large majority among us, who think one service in the day quite enough, if not more than enough? There are few, if any of the natives, now, we are told, who cannot read or write.

Mr. Woodley has done his utmost to make an interesting volume out of a barren subject. All that is to be said about the history, topography, natural productions, &c. of the Scilly Islands, will here be found at large. Antiquities, alas! Phœnician or Grecian, there are none; and the inhabitants are all newcomers,—Jenkins’s, Ellis’s, Hicks’s, Woodcock’s, Ashford’s, and Gibson’s; none of them of more than two centuries’ standing in the Islands, and all talking plain English. The half of the inhabitants of St. Agnes are of the name of Hicks. One quarter of those of Treco, and one third of those of Bryher, are called Jenkin; and half of St. Martins is divided between Ellis’s and Ashford’s. What has become of the old inhabitants, our antiquaries must determine. Dr. Borlase thinks, that some great catastrophe, some sudden subsidence of the land and consequent inundation, must have swallowed up the half of the inhabitants, and frightened away the other half. The remains of houses and hedges are still occasionally discovered, after storms, in the sands connecting Bryher and Samson. Mr. Woodley, with more sobriety, maintains,

that the constant action of the sea, which has produced considerable changes, within the memory of man, in the lower lands, is sufficient to explain every appearance connected with the sands at Scilly.

‘ During the prevalence of storms, the sea, rising higher than usual, might make a breach over those necks, (as it has done twice at St. Mary’s, and continues to do, every spring tide, at St. Agnes,) when, by carrying away in its recess a small proportion, perhaps almost imperceptible, from their surfaces, it prepared the way for further attacks and more extensive conquests. What was carried off at every ebb, was deposited along the shore, or in front of the ravaged track, thus forming a gentle ascent for waters urged only by the most moderate tides. Succeeding storms, occurring in the course of many centuries, completed the desolation of the lower lands and the demarcation of the Isles, by spreading the wreck of the different necks in those broad and level plains which they now present to the eye. This work, as I before observed, is still going on, surely though gradually, at St. Agnes; and it is also to be feared that, within a few years (unless timely measures are taken to prevent such a dreadful calamity) St. Mary’s will be divided into two distinct Islands, and the inhabitants of Hugh Town, or at least those who reside in the lower part of it, will share the fate supposed to have befallen the aborigines of the off-islands.

‘ Not only the lower shores, but even the more elevated coasts of the islands, have certainly suffered much, during the lapse of centuries, from the aggressions of the sea; which, by undermining the soil, has strewed the margin of the land with numerous immense stones, which were once imbedded many feet above the reach of the waves. Many ponderous blocks may still be seen jutting from the ground, in different places, as if about to tumble at the next surge. Indeed, the fresh appearance of the earthy cliffs sufficiently proves that they have not long been exposed to the air. Yet, on the other hand, it may be observed, that the stones and fragments of earth, so detached, bear so small a proportion to what remains compact; that though it is but reasonable to suppose that each of the islands formerly clothed with soil and verdure those beds of stones which every receding tide discovers at its base; and that those rocky and dangerous points which project in so many directions, are but the wrecks of former little hills;—yet the Islands may remain habitable and productive until the end of all things.’ pp. 71—73.

The very learned and very fanciful Mr. Whitaker started a romantic hypothesis relative to a supposed tract of land which once connected ‘ the island of Scilly’ with Cornwall. This tract, to which, we are told, was given the name of ‘ the ‘Lioness’ (the *Silurian Lyonois*) contained one hundred and forty parish churches, all of which were swept away by the resistless ocean!! The date of this disastrous event, Mr. W. fixes in the tenth century. ‘ The long plain of the Isle,’ he

says, 'was overflowed at once, and nothing remained rising above the surface of the sea, except the mountains to the south-west, or the hills to the north-east.' The whole of this fearful tale is swept away by Mr. Woodley with a few facts. First, the Scilly islands could never have borne the aspect of mountains to any plains, for the highest land in Scilly is not 170 feet above the level of the sea. Secondly, the whole course of the soundings from Scilly to the Seven Stones, and thence half-way to the range of rocks denominated the Longships, is from 50 to 52 fathoms, diminishing, on the approach to Cornwall, to 47 and 45 fathoms: consequently, the supposed inundated tract must now be 300 feet below the sea; while in those places at Scilly, where the water has evidently gained on the Islands, there are not above three or four fathoms at high tides. Thirdly, the Seven Stones (the supposed 'hills to the North-east') do not lie in a direct line between Scilly and the Land's End, but full two leagues nearly N. W. of that line.

'Had the promontory of the Lioness, therefore, ever existed, it must have described a curve almost resembling a semi-circle, from Scilly to the Land's End. The greatest force of the Atlantic Ocean is exerted during the prevalence of storms from the south-westward, the sea then rushing in with a tremendous under-current from the Bay of Biscay. To this force the Scilly Islands have been constantly exposed, and yet, during the lapse of thousands of years, they have received, at most, but partial injury; whereas the promontory, or (according to Whitaker) the extended island, which is stated to have been overflowed at once, could not, from its position, have been acted on in a powerful manner by that or any other sea.'

As to the Cornish word *Lethowsow* or Lioness, by which the sea between Scilly and Cornwall is distinguished, it is accounted for by its general violence and turbulence, although it may have been connected with some forgotten tradition. Finally, as to the difficulty of reconciling the present dimensions of the county of Cornwall with the computation made in the reign of Edward I., which assigns it 1,500,000 acres, although it does not now contain above half that number, Mr. Woodley satisfactorily replies.

'The Survey of the date of Edward the First, may be clearly shown to have been formed on a mode of division of the counties of Cornwall and Devon which does not now prevail. Cornwall, at present, properly contains no more than 759,681 acres. In order to make it of the dimensions before noted, the supposed tract of land called *Lioness*, the length of which (from Scilly to the Land's End) could only have been thirty miles, must yet have contained 740,319 acres;—almost as much as the whole country of Cornwall!! The absurdity of this is sufficiently manifest; and the 1,500,000 acres

claimed for Cornwall in the alledged Survey, could only have been summed up by taking an incorrect and exaggerated measurement or estimate of Cornwall proper, and including Dartmoor forest (80,000 acres) and other Duchy lands, from the county of Devon; or else, as Mr. Whitaker says, by a casual "dash of the pen."

'That the present Islands, or at least many of them, were formerly united, there seem good reasons for believing. There are large tracts of sand, called *flats*, extending from St. Martin's to St. Mary's on the south, and to Treco on the West. Treco is joined to Bryher, and Bryher to Samson, by similar links. These flats are so dry at low water (spring tides) that from Samson to Bryher and Treco a man may then pass dry shod;—nearly so from Treco to St. Martin's; nor would the water reach higher than his knees were he to cross from the latter Island to St. Mary's.—St. Agnes appears to have been always separate from the rest.

'It is further deserving of remark, that these sands lie on the inner part of the Islands, towards the Roadstead, in which the depth of water is not more than from two to five fathoms; whilst the outer part of the Islands, which is more immediately exposed to the sea, is guarded with lofty crags and ranges of advanced rocks, having about fifteen fathoms of water near the shore, and from twenty to thirty-five fathoms at not a mile's distance from it. The Islands, then, never extended further into the sea; and what has been ravaged from them, has only tended to increase the distance between them, but not to diminish the circuit of the whole.' pp. 62—66.

How curious a work might be compiled, consisting of exploded hypotheses!—The climate of Scilly, our Author states is very mild; but the winds are generally fresh, and often violent.

'By those who have kept journals it has been found, that not more than six days of perfect calm occur in the course of a year. During one half of the year the wind blows from Westerly points, that is to say, between South-West and North-West; and these winds are generally strong. Storms often arise almost suddenly, and last long; and the inhabitants, having no protection of trees, nor ought that might intercept their violence, feel their effects very sensibly. Yet in summer, the appearance of the sea and sky is delightful; and the view of the sun, slowly sinking in the Western wave at the utmost verge of the horizon, is calculated to excite feelings of the purest pleasure and the most sublime devotion.' p. 85.

Prefixed to the volume, is a neat chart of the Islands.

art. IX. 1. *The Life of the Right Hon. Willielma, Viscountess Glenorchy*, containing Extracts from her Diary and Correspondence. By T. S. Jones, D. D. Minister of her Chapel, Edinburgh. 8vo. pp. 520. Price 10s. 6d. Edinburgh. 1822.

. *The Holy Life of Mrs. Elizabeth Walker*: giving a modest and short Account of her exemplary Piety and Charity. By Anthony Walker, D. D. Rector of Fyfield, Essex. First published in 1690. A new Edition, abridged and revised by the Rev. J. W. Brooks, Domestic Chaplain to Lord Viscount Galway. 12mo. pp. 150. Price 3s. 6d. London. 1823.

. *Memoirs of Eminently Pious Women of the British Empire*. A new Edition, revised and enlarged, by the Rev. Samuel Burder, M.A. 3 vols. 12mo. (Portraits.) Price 1l. 7s. London. 1823.

. *A Mother's Portrait*: sketched soon after her Decease, for the Study of her Children, by their surviving Parent. 12mo. pp. 154. Price 4s. 6d. London. 1823.

[T is a beautiful personification of Religion "pure and undefiled," which is suggested by the words of St. James,—female occupied in visits of beneficence, and fleeing from contact with a polluting world. This feminine exhibition of Christianity realised in the living character, is one of the most attractive spectacles in the world. Even worldly and dissipated men will often be found to recognise the seemliness of religion in women. In them, a severe piety is more readily tolerated, and by their "chaste conversation" many a husband has, "without the word," been won over to religion. But the delineation of such a character is a delicate task, and requires a skilful limner. The coarse-featured daubings which have been sometimes held up to admiration as portraits of exemplary excellence, would give no idea of "pure and undefiled Religion" to those who were not acquainted with the original. There is, perhaps, no class of works more instructive, or which has been more extensively useful, than religious biography; but no works have been, for the most part, written in such bad style or with so little ability. The immense quantity of religious trash which has been put forth in the shape of obituaries and memorials, has tended to bring the whole description of publications into contempt. This remark applies especially, perhaps, to female obituaries. It may be very interesting to private friends, to know what sermon first impressed the mind of their deceased relative, what hymns she was fond of repeating, and what were her dying words and confession—particulars which occupy the chief part of very many such narratives. But in such examples, there is nothing exemplary:

we might add, in such characters, there is nothing characteristic. The Christian life consists of something more than a conversion and a death-bed; but the fixing of the attention on these two points in the mental history of the individual, has, we are persuaded, sometimes had the effect of throwing Christian practice into the shade. Obituaries indeed, it may be said, are not to be considered as biographical memoirs. We have a word coined expressly for this sort of prose epitaph—*necrology*. But religious obituaries are continually run out into memoirs, and an amazing number are eked out into little volumes, the inanity and piety of which render them nearly harmless, if they fall into the right hands; for the texts of Scripture and scraps of hymns are at all events instructive. Still, what we regret is, that a style of piety should be held up in these works, to admiration and emulation, as exemplary, which has nothing in it distinguishing, and very little that is practical; that the standard of Christian character should be lowered to the most common-place specimens of well-meaning worth, and the mind be taught to shape its aspirations by the contemplation of dwarfish or vulgar models. In such works, we seldom meet with any thing either to elevate the mind, to inform the intellect, or even to excite to any high aim in the course of active piety. Their influence is at least negatively injurious; and it is well if they are not the means of corrupting the simplicity of the mind, by fostering a mawkish sympathy, rather than a noble emulation.

Of the works now before us, the first is entitled to very respectful mention; for Lady Glenorchy was no ordinary character, and her life would furnish matter for a highly interesting memoir. If Dr. Jones has not acquitted himself of his delicate task quite to our satisfaction, it is not that he has failed to place her Ladyship's character in an instructive light, or that the volume may not be read with profit and advantage, but chiefly that it is much too large. The size of the work would have been an objection, had it appeared immediately after Lady Glenorchy's death; but her ladyship has now been dead nearly forty years, and after this long and most unaccountable delay in bringing forward her memoirs, it is really extremely injudicious to publish them in this state. Her Biographer terms them 'annals;' and he expresses his confident hope, 'that, by all who know the Gospel in its spiritual character, these 'annals will be read with heart-felt interest;'

'not because they contain any thing strange or novel, or unfold any experience which is not more or less common to other Christians, but because they bring them to a more distinct and particular acquaint-



ance with one whose memory is highly and justly honoured in the religious world.'

Alas! how many individuals does Dr. Jones calculate upon as his readers, who can have any personal reason for honouring the memory of his right honourable benefactress, unless it be on hereditary grounds? Another 'religious world' has sprung up since she entered upon her rest and her reward, strangers to Lady Glenorchy, the larger part, even by name. A few individuals besides himself survive, to connect together the generation gone by with the present. The Rev. Rowland Hill, whom we read of in the first chapter, A. D. 1764, then a young man 'of a decidedly pious character,' is now, at sixty years distance, the venerable patriarch of Methodism. But scarcely a name occurs throughout the volume, of any other surviving contemporary. The form of annals, moreover, is the worst that could have been chosen for a biographical memoir; and the interest which might have been given to it as history, is precluded by the perpetual suspension of the narrative for the purpose of inserting different series of letters, and copious extracts from her ladyship's diary. These are multiplied and extended beyond all reasonable bounds; and though, upon the whole, there is much that is instructive in the workings of mind which they lay open, and in the ingenuousness of character which they display, yet, Lady Glenorchy's natural powers were not of that high stamp that would give value to all her private meditations. On many passages we might be tempted to comment, were we not dissuaded by the consideration that the volume and our pages will have few readers in common.

It is but justice to say that the volume, though faulty in the aspect pointed out, is free from any other objection, and may be recommended as containing much that is interesting to religious readers.

With the second work in our list we have been highly pleased. It is, as the titlepage announces, a reprint, with judicious abridgement and revision, of a memoir first printed towards the close of the seventeenth century. It may consequently be expected to reflect, in the quaintness of its composition, and the nature of some of its details, the taste and manners of the age.

In an Appendix is given, among other papers, a Letter written by Mrs. Walker to her grandchild, which amply justifies, by its good sense, naiveté, and enlightened piety, the high estimate of her affectionate Biographer.

Dr. Gibbons's "*Memoirs of Eminently Pious Women*," the groundwork of the publication we have next to notice, was first published in 1777, in two volumes, 8vo. It was a good

idea of the worthy Doctor's, who seems to have had a somewhat aristocratical taste; and his list of female worthies shone most illustriously, commencing with four queens, and terminating with Mrs. Rowe. We cannot say as much for the additional volume compiled for the edition of 1804. Dr. Jerment was a sensible man as well as a sound divine, but he was touching on his dotage, assuredly, when he made that selection. Some of his eminently pious ladies were any thing but eminent. The first memoir in the volume was a case of decided lunacy; several others were scarcely less objectionable; while half the volume was occupied by some worthy countrywomen of the Author's, who had made good housemaids and good housewives, but to whom the immortality of the *Evangelical Magazine* had been a sufficient reward. Yet, the work, with this heavy makeweight, passed through an edition. In 1815, a third volume was added, and the venerable names of Gibbon and Jerment were rather unceremoniously merged in that of the Rev. Samuel Burder, A. M. Chaplain to H. R. H. the Duke of Kent, &c. &c. That gentleman took care to disclaim in his preface, all responsibility for the sentiments and opinions contained in the former two volumes; a strange disclaimer for an Editor to make, who took the whole publication under the protection of his own name, excluding those of his predecessors from the titlepage. But his own portion of the work did him but little credit. The new matter seems to have been obtained by any means; partly supplied by friends who were left to gratify their own feelings in panegyriizing their pious relatives, partly obtained from old magazines, and put together without any regard to chronology or selection. As a specimen of the un-editorlike style in which the third volume was got up, that which professed to be a memoir of Mrs. Lucy Hutchinson, by far the most interesting name in the table of contents, consisted merely of the fragment written by herself, which does not come down to her introduction to the colonel.

Either the Editor or the publishers have, however, bethought themselves in preparing this new edition, which appears in a vastly different shape. Dr. Gibbons's original work still forms the first volume, and is given without alteration; but the other two have been 'submitted to a severe revision,' the more objectional memoirs have been entirely omitted, and others have been much abridged, while something like chronological order is now preserved in the arrangement. By this means, room has been made for a considerable quantity of new matter.

'The memoirs which now appear for the first time in this work, or have been expressly rewritten for the present edition, are those of

Mrs. Lucy Hutchinson, Mrs. Evelyn, Mrs. Savage, and Mrs. Hulton, in the second volume: and in the third, those of the Viscountess Glenorchy, Lady Maxwell, Mrs. Berry, Miss Sinclair, Mrs. Fletcher, and Mrs. Graham. These extensive additions, it is presumed, are of a character to give an enhanced value and interest to the publication, which has long been a favourite with a large class of the religious public.'

Certainly, these additions have very much improved the work, and the Publishers deserve well of the religious world for the cost and pains bestowed on this new edition. Nothing now remains that is positively objectionable, but it would still bear weeding; and should an opportunity of further revision present itself at some future time, we should strongly recommend the entire suppression of several memoirs relating to obscure individuals whose characters were distinguished by no striking trait. There would be little difficulty in supplying their place with genuine exemplars. The work, however, in its present state, forms the most interesting collection of female biography extant, and will, we doubt not, prove very useful.

Perhaps we ought not to have classed the remaining work with the others, as it is avowedly a family memorial, in which the Author has given the freer vent to his feelings as a husband and father, from the idea that he was in the first instance addressing his children, and was appearing before the public anonymously. His debt of affection and gratitude to his deceased wife, appears to have been of no ordinary kind, as respects the aid he derived in all his studies and pursuits from her intelligent counsel. Among other things, he owns that, 'to her mild, persuasive, intelligent remarks,' he 'was greatly indebted in' his 'first serious examination of the principal theological controversies, especially that between the Calvinists and Arminians.' And yet, she was no polemic. A sterling, if not a shining character, consistent and uniform, if not eminent or highly accomplished, her worth was best known to those who had the opportunities of the closest observation, and the anxiety is natural, which is felt to preserve the portrait of such a mother.

## ART. X. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

\*. *Gentlemen and Publishers who have works in the Press, will oblige the Conductors of the ECLECTIC REVIEW, by sending information (post paid) of the subject, extent, and probable price of such works; which they may depend upon being communicated to the public, if consistent with its plan.*

In the press, the *Star in the East*, with other Poems chiefly religious and domestic. By *Isaiah Conder*.

The Eighth Volume of the Annual Biography and Obituary, comprehending Memoirs of most of the celebrated Persons whose Decease has taken place, or may take place, within the present year, is in preparation; and will be published on the 1st of January, 1824.

In the press, the Sixth Volume of Sketches of Sermons, furnished by their respective Authors.

Preparing for publication, a Treatise on the Law of Libel, by *Richard Moore, Esq. Barrister at Law*; in which the general doctrine of Libel will be minutely and logically discussed.

Shortly will be published, *Gleanings from pious Authors*; to which is added, a choice collection of Letters, including some by the late *Rev. John Newton*, never before published. Together with a selection of Poems, chiefly original. By the Author of *Miscellaneous Thoughts*.

In the press, the *Portable Eidouranon, or Transparent Solar System*.

In the press, the *Life and Letters of Krishna Pal*, the first Hindoo convert to Christianity. By the late *Rev. William Ward, Missionary at Serampore*: with a portrait.

In the press, *Original Letters from the late Rev. John Newton to his intimate friends, from 1784 to 1804*.

*Dr. Carey* has just published, the *Comedies of Plautus*, in continuation of the *Regents' pocket Classics*. *Seneca's Tragedies* will follow.

Nearly ready for publication, the *Principles of Forensic Medicine, &c.* by *G. Smith, M. D.* In 1 vol. 8vo. This edition will contain much new matter and various improvements.

*Mr. Samuel Plumbe* has in the press, a *Systematic Treatise on the Diseases of the Skin*, with coloured plates.

*Mr. Haden* has in the press, a Trans-

lation of *Magendie's Formulary* for the preparation and mode of employing several new remedies. In 12mo.

In the press, *The Night before the Bridal, and other Poems*. By *Miss Garrett*. In an 8vo. volume.

*Sir J. R. Smith, President of the Linnean Society, &c. &c.* has nearly ready for publication the first portion of his *English Flora*. So much has been done in Botany since the publication of this Author's *Flora Britannica and English Botany*, especially with regard to natural affinities; and he has for thirty years past found so much to correct, in the characters and synonyms of British Plants, that this will be entirely an original Work. The language also is attempted to be reduced to a correct standard. The genera are defined, and the species defined, from practical observation; and it is hoped the expectations of British botanists will not be disappointed.

A *Geognostical Essay on the Superposition of Rocks in both Hemispheres*, by *M. de Humboldt*, and translated into English under his immediate inspection, will be published, next month, in 1 vol. 8vo.

*Captain A. Cruise of the 64th Regiment*, has just ready for publication in an 8vo. volume, "*Journal of a Ten Months Residence in New Zealand*."

The regular publication of the *Encyclopædia Edinensis* will now be resumed. Part xix. will be ready in October, and the work will be completed within the original limits.

*James L. Drommond, M. D. Surgeon, Professor of Anatomy and Physiology in the Belfast Academical Institution*, has in the press a duodecimo volume, entitled, *First Steps to Botany*, intended as popular illustrations of the science, leading to its study as a branch of general education, illustrated with numerous wood-cuts.

The Second Edition (with additions

itions) of Miss Renger's *Memoirs of Queen of Scots*, with *Anecdotes of the Court of Henry the Second*, her *Residence in France*, will during the ensuing month. In 8vo. with a genuine Portrait, before engraved, and a fac-simile. Meyrick's *Work on Antient Architecture* in 3 vols. imperial 4to will be

published on the 1st of October. This is the only work which acquaints us with the changes in *Armour Chronologically*; and contains 70 coloured, and 10 outline Plates; 26 Illuminated Capital Letters, engraved Vignette and Titles, with nearly 1000 pages of letter press.

## P. XI. LIST OF WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

### BIOGRAPHY.

*Memoirs of the Baron de Kolli*, relating his secret Mission in 1810, for King Ferdinand VII. king of Spain captivity at Valencay. Written by himself. To which are added, *Memoirs of the Queen of Etruria*, written by herself. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

### FINE ARTS.

*Britannica*, or Portraits of Forest distinguished for their antiquity, utility, or beauty. Drawn from nature and etched by Jacob George. folio. Part V. 15s. Proofs 11. 5s. *Series of Groups*, illustrating the Economy, Manners, and Character of the People of France and Germany. George Lewis. imp. 8vo. 3l. 3s.—and 4to. 3l. 15s.—and Proofs on 4to. 4l. 14s. 6d. half-bound.

*Scenery of the Rivers Tamar and Exe*, Forty-seven Subjects, exhibiting most interesting Views on their banks from the Source to the Terminus of each, including a View of the Water at Plymouth, drawn and engraved by Frederic C. Lewis. imp. 4to. Proofs 3l. 3s. in boards.

*Descriptive Guide to Fonthill Abbey*, as it appeared in 1823, including a List of Paintings and Curiosities. By R. Rutter. 8vo. 4s. With a highly finished Plate and Vignette.

### HISTORY.

*Dr. Bredow's Tables*, of the History of the World, chiefly adapted for Instruction; divided into,—1. Ancient History.—2. Middle Ages.—3. Modern History. 8vo. sheets, 4s. 6d. folded in 5s.

### MEDICINE.

*Comparative Anatomy*, illustrated with plates. To which is subjoined,

*Synopsis Systematis Regni Animalis nunc primum ex ovi modificationibus propositum.* By Sir Everard Home, Bt. V.P.R.S. F.A.S. F.L.S. &c. 2 vols. 4to. 7l. 7s. large paper, 10l. 10s.

*Practical Remarks on Fractures at the upper part of the Thigh, and particularly Fractures within the Capsular Ligament; with Critical Observations on Sir Astley Cooper's Treatise on that Subject.* Observations on Fractures of the Olecranon; description of a new Apparatus for securing the upper extremity in injuries of the shoulder-joint and Scapula; on the re-establishment of a large portion of the Urethra; on the mechanism of the Spine. By Henry Earle, F.R.S. Assistant Surgeon to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and Surgeon to the Foundling Hospital. 8vo. 8s.

### MISCELLANEOUS.

*A Voice from St. Peter's and St. Paul's*; being a few plain words addressed most respectfully to the members of both houses of Parliament on some late accusations against the Church Establishment. By a member of the University of Oxford. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

*The Youthful Travellers*; or Letters chiefly descriptive of scenes visited by some young people during a Summer excursion, designed as examples of the epistolary style for children. 18mo. plates. 2s. 6d. half-bound.

*The East India Calculator*; or tables for assisting computation of batta, interest, commission, &c. in Indian money, with copious tables of the exchanges between London, Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, &c. &c. By Thomas Thornton, Author of a Compendium of the Laws and Regulations concerning the Trade with India. 8vo. 11. 1s.

*The East India Military Calendar*; containing the services of General and Field Officers of the Indian army.

Under the sanction of, and dedicated by express permission to the Honourable the Court of Directors of the affairs of the E. India Company. By the Editor of the Royal Military Calendar. 4to. 2l. 10s.

Description of an Electrical Telegraph, and of some other Electrical Apparatus: with eight plates, engraved by Lowry. By Francis Ronalds. 8vo. 6s.

The Farmer's Directory, and Guide to the Farrier, Grazier, and Planter; with the Domestic Instructor. By Leonard Towne. 1 vol. 4to. 720 pages, with fine engravings, 1l. 10s.

#### PHILOLOGY.

A Grammar of the three principal Oriental Languages, Hindoostanee, Persian, and Arabic, on a plan entirely new and perfectly easy; to which is added, a Set of Persian Dialogues, composed for the Author, by Merga Mchammed Saulih, of Shiraz, accompanied with an English Translation. By William Price, Esq. 4to. 1l. 1s.

#### THEOLOGY.

The Reflector, or Christian Advocate; in which the united efforts of modern Infidels and Socinians are detected and exposed, illustrated by numerous examples: being the substance of the Busby Lectures, delivered on appointment of the lord bishop of London, in the parish churches of St. James's, Clerkenwell, and St. Antholin's, Watling-street. By the Rev. S. Piggott, A. M. of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

The Psalmes of David, translated into divers and sundry kindes of verse, more rare and excellent for the method and varietie, than ever yet hath been done in English, begun by the noble and learned Sir Philip Sidney, knight, and finished by the Countess of Pembroke, his Sister. Now first printed from a copy of the original MS. Transcribed by John Davies, of Hereford, in the Reign

of James the First. With two portraits, 250 printed. 12mo. 12s.

A new edition of the Psalms and Paraphrases of the Kirk of Scotland, with introductory remarks to each Psalm, by the late Rev. J. Brown, of Haddington, and to each Paraphrase, by his son, the Rev. J. Brown, of Dalketh.

The Bible Teacher's Manual. By a Clergyman. Part II. Exodus. 8d.

The Works of the late Andrew Fuller. Vol. VIII. and last. 8vo. 12s.

Mary Magdalen's Funeral Tears at the Death of her Saviour. By Robert Southwell. 8 vols. royal 16mo. 6s.

The History of Moses, being a continuation of Scripture Stories. 3s.

Nicodemus; or a Treatise on the Fear of Man, wherein the causes and sad effects are briefly described, with some remedies against it. By the late Professor Frank, of Halle. 1s. 6d.

Sermons for Children, designed to promote their immediate Piety. By the Rev Samuel Nott, junior, of America. 1s. 6d.

Pastoral Narratives, illustrative of the importance of Evangelical religion, and its tendency to promote the happiness of its subjects. 1s. 6d.

Bishop Marsh's Theological Lectures. Part VII. On the Authority of the Old Testament. 8vo. 2s.

Scripture Names of Persons and Places, familiarly explained; intended as a Companion to the reading of the Holy Scriptures, for the use of young persons. 12mo. 4s.

Bishop Hall's Sacred Aphorisms, collected and arranged with the texts of Scripture to which they refer. By Richard Brudenell Exton, Rector of Athelington, Suffolk. 12mo 3s. 6d.

Devotional Exercises, extracted from Bishop Patrick's Christian Sacrifice; adapted to the present times and to general use. By Letitia Matilda Hawkins. 12mo. 3s.

# THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR NOVEMBER, 1823.

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Art. I. *Travels in New England and New York.* By Timothy Dwight, S.T.D. LL.D. Late President of Yale College. 4 vols. 8vo. Price 2l. 2s. London. 1823.

**T**HE series of journeys during which President Dwight collected the principal materials for these interesting volumes, were undertaken with a primary view to the promotion of his health during the autumn vacations, after he was chosen president of Yale College in the year 1795. His active mind suggested, that it might be practicable to turn these travels to good account, by taking notes of his observations on the unformed manners and shifting aspect of a country where every thing is in rapid transition, and by fixing the little information which has been preserved in the absence of historic records, relative to the past. America has no national history: they are a people only fifty years old. An antiquary might travel from Cape Cod to the Mississippi, and find it 'all barren.' But, the whole story of the colonization, organization, and independence of North America, forms one of the most interesting pages in the history of Europe, of which it forms an essential portion. The scene only is changed: the actors were our countrymen. Yet, comparatively recent as are all the facts connected with the early history of British America, they are fast fading into oblivion. The Author was prompted to commence his inquiries, by a wish to know the appearance which New England would have presented eighty or a hundred years before. 'The wish,' he says, 'was found to be fruitless.' Tradition is a faithful substitute for history in thinly peopled countries, where civilization is stationary, and where generations quietly succeed on the same soil; but in America, every thing is in motion, and every one is too intent upon the future, to dwell upon the past. It is probable, that a false pride has also its influence in rendering our Transatlantic brethren careless about the perpetuation of details relating to



the period when their mighty and growing Republic was in its chrysalis state, and a log-house was its most appropriate emblem. Though the Americans have abundantly more reason to boast of their origin than any of the old nations of the Eastern continent, yet, the pride of rapidly growing wealth, and the nascent passion for military glory, naturally tend to lessen their complacency in the memorials and recollections of the first rude stages of their political existence :—just as some worthy city banker and baronet might feel solicitous to escape from the recollection of the shop in which he laid by his first thousand. This disposition, which is found attaching to nations as well as to individuals, would seem to have been expressly provided against in the Jewish people, by the national confession, “ A Syrian ready to perish was our father.” Add to all this, the Americans are almost universally men of business, and such inquiries and researches as engage the historian or the topographer, are out of their line. President Dwight complains, that he was frequently promised assistance in obtaining the information he sought for, and, he doubts not, with sincerity and good-will. But the object ‘ lying out of the path of common business,’ was postponed, he supposes, till it was forgotten. Our Author’s diligence has, however, enabled him to collect an entertaining mass of historical notices, biographical anecdotes, and statistical details, intermixed with topographical description and moral observations, which will be invaluable as materials for the future historian, and which in the meantime supply the best view of at least the Eastern States, that has yet been presented to the public. The subject, he remarks, ‘ is in a great measure new to my countrymen : to foreigners, most of it is absolutely unknown.’

‘ The scene is a novelty in the history of man. The colonization of a wilderness by civilized men, where a regular government, and manners, arts, learning, science, and Christianity have been interwoven in its progress from the beginning, is a state of things, of which the Eastern continent and the records of past ages, furnish neither an example nor a resemblance. Nor can it be questioned, that this state of things presents one interesting feature in the human character : or that it exhibits man in one advantageous attitude, and his efforts in a light which is honourable to our nature.....A succession of New England villages, composed of neat houses, surrounding neat school-houses and churches, adorned with gardens, meadows, and orchards, and exhibiting the universally easy circumstances of the inhabitants, is, at least in my own opinion, one of the most delightful prospects which this world can afford. At least, it may compensate the want of ancient castles, ruined abbeyes, and fine pictures.’

It may amply compensate the want of these to the eye and heart of the philanthropist, but not to the imagination of the man of taste. The sources of interest are so widely different, that they will not admit of being fairly brought into comparison. Men do not travel to see neat villages, because they are not objects of curiosity: castles and abbeys are,—because they have a history attaching to them. No one will dispute that Amsterdam is a more pleasing scene, in a moral point of view, than Constantinople or Rome itself; but no one travels in Holland for amusement. Nor has British America any thing to offer to the tourist, that can compensate for the absence of the monuments and works of art which give an interest to the very name of Italy; notwithstanding that the condition of the people of the United States, is infinitely superior. It shews bad taste in an American, to challenge a comparison on these points. The conversion of a wilderness into a desirable residence for man, is a delightful object for the understanding to rest upon, but it is not an object capable of being presented to the eye of the spectator, who sees only the present appearances of things. As yet, it is what they have done, rather than what they possess, that the Americans have reason to boast of. If foreigners have been unreasonable in their expectations, the natives have been inconsiderate in their vaunts. We have no doubt that the American Republic, if not the healthiest, or the most picturesque, or the most interesting country in the world, is the freest, and one of the happiest; but we are equally persuaded that, to be quite happy there, a man must be—an American. Nevertheless, we readily concede, that ‘a wise man, and especially a good man, on either continent, will be interested to learn the state of the countries’ which are described in these volumes. We trust that the feelings of contemptuous indifference or haughty aversion on the part of Englishmen towards the Americans, of which President Dwight so pointedly complains, are rapidly subsiding. Indeed, the very reprint of so extensive a work in this country, chiefly on the strength of the Author’s theological reputation, is a voucher for the fact. And the well-earned popularity of Washington Irving may be cited as a further evidence of the more kindly feeling of the British public, to which the labours of Geoffrey Crayon have no doubt powerfully contributed. In his hands, the scenery of an American river or a Dutch village, is found to be susceptible of picturesque or romantic associations. Henceforth, we shall think of Hudson’s river and Manhattan Island with a new kind of interest; and should we ever be led to cross the Atlantic, our

first impulse would be to search for our old friends, Rip Van Winkle or Dolph Heyliger. But we have now graver ~~man~~ before us.

The 'Northern States,' as the Author distinguishes them, comprised in the countries which he has described, are undoubtedly the most important part, in many respects, of the American Republic. In 1810, when the total population of the United States was 7,239,903, of which 1,191,364 were slaves, and 186,446 free blacks, New England and New York contained together 2,431,022 inhabitants. Of these only 15,435 were slaves; (namely, 15,017, in New York, and 418 in New England;) and 44,821 were free blacks; leaving 2,386,201, the number of white inhabitants in these States, or two fifths of the white population of the whole Republic. The manufactures of the Northern States fall little short of half of the grand total, and their commerce is in the same proportion. In 1820, the population of the United States had risen to 9,625,734; but we have not before us the particulars of the census.

The geography and geology of these States are very properly noticed by our Author; but they furnish no matter for observation. A strange blunder in Guthrie's Geography is somewhat tetchily commented on, as having passed through fifteen editions: the passage alluded to states, that the caribou is the largest native animal in America, and that it is no bigger than a calf a year old, while it is subsequently stated, that the elk is a native of America, and is as big as a horse. President Dwight, anxious for the honour of his country on all points, gives a table which shews the superior weight of various quadrupeds of the Western Continent, compared with those of the same family in Europe; and he hints at the mammoth and at the giants of their vegetable kingdom. The ornithology of New England, he complains, is but little studied; and indeed the most remarkable of its feathered inhabitants, appears to have as yet received no name.

'The spring-bird, (qy. the species?) the meadow-lark, and particularly the robin red-breast, sing delightfully. There is, however, a bird incomparably superior to either, and to all other birds in the country, in the sweetness and richness of its notes. I am unable to describe it minutely, having never been sufficiently successful in my attempts to approach it, to become thoroughly acquainted with its form and colouring, although I have seen it often. It is a small brown bird, scarcely so large as the robin. Its notes are very numerous, and appear to be varied at pleasure. Its voice is finer than any instrument, except the Eolian harp. What is remarkable in the bird, and I believe singular, is, that it sings in a kind of concert,

sometimes with one, and sometimes with two of its companions. When two of them unite, the voice of one is regularly elevated a third above that of the other. Where there are three, the third raises his voice a fifth above the first, and of course a third less above the second. In this manner, a given set of notes is repeated alternately by them at equal intervals, and with inimitable sweetness of sound; forming, it is believed, the nearest approach to harmony amongst the feathered creation. I have named this bird *the songster of the woods.*'

Among other singing birds, the brown thrush, the cat-bird, and the mock-bird are enumerated as the most conspicuous: the former two resemble each other in their manner of singing. The crow, President Dwight says, is taught to speak 'as easily and as well as the parrot, and what is perhaps singular, to laugh.' The birds of prey are of many kinds, but, with the exception of the hen-hawk, few in number. It is a remarkable fact, that the king-bird or bee-eater, is an overmatch for any of them.

'This little animal, possessed of a sharp beak, unrivalled activity, and a spirit equally unrivalled, boldly attacks every other bird, and is always secure of victory. It is not a little amusing to see an enemy, so disproportioned in size and strength, vanquish the crow, the hawk, and the eagle. While on the wing, he always rises above them; and, at short intervals, darting upon them with wonderful celerity, pierces them with his bill on the back and neck so painfully, that they make no efforts but to escape. Whenever they alight, he alights immediately over them, and quietly waits until they again take wing. Then he repeats the same severe discipline, until, satisfied with victory and revenge, he returns to his nest. This bird is an excellent defence of a garden against every enemy of the feathered kind.'

The rattle-snake holds the most prominent place among the reptiles. Our Author combats the notion that it is peculiarly to be dreaded. Its bite is indeed, he admits, a strong poison, but it is both certainly and easily cured. The specific he omits to mention. 'Besides,' he adds, 'he is so clumsy as to be avoided without any difficulty. His whole progress is formed by coiling himself up, and then stretching himself again at full length.' They are also rare, except in some solitary places. There are a few other animals of this class, which are venomous, but they are either so rare, we are told, or so *inefficient*, as scarcely to be thought of by the inhabitants. The following anecdote is given as an illustration of the power of fascinating birds, ascribed to the snake.

'As a student of Yale college, together with some companions, was walking one morning through a grove in the summer season,

they heard a bird scream in an unusual manner. Upon examination, they found a blue jay flying in a horizontal direction, about fifteen feet from the ground, from a certain tree; and, after having extended its flight about thirty rods, returning again to the same tree. Its excursions, however, became in every distance shorter, and its flight on every return was directed to a particular part of the tree. This naturally led the young gentlemen to search for the cause of so remarkable a phenomenon. They found in that part of the tree a large black snake, extended upon a limb, at the height at which the bird flew. Curiosity induced them to continue their observation, until the bird became nearly exhausted, and appeared to be on the point of becoming a prey to its enemy. One of the company then threw a club into the tree, and thus diverted the attention of both the snake and the bird. The charm, if I may be permitted to use this language, was immediately dissolved, and the intended victim escaped without any difficulty.'

This does not appear to us, however, to be by any means a clear instance of the phenomenon in question. The motion of the bird was altogether different from that circular hovering which is generally stated to be occasioned by fascination, but which is no doubt produced by panic terror. The horizontal flight and return of the bird looked much more like an attack upon the reptile, who had probably invaded the neighbourhood of its nest; and it is quite as likely that the club frightened away the jay, as that it effected its release. The power supposed to be peculiar to the snake, of fascinating its prey by terror, is now known to be exerted by other animals. The insects of New England are not remarkable. The mosquito is the most dreaded, but they are said to be not numerous in most parts of the country. The locust is stated to appear regularly *every seventeenth year*,—a fact which, if verified, would deserve investigation. Except doing a little mischief to some of the forest-trees, it is said to be perfectly harmless.

An interesting Letter is given on the subject of the climate, the most striking peculiarity of which is, the sudden and extreme variations in the temperature, occasioned by the north-west winds. The thermometer will sometimes indicate a change of more than thirty degrees in less than twenty-four hours; and the Author states, that he has known it sink forty-eight degrees within that period. These winds have been ascribed to various causes,—to the great lakes in the Interior; to a chain of high mountains in Canada and New Britain, beyond the river St. Lawrence, supposed to run from S. W. to N. E.; to the frigorific effect of the numerous evergreens; and to the forested state of the country. President Dwight urges very forcible objections to each of these hypotheses, which, even could they have been established, would by no

satisfactorily account for the sudden and violent operation of the westerly winds. The climate in the immediate neighbourhood of the lakes, is, however, milder than in those which lie at a distance from them eastward in the same seas; and the countries lying far in the Interior, enjoy a climate than those which lie within three hundred miles of the Atlantic. The clearing of the forest tracts will, it is believed, 'contribute to lengthen the summer half of the year,' by giving a freer passage to the southern winds from the ocean, and thus causing an earlier dissolution of the snows; the same cause will lay the country the more open to the winds from the N. and W., which occasion the highest degree of cold, and are the cause of the violent transitions in question. The explanation which the Author offers, of the source of the winds, is at least entitled to attention. He remarks that, at latitudes above 30°, the prevailing winds are those from the West: in and near the torrid zone, they blow generally from the East. By these two great motions, the atmosphere is considered as preserving its own equilibrium. The air in the winter, being warmer than the land, the air over the sea ascends; and the colder air from the land rushing to its place, would produce a frequent succession of westerly winds. But if these winds blow across the American continent, they must also blow across a considerable division of the Pacific Ocean, in which case they might be expected to acquire both warmth and moisture; and as these winds pass over the continent, in the latitude of New England, it is about 2700 miles wide, in two, three, and four days, their properties could not but be perceived on the eastern coast during their long continued prevalence. The fact is, however, that all the winds referred to are uncommonly dry, those which blow from the West, are colder than any from the East. Instead of their deriving their properties from either the ocean, the lakes, or the forest tracts, President Dwight is of opinion that they descend from the superior regions of the atmosphere. The fact of a superior and an under-current moving in opposite directions, is familiar to those who have observed the phenomena of the heavens during a thunder-storm. Our Author mentions several instances of thunder-storms originating with a north-west wind, which carried the clouds rapidly to the south-east, while a south-west wind blew throughout the clouds without intermission the whole of the day. On one occasion, after a strong and warm south-west wind had prevailed throughout the day, a furious blast descending from the north-west, about nine o'clock in the evening, changed the temperature, in an instant, to severe cold. A violent rain, ac-



accompanied by thunder and lightning, fell from the sky. On the  
 ceasing, the Author and his friend went to examine the  
 face of the heavens. The clouds had become broken, and they  
 could discern, with perfect distinctness, the inferior strata  
 moving rapidly from the North-west, a second immediately  
 above it, moving from the South-west, and a third still higher,  
 moving from the North-east; the stream of air from the South-  
 west, having been forced from the surface by that which car-  
 ried the thunder-cloud, and which was found in the morning to  
 have deposited a considerable quantity of snow on the mountain.  
 The opinion that these westerly winds come from the higher  
 regions of the atmosphere, is corroborated by their being  
 almost uniformly much cooler than the preceding temperature  
 of the atmosphere: they are also universally remarked through-  
 out the country to be much purer and more invigorating, being  
 wholly free from terrene exhalations. Their influence on plants  
 is specific and remarkable. Wood burns, during their preva-  
 lence, more rapidly and vividly, with a crackling flame; and in  
 the month of March, during which they blow with little inter-  
 mission, all kinds of wood shrink and become dry in a greater  
 degree than in the most intense heat of the summer season. The  
 peculiar severity of the cold which they occasion, and their  
 violent and sudden character, would seem to be not easily ac-  
 counted for on any other supposition. The atmosphere of  
 New England is described as very pure, and the sky as pecu-  
 liarly bright: it is stated also, that, on comparing the meteoro-  
 logical journals kept there with those of Europe, it appears  
 that more days of clear sun-shine occur there, than in any  
 country of the eastern continent, Russia excepted; notwith-  
 standing a larger quantity of rain falls within the year, chiefly  
 from thunder-showers. But these violent alternations of tem-  
 perature must obviously be very trying to the constitution, and  
 are doubtless one principal cause of the prevalence of pulmo-  
 nary complaints.

Yet, the average of deaths does not appear, from the  
 statements contained in these volumes, to be higher in  
 New England than in Europe. Dr. Dwight asserts that the  
 proportion of deaths under seventeen is considerably smaller;  
 that whereas, in Europe, the chances of living to five years of  
 age is commonly computed to be one to two, in New England,  
 the chance is one to two, of living to seventeen. It has been  
 asserted, that men do not live to so great an age in New Eng-  
 land, as in Great Britain, Norway, and Russia. Instances,  
 however, are given of remarkable longevity, in individuals who  
 attained the ages of 104, 107, and 117. At Northampton in  
 Massachusetts, one out of every four who died during a given  
 period, survived the age of seventy; and at Concord in the



same State, of 222 who died within thirteen years, 97 had exceeded that age. Owing to the number of *immigrants*, (to adopt a useful Americanism,) it is difficult to draw any general conclusion as to the healthiness of the country, from the rate at which population has increased. In Europe, the number of individuals under sixteen years of age, is reckoned to be one third of the population, and those above forty-five, one fourth. In the United States, the number under sixteen is one half; the number above forty-five, scarcely an eighth. In Connecticut, however, which is taken as a representative of the New England States, those under sixteen in the year 1800, were not quite half of the population, and those above forty-five, were rather more than a sixth. In the Middle and Western, but especially in the Southern States, human life is shorter on the average. To this, the prevalent use of spirituous liquors must be considered as powerfully contributing. On the whole, we are inclined to think that it will be found, if the chances are rather more favourable in New England, of attaining the age of puberty, as Dr. Dwight maintains, the number of deaths between that age and forty, is in a much higher proportion than in Europe.

The scenery of the country is thus patriotically eulogised.

‘ I ought not to conclude this Letter without remarking, that New England is distinguished for a finely varied surface. Mountains in immense ranges, bold spurs, and solitary eminences, and rising from the New Haven bluffs of 400 feet, to the height of Mount Washington, little less, according to the lowest estimation, than 8000, are every where dispersed with delightful successions of sublimity and grandeur. The variety which, Milton informs us, Earth has derived from Heaven,

“ Of pleasure situate in hill and dale,”

is no where more exquisitely found. Beautiful swells and elegant scoops of every form, are in a sense innumerable. Intervals, the most exquisite of all modifications of the surface, border a great part of our rivers; and, it is presumed, are no where excelled in beauty. The rivers themselves, the mill-streams, the brooks, abounding every where, and the small lakes spread at little distances over the whole country, render its aspect remarkably cheerful and pleasant. The coast also is finely indented with bays and harbours, and finely fronted with a succession of delightful islands. Neither the poet nor the painter can here be ever at a loss for scenery to employ the pen or the pencil.’

The Valley of the Connecticut is especially extolled. This is a tract of land extending through almost four degrees of latitude, from the Sound to Herford mountain.

‘ Beauty of landscape,’ says our Author, ‘ is an eminent charac-

teristic of this valley. From Hereford mountain to Saybrook, it is almost a continued succession of delightful scenery. No other tract within my knowledge, and, from the extensive information which I have received, I am persuaded that no other tract within the United States of the same extent, can be compared to it, with respect to those objects which arrest the eye of the painter and the poet. There are, indeed, dull, uninteresting spots, in considerable numbers. These, however, are little more than the discords, which are generally regarded as necessary to perfect the harmony. The beauty and the grandeur are here more varied than elsewhere: they return oftener; they are longer continued. A gentleman of great respectability, who had travelled in England, France, and Spain, informed me, that the prospects along the Connecticut excelled those on the beautiful rivers in these three countries in two great particulars, the forests and the mountains; (he might, I believe, have added the intervals also\*) and fell short of them in nothing but population and the productions of art. The first object in the whole landscape is undoubtedly the Connecticut itself. This stream may perhaps with as much propriety as any in the world, be named *the beautiful river*. From Stuart to the Sound it uniformly sustains this character. The purity, salubrity, and sweetness of its waters, the frequency and elegance of its meanders, its absolute freedom from all aquatic vegetables, the uncommon and universal beauty of its banks—here a smooth and winding beach, there covered with rich verdure, now fringed with bushes, now crowned with lofty trees, and now formed by the intruding hills, the rude bluff, and the shaggy mountain—are objects which no traveller can thoroughly describe, and no reader adequately imagine. When to these are added the numerous towns, villages, and hamlets, almost every where exhibiting marks of prosperity and improvement, the rare appearance of decline, the numerous churches lifting their spires in frequent succession, the neat school-houses every where occupied, and the mills busied on such a multitude of streams,—it may be safely asserted, that a pleasanter journey will rarely be found than that which is made in the Connecticut Valley.

The state of society in an American town of some standing, may be judged of from the following list of the inhabitants of New Haven, the 'semi-capital of Connecticut,' taken in the year 1811:

'Twenty-nine houses concerned in foreign commerce, forty-one stores of dry goods, forty-two grocery stores, four ship-chandlery

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\* By intervals, in the American acceptation, is meant, the alluvial lands on the banks of rivers, which are formed by the deposits of the current, and which become first shoals, then islands, and at length, as the river finds new channels, or contracts itself into a deeper bed, extended levels slightly undulated, and frequently of the richest meadow-land. In the Southern States, they are known by the names of *flats* and *bottoms*.

ditto, two wholesale hardware ditto, three wholesale dry goods ditto, one wholesale glass and china ditto, one furrier's ditto, ten apothecaries' ditto, six traders in lumber, one in paper-hangings, six shoe stores, seven manufactures of hats, five hat stores, four book stores, three rope-walks, two sail-lofts, one ship-yard, seventeen butchers, sixteen schools, twelve inns, five tallow-chandlers, two brass-founders, three braziers, twenty-nine blacksmiths, one bell-founder, nine tanners, thirty shoe and boot makers, nine carriage-makers, seven goldsmiths, four watch-makers, four harness-makers, five cabinet-makers, fifty carpenters and joiners, three comb-makers, four Windsor-chair-makers, fifteen masons, twenty-six tailors, fourteen coopers, three stone-cutters, seven curriers, two block-makers, five barbers, three tinnerns, one wheelwright, one leather-dresser, one nailer, two paper-makers, five printing offices, two book-binders, five bakers, and two newspapers published. There were also six clergymen, sixteen lawyers, nine practising physicians, and one surgeon. One of the clergymen is attached to the College; one was the bishop of the Episcopal church of Connecticut; one, far advanced in life, was without a cure. Most of the lawyers in the county reside in New Haven. The physicians also practise extensively in the surrounding country.'

The population of New Haven, within the city, was, at this period, 5772. A bank named the New Haven Bank, was incorporated in the year 1792, whose capital amounted, in 1810, to 300,000 dollars. An incorporated insurance company was founded in 1797. In 1811, a second bank was established, with a capital of 500,000 dollars; and in 1814, a fire-insurance company, with a capital of 200,000 dollars. Yale College was founded in the year 1717, was enlarged by an additional hall in 1750, and was still further extended and endowed by an act of the Legislature in 1792. Its library contains upwards of seven thousand volumes. The number of students is ordinarily about two hundred and sixty. The township now contains a population of upwards of eight thousand. Its cemetery is believed to be unique. In the year 1796, a field of ten acres near the town, (to which a considerable piece of land has subsequently been added,) was purchased by some public-spirited gentlemen, and after being levelled and enclosed, was divided into parallelograms, handsomely railed, and separated by alleys of sufficient breadth to allow of carriages passing each other.

' The whole field, except four lots given to the several congregations and the college, and a lot destined for the reception of the poor, was distributed into family burying-places, purchased at the expense actually incurred, and secured by law from every civil process. Each parallelogram is 64 feet in breadth, and 35 in length. Each family burying-ground is 32 feet in length, and 18 in breadth; and against each an opening is made to admit a funeral procession. At the divi-

sions between the lots, trees are set out in the alleys, and the name of each proprietor is marked on the railing. The monuments in this ground are almost universally of marble, in a few instances from Italy: in the rest, found in this and the neighbouring states. A considerable number are obelisks, others are tables, and others slabs, placed at the head and foot of the grave. The obelisks are placed universally on the middle line of the lots, and thus stand in a line successively through the parallelograms. The top of each post, and the railing, are painted white; the remainder of the post black.....It is incomparably more solemn and impressive, than any spot of the same kind within my knowledge. An exquisite taste for propriety is discovered in every thing belonging to it, exhibiting a regard for the dead, reverential, but not ostentatious, and happily fitted to influence the views and feelings of succeeding generations.'

The detailed account of the government of Connecticut is highly interesting, as exhibiting the most perfect specimen of pure democracy in alliance with the representative principle, that has perhaps ever been realized. It is the more entitled to attention as being the master-piece of those great and good men by whom New England was first colonized. President Dwight was a true Englishman: the feeling which led those pious founders of the State to give the name of their native country to their adopted one, survived in his bosom.

'The present race of Americans,' he says, 'can never be sufficiently thankful, that their ancestors came from Great Britain, and not from any other country in Europe. In Great Britain, they formed most of their ideas of liberty and jurisprudence. There, also, they found their learning and their religion, their morals and their manners. The very language which they learned in that country, opens to their descendants, as in a great degree it had opened to them, more valuable literature, science, and sound wisdom, than could be found in all the languages of Europe united. In some branches of learning the British have been excelled; in all, they have not been equalled: in science and wisdom they have no rivals. It is with no small satisfaction that I see this language planted in every quarter of the globe. Those who speak it, are almost absolutely the only persons who appear solicitous to spread Christianity among nations to whom it is unknown. By this dispensation of Providence, a preparation is, I think, evidently making for the establishment of a general vehicle of communication for mankind, by means of which the religion of the Cross may, in its purity, be diffused over both continents.'

'Had the American states been colonized from France, the land would have been parcelled out, as were those of Canada, between a numerous noblesse, and a body of ecclesiastics probably not less numerous. The great body of the New-England people, instead of being what they now are, an enlightened, independent yeomanry, would have been vassals of these two classes of men, mere Canadian peasantry, sunk below the limits of civilization, unable to read or

think ; beasts of burthen like those in the service of the north-west company, satisfied with subsisting on maize and tallow, with an occasional allowance of whiskey ; Roman Catholics of the lowest class, their consciences in the keeping of ecclesiastics, prostrating themselves before a relic, and worshipping a crucifix or a cake. How mightily would the inhabitants of Boston or Salem, Hartford or New Haven, find their circumstances changed, were the ground on which they live, to become, like the island of Montreal, the property of a convent !

‘ Every man in this country, almost without an exception, lives on his own ground. The lands are universally holden in fee simple, and descend by law to all the children in equal shares. Every farmer in Connecticut, therefore, and throughout New England, is dependent for his enjoyments on none but himself, his government, and his God ; and is the little monarch of a dominion sufficiently large to furnish all the supplies of competence, with a number of subjects as great as he is able to govern.....If he is not in debt, an event necessary only from sickness or decrepitude, he is absolutely his own master, and the master of all his possessions. There is something to me in the sight of this independence, and the enjoyments by which it is accompanied, more interesting, more congenial to the relish of nature, than in all the melancholy grandeur of the decayed castles and ruined abbeys with which some parts of Europe are so plentifully stocked. The story of this happiness will indeed be less extended, and less amusing, but the actual prospect of it is incomparably more delightful.’

But the Author forgot that the presence of *decayed* castles and *ruined* abbeys, would heighten the moral, as well as the picturesque effect of this independence, by the contrast they tacitly furnish. This is the secret of the charm which they impart, as ruins, to a peaceful village landscape. Happily, an Englishman needs not cross the Atlantic, to realize the picture which is here drawn of a free and substantial yeoman—notwithstanding that the class of freeholders which answers to the description, and which was once the strength of our country, has suffered both depression and diminution.

The constitution which remains to this day the outline of the system of government in Connecticut, was framed in the year 1639, four years after the arrival of the first English planters, by the venerable Thomas Hooker and his coadjutors.

‘ I am ready to concede,’ says our Author, ‘ that there is an appearance of rigour and severity in some of their laws and some of their administrations. But when I remember that man is never perfect in any of his works, and that it is the tendency of succeeding generations to become more and more lax and inefficient in all their jurisprudence ; when I remember that every free people (for of such only am I speaking) have gradually loosened the bonds which held

together a happy society; I am in doubt whether I ought not to rejoice that our ancestors sustained this character. Had they imbibed the contrary error, what, probably, would at this time have been the situation of their posterity?

‘As I know of no men who, in my belief, would have laid such a foundation for public happiness, except those by whom it was actually laid, so I can scarcely believe that it would have been laid by these men in any circumstances except those in which they were placed. They were British subjects, and discerning that a watchful eye would regularly scrutinize all their measures, were of course prevented from rushing into excesses by a strong sense of their responsibility. What was perhaps of little less influence, they knew that the eye of the religious public was upon them. They had professed in Great Britain a greater degree of strictness and purity than some of their countrymen. This profession they were bound by common decency to accord with in their conduct, so far as to furnish no just cause for censure. Around them were numerous tribes of savages. In the infant state of the colony, these people were formidable. From the war with the Pequods, they had learned the absolute necessity of an exact and vigorous police, and of those effectual preparations for defence which can never be made under a feeble and dissolute government. They were also alone, at a great distance from any other civilized people. It was necessary that they should be mutual friends. From dissensions they had every thing to fear. A great people will suffer from them: a little one will be destroyed. The value of liberty they had learned, both from the institutions of their own country, and from their own sufferings. An enjoyment often intruded upon and still preserved, becomes intensely endeared to the possessor. Never was this enjoyment held in higher estimation by any collection of mankind. In all their laws, institutions, and administrations, it lives, and breathes, and animates.

‘All these things would, however, have been of little avail, had not the planters themselves been eminently intelligent and virtuous. Mr. Hooker was called the Luther of New England; and the celebrated Dr. Ames declared, that he never met with his equal, either in preaching or disputation. As he was dying, he said, “I am going to receive mercy;” closed his own eyes, and expired with a smile. His coadjutors were like him. They feared God, and loved each other. Public happiness was never entrusted to better hands, and never provided for in a better manner.’

This panegyric is assuredly just, and the circumstances referred to will sufficiently account for, if they cannot entirely justify, the only exceptionable feature in their policy. In a former letter, the Author adverts more specifically to their alleged intolerance.

‘The settlers of New England fled from persecution. Every government in the Christian world claimed, at that time, the right to control the religious conduct of its subjects. The claim, it is true,



finds no warrant in the Scriptures ; but its legitimacy had never been questioned, and therefore never investigated. All that was then contended for, was, that it should be exercised with justice and moderation. Our ancestors brought with them to America the very same opinions concerning this subject, which were entertained by their fellow citizens, and by all other men of all Christian countries. As they came to New England, and underwent all the hardships necessary to colonizing it, for the sake of enjoying their religion unmolested, they naturally were very reluctant that others, who had borne no share of their burthens, should wantonly intrude upon this favourite object, and disturb the peace of themselves and their families. With these views, they began to exercise the claim which I have mentioned, and, like the people of all other countries, carried the exercise to lengths which nothing can justify. But it ought ever to be remembered, that no other civilized nation can take up the first stone against them. An Englishman certainly must, if he look into the ecclesiastical annals of his own country, be for ever silent on the subject. It ought also to be remembered, that they scrupulously abstained from disturbing all others, and asked nothing of others, but to be unmolested at home.

..... Men who leave their country, and lose their all for the sake of their religion, must be supposed to be unbending. The contention which drove them from home, followed them across the Atlantic, varied, indeed, in its form, but the same in its nature ; opposed to the same principles, and threatening the same interests. Of the rectitude of these principles, generally, they had every reason to be satisfied ; and of the value of these interests they had strong and even noble conceptions. They watched both, therefore, with an ardour which nothing could impair, and a vigilance which nothing could fatigue. In such circumstances, no men would be remiss, and virtuous men could hardly fail, infirm as our nature is, to be unnecessarily exact.'

The political situation of the infant Republic, both in respect of the British Government, whose jealousy was unequivocally manifested, and of their Indian and French neighbours, contributed to give stability and consistency to the political structure, and to secure the allegiance of the people. The religious character of the inhabitants, and the influence of their clergy, have also had no small share in producing the proverbially ' steady habits' of the population of this State. Its offices are all elective ; ' yet, the incumbents,' we are told, ' except those ' who belong to the house of representatives, hold them with a ' stability unparalleled under any monarchy in Europe.' The father, son, and grandson of the family of Wyllys, held the office of secretary more than a century, and the grandson left it by resignation. The Judges, though annually elected by the Legislature, have held their offices, with scarcely an exception, through life. The Governors of Connecticut are annually chosen by the people ; yet, from 1665 to 1817, there occur but nineteen changes, some of which were re-elections of an indivi-



dual who had previously served the office. One highly respected member of the Legislature is mentioned, who resigned his seat at the council-board, after he had sat there more than fifty years. 'There is no country,' says our Author, 'where privileged orders do not exist, in which magistrates have been generally held in so high respect.' The following sensible remarks deserve the attention of our readers,—the more so as coming from an American.

'As a consequence of this long continuance in public office, it ought to be added, that the State acquires the strength of personal attachment, as an aid to the other bonds of society, and the other means of supporting government. Affection has for its proper object intelligent beings. The fewer these are, and the longer they are regarded with affection, the more intense and riveted the affection becomes. The great officers of the State are few, and their continuance in office is usually long. Hence they are customarily regarded by their fellow-citizens with no small degree of respect and personal attachment. Government in their hands, is felt to be the government of friends, and the attachment to the men is naturally associated with their measures. The whole force of this affection does not, I confess, exist even here. *For its entire efficacy, we must look to a monarchy, army, or navy.* The ruler here, being a single object, concentrates the whole regard of the mind; and, if an amiable and worthy man, faithfully and wisely discharging the duties of his office, may exert an influence over those whom he governs, next to magical. Of the benefits to which this powerful principle gives birth, free governments ought in every safe way to avail themselves. A doctrine, a constitution, or even an abstract term, may serve as a watch-word of party, a torch of enthusiasm, or an idol of occasional ardour. But there is no permanent earthly object of affection, except man; and, without such affection, there is reason to fear, that no free government can long exist in safety and peace.'

Our limits will not allow us to offer any remarks on the defects which are candidly admitted to attach to the scheme of government, or on the details of the penal system of Connecticut. We must hasten on to notice other interesting topics on which these volumes abound with information.

Northampton, in Massachusetts, boasts of the largest manufactory of coarse linens in the United States: it is still more honourably distinguished by the exemplary manners which prevail there.

'My grandfather,' says President Dwight, 'used to boast, that, in eighteen years of his life, in which he was in full practice as a lawyer, not a single suit was commenced against any one of the inhabitants. I have also been informed, though I will not vouch for the correctness of the information, that, before the Revolutionary war, no inhabitant sued another for debt. Northampton contains one parish, and scarcely

at any time has there been a dissentient from the New England system of religion. Probably no people were ever more punctual in their attendance on public worship, than they were for one hundred and thirty years from the first settlement. Fourteen hundred and sixty persons were once counted in the church on a sabbath afternoon, amounting to five sixths of the inhabitants. During a great part of this period, religion has flourished in an eminent degree. The increase of wealth, the influx of strangers, and other causes of degeneracy, have sensibly and unhappily affected a considerable number of the inhabitants. But, notwithstanding this declension, religion and morals are generally holden in an honourable estimation. A general love of order prevails; a general submission to laws and magistrates; a general regularity of life; a general harmony and good neighbourhood; a sober industry and frugality; a general hospitality and charity. Whenever a person has had the misfortune to have his house or barn burnt, it may, I think, be considered as having been a standing custom in this town, for the inhabitants to raise, and in most instances to finish a new house or barn for him. This custom still substantially prevails, and exists extensively in other parts of New England.'

It has been said, as a set-off against this pleasing representation, that, in these States, it would not be considered as so great a crime for a man to defraud his creditors as to absent himself from church on a Sunday; and that such is the opinion entertained in the other States, of New England honesty, that when a person employs low cunning or deceptive representation to gain his ends, it is termed a *Yankee trick*—an elegant synonyme for a New-England-man. But it must be recollected, that such aspersions are almost infallibly brought down upon religious communities by individual instances of hollow and sanctimonious profession. Thus, in our own country, a Presbyterian trick, a Quaker trick, a Methodist trick, are phrases quite as common as Yankee trick in America; and the inference against the whole body, would be as conclusive in the one case as in the other. A certain portion of pharisaism and formality is the alloy which would seem to be inseparable from an extended and flourishing condition of the Church; and the decent vices of covetousness and fraud are the nearest allied to religious hypocrisy, as well as those which men of steady habits and money-getting industry most easily slide into. The commercial character of the Americans at large certainly does not stand very high. The impunity which the political circumstances of the country has afforded to profligate speculators, has led to numberless transactions of a most dishonourable kind. But the commercial history of our own country during the last seven years, might admonish not hastily to conclude against the upright and religious character of a people, on the ground of mercantile delinquencies, such a state of society

as is here described existing at Northampton, must be regarded as highly creditable to any people, with whatever drawbacks it may be chargeable.

It was, originally, from motives of precaution, and for the purpose of mutual defence, that the New England colonies planted themselves in small towns instead of scattering themselves on their several farms, the mode in which most of the other States have been colonized. This peculiar feature of all the ancient townships, has undoubtedly had a very considerable share in determining the habits of the people. In scattered plantations, Dr. Dwight remarks, neither schools nor churches can, without difficulty, be either built or supported by the planters. The children must be too remote from the school, and the families from the church, not to discourage all strenuous efforts to provide the building; and even when this first difficulty is surmounted, trifling infirmities, foul weather, and bad roads will prevent a regular attendance. But the family, or the children, who do not attend with a good degree of regularity the church or the school, will in the end scarcely go at all. In such settlements, therefore, schools will be few, and numbers of both sexes will be found unable either to read or write; as was till very lately, the case in our country districts. In New England, education may be considered as universal. In Connecticut, more especially, 'there is a school-house sufficiently near to every man's door, to allow his children to go conveniently to school throughout most of the year;' and there is scarcely a child in any of these States, who is not taught reading, writing, and arithmetic. Another disadvantage of scattered plantations, respects the quality of the religious instruction which they will be able to command. The churches, if supplied at all, will be likely to be occupied by teachers of the lowest pretensions. 'The preachers whom they hear,' says Dr. Dwight, describing such a settlement,

'are at the same time very frequently uneducated itinerants, started into the desk by the spirit of propagandism, recommended by nothing but enthusiasm and zeal, unable to teach, and often even to learn. In such a situation, what can the character and manners become?'

This evil exists to a certain extent in our own country, where congregational churches have been formed in poor and obscure districts; and it has ever presented an objection, in our judgement, against the system of rigid, or, if we may be allowed the phrase, *ultra*-Independency. While we are for carrying religion to every man's doors, by the utmost application of what Dr. Chalmers terms the aggressive mode, we are not without serious misgivings as to the expediency of hastily establish-

ing separate and insulated churches under any circumstances which leave doubtful the quality of the future supply of instruction. If too poor to maintain a pastor above the level of pauperism, they are likely either to be consigned to an illiterate and inefficient ministry, or to be supplied by casualty, in which event they are liable to have the worst description of preachers brought among them, for the sake of cheapness. It is among such churches that the antinomian pestilence has chiefly raged, and the very existence of some such stagnant deposit of Independency, is often a serious nuisance to the neighbourhood, on account of its harbouring that most noxious of heresies. The carcase of a dead church rotting above ground, is of all things the most offensive.

Our Author further remarks on the disadvantageous effect of scattered settlements, on the manners. Such persons, he remarks, are cut off from that daily intercourse which softens and polishes man.

‘ On the contrary, that rough and forbidding deportment which springs from intercourse with oxen and horses, or with those who converse only to make bargains about oxen and horses, a rustic sheepishness, or a more awkward and provoking impudence, take possession of the man, and manifest their dominion in his conduct. The state of the manners and that of the mind are mutually causes and effects. The mind, like the manners, will be distant, rough, forbidding, gross, solitary, and universally disagreeable. A nation, planted in this manner, can scarcely be more than half-civilized, and to refinement of character and life, must necessarily be a stranger. A New Englander passing through such settlements, is irresistibly struck with a wide difference between their inhabitants and those of his own country. The scene is changed at once. That intelligence and sociality, that softness and refinement, which prevail among even the plain people of New England, disappear . . . . . Even the scattered plantations in New England have retained in a great measure the national characteristics of their country. Those by whom these plantations were formed, had their education in the villages; and when they emigrated, were too far advanced in life to relinquish their character and habits. Accordingly, they built churches and schools, and in the midst of various difficulties, maintained the same social intercourse.’

These remarks deserve the consideration of those who are projecting a removal to the Western States. There are things without which, freedom, independence, and wealth, if all these should be realized, would be incapable of rendering a man's life happy; and bad, indeed, must be the state of society, in which its positive advantages do not vastly outweigh all the benefits for the sake of which these are sacrificed. Connected with the peculiar state of society in New England, the following remarks

on the much mis-understood subject of American Inn-keepers, deserve to be extracted.

‘Your countrymen often laugh at the fact, that inns in New England are kept by persons whose titles indicate them to be men of some consequence. An innkeeper in Great Britain, if I have not been misinformed, has usually no other respectability in the eyes of his countrymen besides what he derives from his property, his civil manners, and his exact attention to the wishes of his guests. The fact is otherwise in New England. Our ancestors considered an inn as a place where corruption would naturally arise, and might easily spread; as a place where travellers must trust themselves, their horses, baggage, and money; where women, as well as men, were at times lodged, might need humane and delicate offices, and might be subjected to disagreeable exposures. To provide for safety and comfort, and against danger and mischief, in all these cases, they took particular pains in their laws and administrations, to prevent inns from being kept by vicious, unprincipled, worthless men. Every innkeeper in Connecticut must be recommended by the selectmen and civil authority, constables and grand jurors of the town in which he resides; and then licensed at the discretion of the court of common pleas. Substantially in the same manner is the business regulated in Massachusetts and New Hampshire. In consequence of this system, men of no small personal respectability have ever kept inns in this country. Here, the contempt with which Englishmen regard this subject, is not experienced, and is unknown. Any honest business is of course respectable, when it is usually found in respectable hands. Whatever employment, on the contrary, is ordinarily pursued, or whatever station is filled by worthless and despicable men, will of itself soon become despicable. The subject has been so long made a topic of ridicule, that it has attracted my attention to some extent. A course of observation has convinced me, that our ancestors were directed in their views concerning it by wisdom only. Unhappily, we have departed from their system in instances sufficiently numerous to shew but too plainly our own folly. A great part of the New England innkeepers, however, and their families, treat a decent stranger who behaves civilly to them, in such a manner as to shew him plainly that they feel an interest in his happiness; and, if he is sick or unhappy, will cheerfully contribute every thing in their power to his relief. However smart, then, your countrymen may be upon this subject, permit me to wish that mine will for a long time select none but respectable men to be their innkeepers.’

Boston, the capital of Massachusetts, is one of the most ancient cities in the Union. Philadelphia was a forest in the beginning of 1682, fifty-two years after the settlement of Boston; and New York, although settled by the Dutch plants in 1614, was a little trading village long after its rival had become a great commercial town. It increased very little in size, however, during the last century, until about the year 1791

At that time, it contained 18,038 inhabitants. By the census of 1820, the population was found to have risen to 43,298—a prodigious increase in thirty years. The people are distinguished by their habits of business, and a characteristic sprightliness and activity, very observably different from the aspect of society in Philadelphia and New York. Their ardour of temperament is manifested in the boldness, not to say rashness of their commercial enterprises, in the party enthusiasm of their popular elections, in their sudden, fickle, short-lived admiration or censure of men and things, and, singularly enough, in a pronunciation unusually rapid.

‘ The Boston style is a phrase proverbially used throughout a considerable part of this country, to denote a florid, pompous manner of writing, and has been thought by persons at a distance, to be the predominant style of this region. It cannot be denied, that several publications written in this manner have issued from the press here, and for a time been much celebrated. Most of the orations delivered on the 5th of March, may be produced as examples. Still, it has never been true, that this mode of writing was either general in this town, or adopted by men of superior talents. The papers published by the legislature of this State on the embargo and the measures connected with it, are inferior in no kind of merit, to those of any public body in the world.’

State papers, however, are no criterion of popular taste. From the preceding description, we should expect to find that Boston had been settled by French colonists; so much does the portrait partake of a resemblance to the Parisian character. But the Bostonians are, almost without an exception, descendants of Englishmen; they are Protestants—Congregationalists—republicans. The fact is, that the rapid influx of wealth has apparently had a forcing effect on the public mind in this town. The wealth of Boston is said to be great; individuals having risen to high opulence in greater numbers there, compared with the mass of population, than in any other large town of the United States. ‘ Better tables,’ we are told, ‘ are no where spread than in Boston.’ With the increase of luxury, religion has declined.

‘ During one hundred and forty years, Boston was probably more distinguished for religion than any city of the same size in the world. An important change has, however, within a period of no great length, taken place in the religious opinions of the Bostonians. Before this period, moderate Calvinism very generally prevailed. At the present time, Unitarianism appears to be the predominating system. It is believed, that neither ministers nor people have had any reason to congratulate themselves on this change.’



Here, as in England, Unitarianism hangs out Presbyterian colours; and in Boston, as well as in London, its rise and progress seems referrible to the deteriorating influence of wealth. Religious discipline first gives way; formalism and worldliness succeed; and a shallow, specious philosophy, which, while it flatters the pride of intellect, acts as a narcotic on the conscience, is then eagerly imbibed as a substitute for the sterner requisitions of the Gospel. A very considerable portion of mercantile wealth was, at the beginning of the last century, in the hands of the London Presbyterians, who had virtually the whole ecclesiastical patronage of Dissenting churches. Discipline was, under such circumstances, almost as absolute a nullity as in the National Church,—and the popular voice had scarcely any more influence in determining the appointment of the pastor. In this state of things, Arianism first shewed itself; and Arianism begat Socinianism; and Socinianism begat modern Unitarianism; and the children of modern Unitarians, at least a considerable proportion, *go to church*. In Boston, there are eighteen churches; *viz.* ten *Presbyterians*, three Episcopal, two Baptist, one Methodist, one Roman Catholic, and one Universalist. Several of the Presbyterian churches are new and handsome buildings.

The State of New York exhibits a rate of increase in the population, that is unparalleled. In the year 1790, the population amounted to 340,120; in 1800, to 484,620; in 1810, to 959,220; in 1820, to 1,379,989. A great part of the population thus rapidly accumulated, has been derived from New England. Our Author states, that

‘ From three fifths to two thirds of the inhabitants have originated from that country. The proportion is continually increasing. New York is, therefore, ultimately to be regarded as a colony from New England. It is not to be expected, however, that this stream of colonization will continue to flow hither with the same rapidity for any number of years to come. The lands in this State have in many parts already risen to such a price as must discourage new settlers,—such I mean as usually venture first into the wilderness; and the region north of the Ohio presents a vast tract, equally fertile, and in a climate still milder, to invite immigration. Accordingly, the current of population from the New England States, during the year 1815, has principally flowed into its borders. Still, the number of inhabitants in New York will increase for a long time to come, from immigration, as well as from the natural multiplication of its inhabitants. It is to be observed that great numbers are continually crowding into this State for commercial as well as agricultural purposes.’

The religious condition and ecclesiastical arrangements of



this State differ materially from those of New England, owing to the different circumstances under which it was colonized. The original Dutch colonists were mere commercial adventurers, under the control of the Dutch West India Company. As the charter of this company was limited to a short number of years, considerations of immediate profit or loss were the only motives by which their policy was regulated. The colonists, moreover, were discouraged from forming any permanent plans of improvement, by a consciousness of their exposure to the hostilities of the English, as well as to the attacks of the Indians.

‘ But, notwithstanding these discouragements, the Legislature of the colony passed a law in 1689, for the purpose of supplying the State with ministers. In this law it was provided, that, in the city and county of New York, in Richmond and King’s counties, and in two precincts of the county of Westchester respectively, a Protestant minister, qualified to officiate and have the care of souls, should be called, inducted, and established. It was also provided in the same act, that the freeholders of those places should every year be summoned to choose ten vestrymen and two church-wardens, who, together with the justices of each city, county, and precinct, should be authorized to assess a tax for the maintenance of the ministry and of the poor in their respective districts. This seems to have been the only law relative to any subject literary or ecclesiastical, passed by the legislature to this period.’

Attempts were made during the administration of Lord Cornbury, who is stigmatised as a purblind bigot, to make Episcopacy the paramount, if not the exclusive form of church government in this State, the inhabitants being for the most part either Dutch or English Presbyterians. The jealousies excited by these ill-advised and violent measures operated for a long time prejudicially to the interests of religion and learning. In 1784, an act was passed, ‘ to enable all religious denominations of this State to appoint trustees, who shall be a body corporate for the purpose of taking care of the temporalities of their respective congregations, and for other purposes therein mentioned.’ But this law makes no provision for the support of a minister, leaving that, as before, to be provided for by voluntary contribution. Against this system President Dwight very earnestly protests. Throughout the work, he is a strenuous advocate for an ecclesiastical establishment, but for an establishment very different from any which would satisfy the advocates of state churches. In Connecticut, the whole country is formed into religious congregations, styled ecclesiastical societies, who are invested with ample powers to tax themselves, to collect taxes, to hold

property, to receive donations, and to manage their own funds, for the purpose of building or repairing churches, and maintaining the public worship of God.

‘ This worship they are required to attend, churches they are required to build, and ministers they are required to settle and support. In doing these several things, they are secured, so far as may be, against intrusion, opposition, interruption, and even indecency from others. The great object in view, the public worship of God, is required, provided for, enforced, and defended. Some of the means by which it is to be accomplished, are pointed out; and all which can consist with the certain attainment of the object, are left to the societies themselves.’

All classes of Christians, however, are invested by this law with the same privileges. Our Author contends, that, in order to secure a competent living to the pastor, there must be a contract between him and the people, which contract is liable, he conceives, to be nullified, unless it is a legal one. ‘ Every contract,’ he argues, ‘ which is not immoral, or of which the fulfilment is not impossible, the Legislature of every country, especially of every Christian country, is not only authorized, but, so far as it is able, bound to enforce.’

‘ Where this is not the case,’ he maintains, ‘ ministers may indeed be settled, and for a time supported. But as every man knows that he can lay down this burthen whenever he pleases, multitudes will for this very reason lay it down. When the power is possessed, it will be exercised; and pretences will never be wanting to justify the exercise. At the best, the minister will hold his living on a tenure absolutely precarious; and this of itself, will discourage men qualified for the office, from entering into it. The people therefore may be left for religious instruction to men utterly unqualified; to men destitute of the knowledge without which it is impossible that they should teach, and who thrust themselves into the pulpit merely because they are too lazy to work. No greater calamity can befall a people than this, if we suppose them in a state of health and peace, except being saddled with a corrupt ministry.’

It is added, that, owing to this state of things, a considerable number of ministers in the State of New York, have actually been dismissed, and such of them as have had it in their power, have returned to New England.

The subject is an interesting one; but we have little room for discussion. In such a legal establishment as this, where the interference of the magistrate is limited to the enforcing of the contract between a congregation and the minister of their choice, there is nothing that can, in our opinion, be considered as unlawful: the only question relates to its expediency. The

determination of this question, it seems to us, must turn chiefly on facts; and the facts which President Dwight adduces, are entitled to serious attention. Still, cases of particular inconvenience, or difficulties arising from the extraordinary circumstances of a newly peopled country or a poor district, cannot be allowed to be decisive. In estimating the general expediency of such a legal provision, other facts will require to be weighed against these; among which will be that of the perpetuation of error and false doctrine by means of this very constitution of churches. Unitarianism is said to be predominant in the Boston churches, and this legislative provision will unquestionably tend to foster and perpetuate it. The people have not, it would seem, the power either to dismiss their pastor, or to withdraw their contributions; for, if they had, this would still render the tenure precarious, in spite of the legal contract, and the New England clergy would be as badly off as those of New York. We must consider then, how far the interests of truth would, on the whole, be promoted by invoking to this extent the aid of the magistrate. Dr. Dwight maintains, that, in small towns, it would be *impossible* to raise an adequate salary by voluntary contributions; that the few individuals on whom the burthen would fall, would be unequal to it; and therefore he is for a tax. 'Besides,' he says, 'St. Paul, 1 Cor. xvi. has determined that a tax is the right and proper manner of doing this.' This strange assertion will surprise our readers. We must give our Author's explanation.

'The contribution of a sum in proportion to the prosperity God has given men, is a tax; for a tax is nothing but a regular and proportional contribution. This proportion cannot be established but by authority; for except by authority, men cannot be required to render an account of their circumstances. Nor can any proportion approach so near to equity, as that which is formed under the direction of the Legislature.'

This paragraph is singularly incorrect and injudicious in every part of it. First, a contribution is not a tax: a tax is a compulsory exaction; a contribution is, in the usual acceptance, a voluntary payment. Secondly, the spirit of the passage referred to, is in direct opposition to the establishment of any proportion by authority. Thirdly, the requiring a man to render an account of his circumstances, is the most odious and objectionable feature of any tax which is regulated by personal income, and is a fertile source of fraud and iniquity. Fourthly, the proportion fixed on and required by the Legislature, is not likely to be equitable; because all taxes press

the most heavily on the man of small income. Fifthly, the tax supersedes altogether the operation of the proper motives which should induce a Christian congregation to support their minister, changing the whole character of the transaction, and vitiating the feelings with which he is regarded. Lastly, and this consideration is fatal to the whole system, taxation will never in the long run secure a competent provision for the minister. What is the state of things in New England? The average salary of ministers in Connecticut, is stated to be, with all perquisites, not exceeding 400 dollars—a ‘barely comfortable subsistence;’ and in some cases, it is as low as 250 dollars. We have no exact account of the average in the other States; but our Author says:

‘The greatest source of separation between ministers and their people, is, *the smallness of their salaries*; and this, I confess, threatens, at the present expensive period, a more numerous train of evils than have hitherto been known of a similar nature in New England.’

When congregations are left to *tax themselves*, it does not seem probable that the stipends of the clergy will ever be much in advance of a bare maintenance. The method seems the worst adapted possible, to excite liberality. But it is from the aspect of things in Rhode Island—for of the state of religion in New York, he professes himself unable to obtain any accurate account—that our Author draws his strongest conclusions. The original planters in this State were chiefly immigrants from Massachusetts; part of them led by Roger Williams, consisting chiefly of Baptists, part by Mr. Coddington, who is described as an Antinomian.

‘From the circumstances of its early settlement,’ says our Author, ‘Rhode Island became naturally the resort not only of such adventurers as harmonized with them in religious opinions, but of most of those who were discontented and restless. A gradual aggregation, originated by a great variety of incidental causes, spread over the State, and occupied the whole of its territory. No single or regular scheme of colonization was pursued. No common object united the immigrants, and no common character could be traced through the mass. Of the number who finally filled up its extent, were Calvinistic, Arminian, Sabbatarian, and Separate Baptists, constituting, together, the largest class of inhabitants; Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Moravians, Quakers, and Jews. Of most of these classes, a considerable number are Nihilists. In such casual collections of mankind, it is an almost necessary consequence of their junction in society, that their peculiar religious opinions are held with less and less tenacity. . . . The inhabitants of this State, in opposition to the rest of their New England brethren, have uniformly refused to support the public worship of God by law, or, in other words, to make a legal

provision for the support of ministers and churches. A contract between a minister and his congregation, for his maintenance, they have placed on the same footing as contracts made at the gaming-table. Hence, except in their large towns, a minister liberally educated cannot often be found. Hence, the places of such ministers are filled by plain, ignorant individuals. Ordinarily, these are farmers and mechanics, who push themselves into the desk for two reasons; to avoid labour, and to display their gifts; or, in other words, from sloth and spiritual pride. In the desk, almost all such men vociferate in a manner which in every other place would be thought grossly indecent; distort doctrines and precepts; dishonour ordinances; pervert the meaning of the Scriptures, and murder arguments and language. They are destitute of dignity, propriety, and candour; coarse and clownish in their manners; uncouth in their elocution; and in their discourses clumsy and ridiculous. Next to a wicked ministry, the greatest evil which can befall the church, is a weak ministry.'

Without in the least impeaching the veracity of the excellent man from whose pen this description proceeded, it is easy to perceive that it was drawn by no friendly hand. That such preachers are to be found in Rhode Island, is highly probable. Earnestly do we wish that they were confined to that State; but unfortunately, they are not peculiar to *New England*. The account here given is, however, by no means marked by the Author's usual ingenuousness. What led to this extensive immigration from Massachusetts, of the Baptists more especially, he omits to mention, although it might throw some light on the singular obstinacy of their descendants in refusing to adopt the general ecclesiastical system of *New England*. They fled, we apprehend, from Presbyterian persecution. President Dwight is so inconsiderate or so weak as to call them intruders—'the most uncomfortable of intruders,' for 'they came to make proselytes.' They were enemies to the peace of the State, because they excited religious dissensions! They 'preached in *New England*, in defiance of the express injunctions of the Government;' for which several were imprisoned and banished, and one was whipped! And for this atrocious violation of religious liberty, our Author has the weakness to apologize. Yet he adds, 'I am no friend to persecution for religion or for any thing else.' Archbishop Laud would probably have said the same.

It is not without pain, that we notice this extremely exceptionable passage in the writings of such a man as President Dwight; but it may serve to shew how unfit the best of men are to be trusted with ecclesiastical power. The want of a legal provision in Rhode Island, is to be traced, we have no

doubt, to the religious principles of the Baptists, strengthened by disgust at the oppressive and intolerant conduct of the Presbyterian brethren. But this is not the true cause of the alleged degradation of their ministers. It is well-known, that the old Baptists were opposed, on principle, to a regularly educated ministry; and many of them symbolized with the Quakers, on the subject of their maintenance. The consequence of this mistaken principle has been all but fatal to their cause. They have been led, however, to see their error; and within the past fifty years, Baptist academies have been rapidly multiplied. The formation of Providence College by the 'sober and intelligent Baptists' of Rhode Island, is a proof that a similar revolution of opinion is proceeding in the American body. Since our Author made these observations, the wealth of the inhabitants has increased in a more rapid manner than in any other part of New England; and 'with the acquisition of property, the people, particularly in the large towns, appear to have acquired more liberal views concerning the importance of learning to the community.' Thus, the evil which, Dr. Dwight affirms, 'can never be remedied but by the interposition of Government,' is silently yielding to the natural influence of increasing national wealth, and the progress of education.

The state of society in the city of New York is described in very favourable terms. Its inhabitants are immigrants of all nations, and, of course, all religions. In 1784, they amounted to 18,400; in 1810, to 96,000, or more than five times that number within twenty-six years; in 1819, to 119,657.

'New York,' says our Author, 'is distinguished for its hospitality. A great part of the citizens merit the character of sobriety, and the number is not small of those who on the best grounds are believed to be religious. The clergy are highly esteemed and treated with great respect. Every thing of a religious nature is regarded with becoming reverence by a great proportion of the citizens, and few even of the licentious think it proper to behave disrespectfully towards persons or things to which a religious character is attached..... There is no place more frequently selected by foreigners as an agreeable residence, than New York..... In addition to this account, I am not a little gratified in being able to add, that real religion was, perhaps, never more prevalent in New York, than within a few years past. In proportion to its size, it is not improbably a more religious city than any other in the world. The police has become, I suspect, superior to that of any other city in the American Union. The order maintained here is in a sense absolute. Law reigns with an entire control; and resistance to it is unthought of. This, I acknowledge, is equally true of Boston; but Boston has scarcely more than a third of the population of New York, and this population is chiefly native;

while that of New York is, to the amount of two thirds, derived from different parts of the United States and from Europe.'

On contrasting this account of New York with that given of the present state of the churches in Boston, we are unable to perceive that any strong case is made out in favour of the superiority of the New England system—at least in application to cities and large towns. But we must now take leave of the subject, and of these volumes; to which, however, we may again have occasion to refer in noticing other publications on America which lie before us. The copious extracts we have made, will sufficiently shew the valuable nature of the present work; but we might have given far more entertaining selections, had we consulted merely the amusement of our readers. It abounds with anecdotes relating to the Indian tribes, and the occurrences during the Revolutionary war, with biographical notices of eminent natives, and pleasing sketches of American scenery, which continually relieve the dryness of topographical detail. In an appendix are contained, Letters on the misrepresentations of European travellers concerning America,—in particular, Volney, Weld, the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, and Lambert, and on some other subjects requiring distinct notice. Among these, the prospects of the United States, which furnish a most interesting subject for speculation, are ably discussed in conclusion. With the exception we have noticed, the work is in all respects highly creditable to the Author, as a man of observation, a scholar, a patriot, and a Christian minister.

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Art. II. 1. *Cicero de Republicâ* è Codice Vaticano descripsit Angelus Maius, Bibliothecæ Vaticanæ Custos. 1823.

2. *La République de Cicéron*, d'après le Texte inédit récemment découvert et commenté par M. Mai, Bibliothécaire du Vatican : avec une Traduction Française, par M. Villemain de l'Académie Française. 2 Tomes. Paris, 1823.

**T**HE delight felt by the Italian restorers of learning in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when so many ancient manuscripts were rescued from the dust and cobwebs of the conventual libraries, was of the purest and most enviable kind. Laborious and expensive as was the pursuit, success more than repaid the expenditure of their toil and their money. The discovery of a manuscript, says Tiraboschi, was regarded as the conquest of a kingdom. That these mines of literary wealth were exhausted at that epoch, and that no more of the great



master-pieces of antiquity yet remain to be recovered from the sepulchres of time, could never have been admitted as a legitimate conclusion, even if the recent exhumation of more than one ancient manuscript from the rubbish of the Vatican, effected by the learned and well-directed industry of Signor Maio, had not authorized sanguine hopes of regaining some portion of these long-lost literary treasures. The manuscripts discovered at the revival of learning, were those which had been copied for the express use of the few who were conversant with those neglected studies, and which having been deposited in the monastic collections, escaped the great shipwreck of antiquity. Whereas Signor Maio's researches have been directed, and with the most fortunate issue, to those parchments from which, in the scarcity of that material during the dark ages, the destructive parsimony of the copyists had erased a prior manuscript, (not so effectually as to be wholly obliterated,) in order to make way for some barbarous production more consonant to the taste of the period. In a former volume,\* we briefly adverted to the circumstances connected with the interesting discovery made by the learned Curator of the Ambrosian Library, which led him to exclaim with rapture, '*O Deus immortalis, repente sustuli, quid demum video? En Ciceronem, en lumen Romanæ facundia indignissimis tenebris circumseptum!*' The immediate occasion of those transports, was the discovery of some Fragments of Orations supposed to be those of Cicero, over which had been written the works of Sedulius, a monkish versifier of the fifth century. His labours have at length been rewarded with a prize of still higher value, inasmuch as, in the present instance, the genuineness of these remains is unequivocal, and as the political treatise, the greater part of which has been thus unexpectedly brought to light, is one of the most justly celebrated productions of the Roman Orator. For the sake of those readers to whom the subject may be new, we shall briefly repeat the account we have already had occasion to give, of these *Codices Rescripti*.

The scarcity of the ancient writings is chiefly attributable to the slow process of copying. It is also owing to another cause. The Romans wrote their books either on parchment, or on a substance made from the Egyptian papyrus. When the Saracens conquered Egypt in the seventh century, the intercourse of Italy with that country was nearly destroyed, and the papyrus was disused. Parchment, therefore, though a much scarcer and more costly material, was used for this purpose; and books

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\* Eclectic Review. N. S. Vol. xiii. p. 24.

rose so high in value, that a Countess of Avignon is said to have paid for a copy of homilies, two hundred sheep and five quarters of wheat. The monks of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries were, in consequence of the dearness of skins, tempted to erase an old manuscript from a parchment in order to substitute a new one. Hence it would not be extravagant to conjecture, that a decade of Livy or a lost book of Tacitus may yet be found, half-erased but still distinguishable, beneath the legendary life of a saint or a martyr.\* Had Petrarca and his coadjutors at that period been aware of the extent and frequency of the practice, they would undoubtedly have explored the same sources of discovery, and, in all probability, have saved many inestimable fragments which have since perished. It is not, therefore, in the least irrational, to suppose that many of the master-pieces of ancient genius may still come to light, which are now covered with a second manuscript, struggling as it were for breath, and oppressed and overlaid by the leaden weight of monastic dulness.

To whatever extent, however, Sig. Maio's process of discovery may be carried, and whatever may be the fate of his future researches, it is our last remaining hope. Herculaneum is not likely to repay the labour and the expense of unfolding the rolls found in its ashes. The manuscripts, indeed, having been calcined by fire, exhibit entire characters, words, and sentences; but the several leaves of the volumes are consolidated into a compact opaque mass, which crumble to the touch. For thirty years, an elaborate and varied course of experiments has been applied to the unrolling and deciphering of them, but with trifling success. A few imperfect pages of an ancient treatise upon music, and a commentary on the philosophy of Epicurus, are all, or nearly all that have yet been redeemed from the ruins of Herculaneum. Some flattering hopes of success were derived from the chemical process invented by Sir Humphrey Davy, to detach the leaves of the manuscripts; but even his efforts have been equally unavailing.

Under these circumstances, Signor Angelo Maio, who, to an ardent love of antiquity, joined, in an extraordinary degree, the first virtue of an antiquary, an indefatigable patience, turned his attention to this source of discovery. The fact, that the practice of erasing an antecedent manuscript in order to make room for another, was common to the Greek and Latin copyists of the middle ages, (though first adopted by

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\* The Codex Ephrem, one of the oldest and most valuable of all the Greek manuscripts of the New Testament, is a Codex *rescriptus*.

the Latin scribes,) had been noticed by Montfaucon; who had also remarked, that, whether from the imperfection of the instrument, or the inexpertness of those who used it, the erasure was seldom complete. It therefore occurred to Sig. Maio, that from these double manuscripts, the precious remains of the ancient writings might in all probability be elicited. In 1814, when he held the post of curator of the Ambrosian library of Milan, he discovered in one of its apartments some old parchments, on which, after a little examination, he discerned plainly the phrases and proper names of Cicero peeping out from beneath the barbarous verses of Sedulius. The raptures of Petrarca and Poggio were again felt by Sig. Maio, and he has well earned the honour of being classed, in this later age, with those eminent restorers. His first discovery, indeed, amounted to little more than a few disconnected fragments of three Orationes of Cicero. Such as it was, however, it re-animated his diligence, and was followed by other Ciceronian relics, traced through a voluminous manuscript of the seventh century, which turned out to be a collection of the acts of the council of Chalcedon. The sheets composing the volumes, were remains of a great number of ancient manuscripts cemented together. In addition to the fragments of Cicero, were found, an old commentary, long extracts from Symmachus, the verbose rhetorician who pleaded the cause of Paganism before Valentinian, several declamations of the declining school of Roman eloquence, the Greek and Latin Epistles of Fronto, and some Letters of Marcus Aurelius. Sig. Maio successively published these remains in the order of their discovery, following them up, in 1817, with fragments of an old commentator on Virgil, which he had traced beneath the homilies of St. Gregory.

It may readily be supposed, that this is a mode of discovery necessarily liable to accident, and that, with whatever care and diligence the elder manuscripts may be traced, they could not have been restored without many *lacunæ* and imperfections. It may happen also, that the manuscript thus evoked from its grave, may not, after all, be worth the time and toil of its resuscitation. The copyists did not always employ the erasing tool to the great models of antiquity. The *palmæstæ*\* (as they were termed by the Greeks) are often merely exchanges of one worthless composition for another equally worthless,—the dullness and ignorance of the fifth, supplanted by the dullness and ignorance of the following century. Were it possible, however, to be sceptical as to the authenticity of Sig. Maio's

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\* Πάλιν *de novo*, and *per raso*.

discoveries, the ingenuous and manly simplicity of his procedure must remove every doubt, for he has bestowed the same labour and anxiety on the puerile and antithetical declamations of Fronto and Symmachus, as on the political treatise of Cicero, which a more fortunate accident threw in his way. So abundant are the testimonies to Sig. Maio's good faith, that the formal enumeration of them would be an affront offered to his integrity. The success of his first researches attracted towards him the attention of the lettered world. Having been promoted to the honourable office of librarian to the Vatican, he recommenced his labours amid that copious and opulent collection; and they were soon repaid by a manuscript, unfortunately not complete, of the dialogue *De Republicâ*, over which had been transcribed, probably in the sixth century, (for the characters are apparently of that time,) the commentaries of St. Augustine on the Psalms of David. Upon so interesting a manuscript, he naturally expended still more labour and diligence. The work was carried on in the eyes of all the literati of Europe, who had free access to it, in every stage of its progress: no doubt, therefore, can exist of its authenticity. The external evidence is redundant; but, by men of taste and scholarship, it will be tried at the higher standard of its internal excellence. The living characters of an ardent and elevated mind, of patriotic virtue, and an enlarged and comprehensive genius, who can mistake? What literary cunning, what intellectual dexterity can successfully imitate? This is a medium of moral proof infinitely more decisive than the orthography of words, or the conformation of letters. Cicero, it is true, has had hosts of imitators. Petrarch, Erasmus, and others, have been Ciceronian in their style of Latin composition, perhaps more Ciceronian than their great master himself; but Ciceronianism will not make a Cicero. An eye accustomed to his flowing, graceful, and majestic sentences, would at a glance detect the imposture.

It is not the most inviting, but it is an important part of the subject, to trace the fate of this celebrated treatise, of which, till Sig. Maio's discovery, merely a few fragments had come down to us. There is abundant reason to infer, that all the six books existed entire as late as the seventh century. The intrinsic merits of the work, the meditation and care with which it was composed, and the estimation in which it has been held for so many ages, ought, it might have been imagined, to have ensured it a longer duration. It was evidently a great favourite with Cicero himself, who heard with unusual complacence, its praises echoed around him. He says in one of his letters, that Atticus almost devoured it; and Coelius, one of his cor-

respondents, writes to him while at his Tusculan villa, that it was in every one's hands. To none of his works does he himself make more partial or frequent allusions. The subject which it discusses, he never recurs to, but with the fondest predilection. He intended it, he tells us, as a legacy to posterity, in which he had traced the image of that government to whose service his life was dedicated. It was his model of an ideal perfection, framed in some few intervals snatched from the toils of his public employment, or when his mind was oppressed by some obtrusive anticipations of the calamities which afterwards overwhelmed the republic. In the Augustan period, a book that recalled to Roman minds the Roman virtues which were then no more, would have been too keen a reproach to him who had destroyed them. During that reign, therefore, it was rather perused than mentioned. During those of Tiberius and his immediate successors, the jealousy which proscribed the busts and images of the great men of the republic, would not have tolerated a work which kept alive its proudest recollections. The same senate which could condemn Crematius Cordus to death, for the sole crime of being the historian of the times of Cicero, would not have countenanced the circulation of a treatise, which was the depositary of his maxims and opinions. In the first two ages of the empire, therefore, scarcely any mention of it occurs. It is only slightly noticed by Seneca. Quintilian, whose work was dedicated to Domitian, would of course pass it by in silence. Nor is it even mentioned by the younger Pliny, who lived in better times. It is twice cited by his uncle, but the passages extracted are devoid of interest. It is, however, more remarkable, that this celebrated dialogue should not have been spoken of by Tacitus, nor by the writer of the rhetorical treatise which goes by his name. It is not to be supposed, that this great and feeling writer was unacquainted with a work so well calculated to preserve and to fan into a flame the few sparks of virtue which yet lingered in the bosoms of Thrasea and Helvidius.

The next mention of the *De Republica* occurs in the third century, when Lampridius compiled his life of Alexander Severus\*; a work in which many highly interesting anecdotes are buried under a load of trivial and unmeaning details. During the reign of this excellent prince, the Roman world enjoyed a short but delicious calm, after having experienced for forty years the successive and various vices of four tyrants, whose names are hateful to humanity. Alexander, says his

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\* Hist. August. p. 118.

biographer, turned his attention to Greek literature, and devoted himself with great assiduity to the Republic of Plato. In Latin, he read nothing more diligently than the Offices and the Republic of Cicero. The study of this eloquent dissertation might, indeed, have contributed largely to form the taste, and strengthen the understanding of this virtuous Emperor. It might have inspired him with those noble ideas of man and of government, which he endeavoured to embody into his administration of affairs. But such principles, though enforced with the masculine and impetuous eloquence of Tully, the principles of immutable justice, which were the adamantine basis of his Republic, had fallen upon too late an age, and were seeds lost upon a sterile and ungrateful soil. The literary taste also, without which so great a product of human reasoning could not be appreciated, had rapidly declined; for the first literary characters of the age were little better than expert scholiasts or pedantic sophists. The fourth and fifth centuries are almost silent concerning the *De Republicâ*, but it is often cited by the grammarians, Diomed, Nonius, and others, for the elucidation of grammatical questions. But, while Pagan letters were declining, the Christian fathers did not disdain to borrow from them, when they were assailing the religion and philosophy of the ancients. From the shining armoury of Pagan literature, they drew the weapons with which they carried on the attack, and Paganism itself supplied the polished instruments of its own destruction. Lactantius and St. Augustine cite entire passages from the treatise *De Republicâ*. Besides many long quotations, St. Augustine gives an analytical epitome of the third book. The passages cited by the two Christian fathers, and the *Somnium Scipionis* preserved by Macrobius from the sixth book, have for a long period constituted all of the *De Republicâ* (with the exception of the passages scattered over the grammarians) that has descended to modern times. To Lactantius, for instance, we have hitherto been indebted for that beautiful imitation of Plato, which he transcribed entire from the third book. This Father, who, from some resemblances, or rather affectations of Cicero's style, has been called the Christian Cicero, applied that noble piece of casuistry to the sufferings of the Christian martyrs. 'Quæro; ' si duo sint, quorum alter optimus vir, æquissimus, summâ ' justitiâ, singulari fide; alter insignis scelere et audaciâ; et si ' in eo sit errore civitas, ut bonum illum virum, sceleratum, faci- ' notosum, nefarium putet; contra autem qui sit improbissimus, ' existimet esse summâ probitate ac fide; proque hâc opinione ' omnium civium, bonus ille vir vexetur, rapiatur, manus ei ' denique auferantur, effodiantur oculi, damnetur, vincietur,



‘uratur, exterminetur, egeat, prostremo, jure etiam optimo  
 ‘omnium miserrimus videatur; contra autem ille improbus  
 ‘laudetur, colatur, ab omnibus diligatur, omnes ad eum hono-  
 ‘res, omnia imperia, omnes opes, omnes undique copiae con-  
 ‘ferantur, vir denique optimus omnium existimatione et dig-  
 ‘nissimus omni fortunâ optimâ judicetur;—quis tandem erit  
 ‘tam demens, qui dubitet utrum se esse malit?’ This eloquent  
 passage is, to be sure, put into the mouth of a personage in  
 the dialogue, named Philus, who preaches up the sophistical  
 doctrines of Carneades, and proposes the two-fold hypothesis  
 of the just man overwhelmed with ignominy, and the bad one  
 crowned with all the rewards of virtue, in support of those  
 doctrines; but the contrast is so powerfully exhibited, that,  
 with all the bias and inclination of the supposed speaker, the  
 mind of the reader involuntarily takes the side of virtue, and  
 throwing its sympathies into the scale of the sufferer, at once  
 determines the question. Passages also of extraordinary beau-  
 ty and eloquence have been preserved by St. Augustine.  
 Many of them are the more valuable, inasmuch as they are  
 wanting in the palimpsestine manuscript.

That splendid conception which was the foundation of the  
 whole structure of the commonwealth,—the eternal sovereignty of  
 justice antecedently to every human authority, a natural law  
 antecedent to every positive institution,—was the favourite  
 hypothesis of Cicero. It is a conviction familiar to the ancient  
 world, and perhaps bespeaks one of those primitive revelations,  
 of which the traces are still distinguishable,—reminiscences,  
 as it were, of a high and celestial origin, which from time to  
 time burst forth in the speeches and writings of the great men who  
 adorned it. Thus, the awful sanctions of Divine authority are  
 imparted to human legislations, the creatures of that universal  
 and paramount law, which is the immediate emanation from  
 the Divine will. ‘Every law,’ says Demosthenes,\* ‘is en-  
 ‘titled to obedience, inasmuch as law itself is the invention  
 ‘and gift of God.’ (*νομιμα και δωρον θεου*) Hooker’s grand deifica-  
 tion of general law, holds a distinguished place amongst the  
 aphorisms of the great and the wise both of ancient and modern  
 times. No writer has enunciated the proposition with greater  
 force, none has more skilfully traced the limitations which  
 bound, or the exceptions which modify, the doctrine. ‘Of  
 ‘law,’ says the powerful author of the Ecclesiastical Polity,  
 ‘there can be no less acknowledged, than that her seat is the  
 ‘bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world: all things

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\* Orat. I. contra Aristogect.



‘ in heaven and earth do her homage, the very least as feeling  
 ‘ her care, and the greatest as not exempted from her power ;  
 ‘ both angels and men and creatures of what condition soever,  
 ‘ though each in different sort and manner, yet all, with uniform  
 ‘ consent, admiring her as the mother of their peace and joy.’  
 The celebrated passage preserved by Lactantius from the third  
 book, and forming a part of Scipio’s defence of justice, unfortunately not restored in the palimpsestine copy, yields to none of those splendid topics either in the dignity of its expression, or the compendious distinctness of its definitions. ‘ Est quidem vera lex,’ says Cicero, ‘ recta ratio, naturæ congruens, diffusa in omnes, constans, sempiterna, quæ vocet ad officium jubendo, vetando a fraude deterreat, quæ tamen neque probos frustra jubet, aut vetat, nec improbos jubendo aut vetando movet. Huic legi nec obrogari fas est, neque derogari ex hac aliquid licet, neque tota abrogari potest. Nec verò aut per senatum aut per populum solvi hâc lege possumus ; neque est quærendus explanator aut interpret ejus alius ; nec erit alias lex Romæ, alia Athenis, alia nunc, alia posthac, sed et omnes gentes, et omni tempore una lex et sempiterna et immortalis continebit ; unusque erit communis quasi magister et imperator omnium DEUS ille, legis hujus inventor, disceptator, lator.’

We have enumerated nearly all the scattered fragments of the *De Republicâ*, which were accessible to modern scholars, before the discovery of the Vatican manuscript. Of these, the *Somnium Scipionis* is unquestionably of the highest value ; that splendid episode in which Scipio discourses upon the immortality of the soul, enforcing it with all the energy of reason, illustrating it with every embellishment of fancy, for the great end of strengthening the civil institutions of the commonweal by the aids and corroborations of that sublime dogma. We are indebted for it to Macrobius, whose dull commentary has happily proved the means of its preservation. It may be presumed, therefore, that the entire treatise existed so late as the fifth century, in the early part of which that scholar wrote. The taste of the middle ages, more favourable to the mystical reveries of Macrobius, than to the pure simplicity and manly vigour of the Roman philosopher, embalmed the commentary, and suffered the original work to perish. For the treatise is rarely mentioned by any writers later than the fifth century. Sig. Maio conjectures, that the Byzantine Greeks were not unacquainted with it ; but he draws his conjecture from a passage in Photius, a Greek of the eighth century, who has given a short analysis of some political dialogues, which, from the entire change of the names of the prolocutors, seems at most to

have been only an imperfect and interpolated version, or perhaps merely an abridgement of the Latin original. He suspects also, upon the doubtful authority of Barthius, that the six entire books were in the possession of Peter of Poitiers in the twelfth century. It is certain, however, that at the revival of letters, they were the object of a long and painful research to Petrarch, who, in one of his letters, has recorded his eloquent regrets for the inefficaciousness of the pursuit. Poggio also instituted similar inquiries, but with no better success; and down to the auspicious discovery of the Italian Editor, little or nothing was known of one of the finest monuments of Roman genius, beyond the fragments already noticed, and the slender citations of the grammarians,—fragments inspiring the most anxious longings for the remainder, but which, put together, scarcely amounted to twenty duodecimo pages of modern letter-press.

This brief sketch will enable our readers to appreciate the meritorious discovery of Sig. Maio, who, by the means we have mentioned, has succeeded in restoring to us a considerable part of the original text, and consequently a great part of the reasonings and reflections that occur in the dialogue. Unfortunately, indeed, from the state in which it was found, it is broken by perpetual chasms; the sentences are often imperfect, and their sense obscure and interrupted. Yet, the good faith of the discovery is attested by these very imperfections. The outline of the original is still visible; its leading divisions are distinctly marked, and two books are almost in a complete state of preservation. The discovery, therefore, though imperfect, is one of the rarest felicity; for we are now for the first time enabled to judge for ourselves, whether the only theoretical book upon the science of government, which ever appeared in ancient Rome, has been justly honoured with the praises of past, and the regrets of later ages. We must not, however, pass over the details that relate to the discovery. In what age the commentary of St. Augustine on the Psalms was inscribed on the copy of Cicero's *De Republicâ*, is an obscure question; and the attempts of Sig. Maio to unravel its difficulties, disappoint us. Thus much is evident; that the manuscript was removed from a monastery at Bobbio, or Bobio, a town in the Milanese, to the Vatican, during the pontificate of Clement VIIth, to whom it was presented as a copy of the work of the Christian father, without the slightest suspicion that any more ancient composition was lurking beneath it. Of the Christian commentator, there remains so much as reaches from the 119th to the 140th Psalm inclusively. The Augustinian manuscript is conjectured to be of the tenth century. It is complete in the beginning.

defective in the middle, and retains little more than a third of the concluding part. Unhappily, the incompleteness of the Augustinian, involves also that of the Ciceronian manuscript; for every page of St. Augustine that is missing, is a loss also of a page of Cicero. With regard to the Ciceronian manuscript, Sig. Maio observes, that, in his whole experience of palimpsesti, he has met with none of which the characters are so large. It consists of three hundred pages, each divided into two columns, each column containing one hundred and fifty lines, so that every leaf has thirty lines, and every line ten letters. Those letters being of an extraordinary size, the whole volume, had it been complete, would not have comprehended the whole of the treatise *De Republicâ*; a circumstance which enlarges the proportions of the parts that are wanting.

The labour of evolving the elder from the later manuscript, is not the whole of Sig. Maio's merit in this publication. The literary commonwealth owes him large obligations for his conjectural sagacity in supplying some of the *lacunæ*, and the verbal annotations with which the text is elucidated. The treatise, in passing through the hands of M. Villemain, a writer of considerable talent and of no mean reputation in France, appears in a shape much less scholar-like than as it issued from the hands of Sig. Maio. The French Editor, having been pleased to make a book of it, after the most approved modern recipe of book-makers, has given it a bulk by no means its own, swelling it out with a translation into French,—a language whose idiom refuses all alliance with the Latin;—a long commentary, perfectly useless to those who can read the original, and not very edifying to those who cannot; with a preface and appendix, containing all that has been heretofore said about Cicero and his writings, *et quibusdam aliis*. Would not the valuable remains of that great writer have appeared in a more graceful and more appropriate costume, if the translation and some of the notes had been omitted, and the stream of his immortal eloquence had been permitted to flow, unchecked and unbroken by the brickwork and masonry of M. Villemain?

‘ ——— quanto præstantius esset  
Numen aquæ, viride si margine cluderet undas,  
Nec ingenui violarent marmora tophum?’

We have remarked, that this is the only speculative dissertation on politics, of which we have any mention in the Latin language. But it is still more valuable as the depository of the opinions and feelings of a great statesman, upon the most important secular interests of the human race, and of his own

notions concerning the constitution of Rome; a constitution which hardly any of his contemporaries appears to have studied with half the diligence and enthusiasm of Cicero. In truth, political studies engrossed little of the time and attention of the ancient Romans. The great business of extending their unwieldy domination, and of enslaving mankind, left them no leisure for the idle disquisitions which amused the Greek and Sicilian philosophers, in the shades of their academies, and the peaceful precincts of their cities. Yet, it seems to be an old and established habit among studious and philosophical men, to amuse themselves with the erection of imaginary republics. It is the struggle of virtuous and feeling minds, sorrowing over the ills, and seeking a refuge from the passions of the present times, to escape to a better order;—an aspiration after the past or the future, from the present. The gravest philosophers have sought this asylum from their own experience, peopling it with their own virtues, and moulding it to their own taste. Wearied with the fitful alternations of democracy and tyranny, Plato betook himself to his Atlantis, or to the institutions of his most impracticable commonwealth. Tacitus refreshed his pencil, tired with the delineation of a corrupt people and its despicable masters, by tracing the portrait of a simple and uncultured race, inhabiting the forests and morasses where the infant freedom of the North was nursed into its hardier maturity. More and Harrington, in the gloomy days of religious fanaticism and political madness, soothed themselves into an oblivion of what passed around them, by sketches of a free state, undisturbed by faction, where freedom reposed under the shadow of public security. During the evil days on which Cicero had fallen, his imagination seems to have sought a kindred solace. His country was still bleeding from the recent wounds of Marius and of Sylla; and the gloomiest auguries were gathering around him, of the approaching usurpation of Cæsar. In such a condition of things, he constructed this ideal edifice of political justice and civil happiness, but constructed it out of the ruins of the old constitution of Rome, ascribing to it a purity and a perfection to which, in her best days, Rome was a stranger. Widely as the political work of Cicero varies from the Polity of Aristotle or the Republic of Plato, he availed himself of the speculations of each, tempering, according to his own eclectic method, the visionary schemes of the Founder of the Academy, with the more positive and dogmatic reasonings of the Stagyræ; making, at the same time, considerable use of the facts which had been collected by the diligent observation, and classed by the intuitive exactness of the latter. In no other respect is he tinctured.

with the philosophy of Aristotle; and he was too practical a statesman to borrow the reveries of Plato, who had imaged to himself a state of things, of which it was its best recommendation to be unattainable;—which, if it could have existed, would have deprived human life of all its value,—which, proscribing poetry, extinguished imagination, that better life of man, and blotted out the moral and physical beauty of the fairer half of the creation, by despoiling them of the charms of chastity. To admire the sublime truths, the graces of fancy and of diction, which profusely play around doctrines fundamentally false and vicious, and in the highest degree odious and revolting, is all that, in an enlightened age, could be expected from the most enthusiastic admirer of Plato. Cicero, therefore, derived from him little more than a few of the ornaments, the tracery and intercolumniation of his political structure; not indeed by imitating the manner, but by catching the spirit which breathed in the Platonic writings. The dream of Scipio, for instance, is in Plato's manner, being a digression, in which the immortality of the soul and the retributions of futurity are inculcated, through the intervention of a being expressly raised from the grave to impart the awful secrets of the mysterious world which lies beyond it.

As to the Polity of Aristotle, it furnished still fewer maxims of that civil prudence which adapts itself to the wants and necessities of society. It is chiefly valuable for its classification, according to their several genera and species, of the actual governments of his age. He is a guide who is most useful when he deviates from his own plan; and his propositions are for the most part true, only when they are at variance with his theory. 'His Polity,' remarks Mr. Mitford, 'seems rather an idea of a colony of philosophers to be founded among barbarians, than what could be seriously offered for improving the condition of the whole or any part of Greece.' One result, however, from a diligent perusal of Aristotle's treatise, must be, a complete scepticism concerning that form of Grecian polity, which, among as many specimens of constitutions as those ticketed and labelled by the Abbé Sieyès, promised the greatest amount of social security, and tended to extinguish those predilections and prejudices without which every patriotic virtue withers away. But the aim of Cicero was more elevated; it was to produce a work emphatically Roman,—to confirm the political creed of his countrymen; to revive the dying flame of patriotism in their bosoms, by recalling the freedom and simplicity of past times, and summoning their most pious remembrances, their most cherished partialities, all their public affections, their social charities, to the defence of that venerable

fabric, which so many storms had shaken, and over which so many still impended.

From several passages, however, it may be inferred, that the *Cyropædia* of Xenophon supplied many of those maxims of political prudence (*γνώμαι*), those convenient and concise pieces of sententious wisdom, so readily understood and so easily retained, which occur in great frequency through the *De Republicâ*. Hence, probably, Cicero might have derived the predilection that reigns through his book, for that mixed or tempered monarchy which was considered by the philosophers of Greece, as the surest safeguard against the ills of popular licence. This preference of a mixed or balanced government, which is distinctly avowed in the first book of the *De Republicâ*, not only constitutes an interesting feature in its reasonings, but imparts an additional value to Sig. Maio's discovery.

'*Quod cum ita sit*' (he had been painting the respective evils of oligarchy, tyranny, and popular misrule) '*tribus primis generibus longè præstat, meâ sententiâ regium; regio autem ipsi præstabit id quod erit æquatum et temperatum ex tribus optimis rerum publicarum modis. Placet enim esse quid-dam in re publicâ præstans et regale; esse aliud auctoritate principum partum ac tributum, esse quandem res servatas iudicio voluntatique multitudinis. Hæc constitutio primum habet æqualitatem quandam magnam, quâ carere diutius vix possunt liberi; deinde firmitudinem quod et illa prima facile in contraria vitia convertantur, ut existat ex rege dominus, ex optimatibus factio, ex populo turba et confusio; quodque ipsa genera generibus sæpe commutantur novis. Hoc in hac juncta moderatèque permixta conformatione rei publicæ non ferme sine magnis principum vitis evenit. Non est enim causa conversionis, ubi in suo quisque est gradu firmiter collocatus, et non subest quo precipitet et decidat.*'

The theoretic admirers of the English constitution, as well as those who live beneath the shade of its beneficence, will feel no abatement of their admiration, on finding that its great outline had been sketched by so vigorous a hand, and its noble principles sanctioned by the assent and sympathy of such a mind. It was not, indeed, an hypothesis peculiar to Cicero. As we have already intimated, it was familiar to the ancient writers on polity. Stobæus has preserved a passage from a political dissertation by Hippodamus, (the same philosopher, we presume, of whom Aristotle\* speaks so slightly,) which is little less than the divination of the British constitution; not merely of that constitution in its exterior elements, but the

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\* *Arist. Polit. Lib. II.*



a play of its springs, the wholesome conflicts of passions it sets to work, the alternation of its parties, and the very principle of its administration. In a fragment of Polybius well known to scholars, the same form of government is described with equal distinctness. It was contemplated also by the profound genius of Tacitus, though he despaired of its utility, and was somewhat sceptical as to its being practicable. These are, in truth, anticipations of the lights and improvements of after ages;—convictions bearing inwardly on the minds of elevated understandings, which are by no means rare phenomena in the history of the human mind. Let it silence the presumptuous ignorance of those who are insensible to the merits of the British constitution, and indulge themselves in needless cavils at its supposed defects, to observe the advantages of the suffrages of the wise and good in former ages, thus to go to it in advance; speculative wisdom supplying the place of experience, and imagining that order of things, as the combination of political skill, and the perfection of civil prudence; the highest minds employed in the abstract configuration of a system, destined to be the freest, the most happy, under God, the most durable of human policies.

Cicero erred, when he discerned, or thought that he discerned, the system which he eulogizes in the old constitution of Rome; it was a patriotic error which misled him. We think, however, with Montesquieu,\* that the separation of the executive and legislative powers, was the real basis of the Roman Republic. It was to this state of things, that Cicero, amid the growing calamities of the republic, the usurpations of the emperors, the corruptions of the people, strove to recall his country-

In the historical view of it, which occupies nearly the whole of the second book, he traces the civil institutions under which Rome had once been so free and so prosperous, institutions which he vainly hoped to revive, as the best securities against popular disorder and the sad necessity of a dictator. It must be acknowledged, that the historical facts are collected and distorted in order to adapt themselves to his reasoning. Still, it is undeniable, that the early constitution of Rome remained essentially monarchical even after the abolition of monarchy; for monarchy was not so much destroyed as transferred. The Consuls and the Senate formed that mighty oligarchy which afterwards decided the fate of the world. In a frame of things thus constituted, proceeded that unity of design and vigour of enterprise, which made Rome invin-

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\* "*Grandeur et Decadence*." c. 12.



cible to all but to her own corruptions. It will be asked, however, Where is the mixed and balanced government imagined by Cicero? For what is the uniform tenor of that republican history on which he dwells with such complacency, but an unintermitted and turbulent struggle of parties, a long course of intestine commotions, appeased only for a season by the clumsy expedient of a Dictator? It is manifest, we think, that Cicero was conscious of the want of some mediatorial power in the Roman government, to obviate that hateful remedy; and the fact may be inferred from the renovation of the equestrian order, — a measure he carried during his consulship, but which did not correspond to his wishes, inasmuch as it proved a new element of confusion and discord. At the time, however, when he composed his treatise, it was prudent not to be explicit, for Cæsar was rising daily in popularity, and had given already some intelligible hints of his unbounded appetite for domination.

The truth is, the Roman world was not then ripe for the mixed and balanced government contemplated by Cicero. Christianity is the beneficent principle which has assuaged the violence of unjust power, mitigated laws by manners, reconciled change with stability, and, by consecrating the commonweal, and preserving the structure from profanation, placed political and civil rights under a constant and inviolable safeguard. Constitutions approaching much nearer to perfection, than that of ancient Rome, have required the support of a religion, which infuses into legislators and sovereigns high and worthy notions of the responsibilities under which they act, and into all conditions that love of order which is requisite to the enjoyment of rational freedom. The proudest sentiments of Roman virtue could not inspire the enthusiasm which the hope of immortality kindles—that diviner inspiration which points out to the soul her celestial destination, and refines and prepares her for her flight. Compared with this, the patriotism of the ancient world was a cold and lifeless impulse; and it was upon this frail principle, that the political institutions of those times alone reposed.

It must be confessed, that, with all its merits, the treatise *De Republicâ*, by holding up the ancient government of Rome as a model of perfection, has sketched a state of things equally ideal and visionary with those that have been framed by the professed artificers of imaginary commonwealths. We regret, (such is the frequent recurrence of the *lacunæ* in the Vatican manuscript,) that we are enabled to give only a very slight analysis of it. Scipio, who lived at a period which touched the opposite extremes of the ancient simplicity, and the growing elegance which advanced rapidly in Rome,—is the principal

aker in the dialogue; and there is some dramatic consistency putting into his mouth, a perpetual chaunt in praise of old institutions, the idolatry of the past. This sentiment Cicero actually cherished, and to such a degree, that, on one occasion, it betrayed him into the paradoxical assertion, that the translation of the Twelve Tables was worth all the meditations of all the philosophers. Of the first sentences in the first book, many are lost, but the greater part of the proemium is preserved. He begins, and in his own person, with a mild attack upon those Epicurean philosophers, who, disdaining the duties of the republic, retired to the shades of ease and of leisure. To refute the doctrines which recommended this inglorious inactivity, and to establish the superiority of an active life, he cites the instances recorded in the Roman annals, of a high patriotic devotion, and urges the best examples of disinterested virtue displayed by Regulus, the two Scipios, and Cato. Here begins the Vatican copy, with two words, evidently part of an imperfect sentence, *imlibravissent*, and which, in all probability, applied to the translation of the Gauls or that of Pyrrhus. The great names which he appeals, are in themselves a triumphant answer to casuistry which recommended an indolent abstinence from public affairs. He then pronounces the apotheosis of the Roman constitution, deducing it, in deference to the fashionable opinion of the Romans, from a celestial origin. He expresses his conviction, that it is one of the instinctive properties of man's nature, to rise in defence of the common safety,—a virtuous principle which triumphs over all the blandishments of ease and of pleasure. 'Nor is it enough,' he says, 'to possess this virtue as a mere accomplishment, without its being carried into actual exercise. An art, indeed, may be said to be possessed by those who understand it, even though it be not called into use; but virtue exclusively consists in exercise. Its most glorious exercise is the direction and guidance of public affairs, thus realizing, not by idle discourse, but by a course of efficient action, that which has been taught in the shades of the schools.' 'For my part,' he continues in another passage, 'just as I think that great and over-ruling states are better (to use the language of Ennius) than small cities, though protected by strong fortresses, so, in my opinion, those who govern such states by their wisdom and authority, are superior, in respect of true philosophy, to those speculative men who are wholly estranged from public affairs.' Then follows a sentence which can be given only in its own glowing and luminous phrase.

' Et quoniam maximè rapimur ad opes augendas generis humani, studemusque nostris consiliis et laboribus tutiorem et opulentioram vitam hominum reddere, et ad hanc voluptatem ipsius naturæ stimulis incitamus; teneamus eum cursum, qui semper fuit optimi cuiusque; neque ea signa audiamus, quæ receptui canunt, et eos etiam revocant, qui jam processerint.' Lib. I. c. 2.

After this exordium, into which he has breathed all the warmth of his eloquence, and in which the lofty pride of conscious virtue inspired by his consulship, seems to betray itself equally in the exaltation of the sentiments, and the energy of the language,—having, by way of introduction to the dialogue, sketched, in a few rapid and vigorous strokes, one or two portraits of the great men who take a part in it, he begins the colloquy by means of a somewhat agreeable fiction. It is, in fact, a conversation narrated by Cicero at second-hand, and as he himself had heard it while yet very young, from Rutilius, the friend of the great Scipio, and his associate in arms and glory. Scipio is the chief speaker, and we are detained for some time on the very threshold of the discourse, by a digression which the admirers of Plato's manner cannot well object to in Cicero. The subject first started, is an astronomical one. A perihelion of the sun had been observed. This gives rise to a long dialogue, in which, according to the imperfect philosophy of the time, the sun, the law of eclipses, the planetary system in general, are rather tediously discussed, and many remarks are made upon the sphere invented by Archimedes, most probably the archetype of the modern error. The topics of physical science are, indeed, most whimsically selected; and we might be induced to suspect that they were thrust in for the sole purpose of exhibiting the extent and variety of the Author's attainments. At length, however, the subject-matter of the discourse is introduced, by means of a transition equally ingenious and natural. 'How is it,' asks Lælius, 'that the son of Lucius Paulus Scipio, a member of  
' so illustrious a family, a citizen of so glorious a republic,  
' should be occupied in idle investigations about the appearance of two suns in the heavens, and be wholly indifferent  
' about the more portentous appearance of two senates, I had  
' almost said, two nations in the same government? For ye  
' all know that the death of Tiberius Gracchus, and the whole  
' system of his tribuneship before his death, have split the  
' Roman people into two parties.' He then touches upon the factions and dissensions of the republic, and having admonished the youthful part of the company to dismiss their apprehensions of the prodigy which had been the subject of their late dis-

course,—telling them that these were matters beyond the reach of human knowledge, or that, if the knowledge of them could be obtained, it was not likely to make them either happier or better,—exhorts them to apply their minds to that branch of knowledge which may conduce to the reformation of the State, and convert a divided senate and a divided people into a stable and harmonious government. Then, in reply to their question as to the nature of the studies which would enable them to contribute towards so desirable an end, he replies :

‘ *Eas artes quæ efficiunt, ut usui civitati simus : id enim præclarissimum sapientiæ munus maximumque virtutis vel documentum vel officium puto. Quam ob rem ut hæ feræ nobis ad utilissimos rei publicæ sermones potissimum conferantur, Scipionem rogemus, ut explicet quem existimet optimum esse statum civitatis. Deinde alia quæremus : quibus cognitis, spero nos ad hæc ipsâ viâ perventuros, earumque rerum rationem quæ nunc instant, explicaturos.*’

Here, two leaves are wanting in the Vatican manuscript. Scipio probably urges some modest excuse for declining the arduous task which his friends imposed on him ; and they, in their turn, renewed their entreaties. For Lælius, when the manuscript continues, is explaining why he had pressed it upon Scipio. ‘ It was proper that the first man in the republic should be selected to discourse upon it. I recollect also,’ says Lælius, ‘ that you were often in the habit of conversing on political matters with Panætius and Polybius ; and I am moreover convinced that you will demonstrate by various examples and reasonings, the unrivalled excellence of that system of things which we have inherited from our fathers.’

Much of the first book is occupied with Scipio’s discourse upon the simple and elementary forms of government ; despotism, aristocracy, and the republican form. Having discussed, in a didactic mode, these several unmixed kinds, and avowed, in the person of Scipio, his predilection for that which should combine the advantages, and exclude the inconveniences of each, Cicero, in the second book, proceeds to that historical dissertation which we have already mentioned. His portraiture, purporting to be historical, is not, however, the less a fancy-piece. History was not then the art which it has since become. Of philosophical history, the ancients were ignorant. It was the agreeable narration of events, that they called by that name, and no pomp and circumstance were omitted to render that narration striking and imposing. To reveal the mysterious and hidden causes, the silent but unfailing influences, by which at one time states and empires are hurried on to their

highest aggrandizement, at another impelled rapidly to their downfall,—to deduce from facts collected, compared, combined, those reflections without which history is a romance to recreate an idle hour, rather than the school of wisdom and experience.—this seemed to them foreign from its aim and character. Tacitus himself, who, as Montesquieu has remarked, ‘*abrége tout parcequ’il voyait tout*,’ abundantly as he scatters his reflections, confines them chiefly to the picture immediately under his hand. We cannot trace in his luminous work, those latent principles of decay, which destroyed the liberty of Rome, and of that moral depravation which had so rapidly fitted her for the yoke, and rendered her so patient beneath its pressure. In Cicero’s time, the domestic history of the republic had scarcely any of the genuine features of that important branch of letters. In its character and its principle, it resembled rather those genealogical memoirs of particular families, compiled by some humble dependent, whose venal fancy is required to furnish the requisite supply of virtue and courage to illustrate it. In the period of Roman greatness, it was not enough that she should be then proud and prosperous; it was necessary to shew that she had been so from the beginning. The darkness, therefore, of her early annals was filled up by a celestial origin and a series of miraculous interpositions. All that tradition taught, or fiction feigned, was swallowed with the most unhesitating credulity. Accordingly, in the second book of the *De Republicâ*, those fictions so grateful to Roman vanity, are faithfully echoed. Not a word occurs of several events calculated to humble the pride of Rome, recorded in a later age by Livy, and alluded to by Tacitus; such as the actual taking of the city by Porsenna, and the state of absolute slavery to which the citizens were actually reduced during its captivity.

—‘*et quæ*

*Desperat tractata nitescere posse, relinquit.*’

If the historical portion of Cicero’s work be liable to this observation, will the political parts recompense the disappointment of the student? A tablet by so masterly a hand, of the civil institutions of his country, might well excite the most ardent expectations. The loss, therefore, of the greater portion of the other books cannot be too acutely lamented. Yet, this disappointment will be mitigated by recollecting, that the ancient writers philosophized too habitually on these subjects, and were too conversant with the elementary axioms of the science, to admit us into any satisfactory knowledge of the practice and daily routine of their governments. Writing for their contemporaries, to whom it was necessary to explain

nothing of what was passing under their eyes, and to whom the constitutions of the republic were perfectly familiar, they left but little to satisfy the curiosity of posterity and of foreigners. The great work of Livy leaves us in a state little better than ignorance upon many essential points in the Roman government; and it is to be presumed, that on these points, the treatise *De Republicâ*, had it reached us in its original integrity, would have been scarcely more satisfactory. How little, for example, do we know of the judicial proceedings of the republic, the appellate jurisdiction of the courts, the mode of supplying vacancies in the senate, the effect and extent of the plebiscitum, and various questions of a similar kind, which are likely to elude our curiosity for ever, because the writers of that day did not permit themselves to think that they could become obscure or doubtful.

It is fair also to remark, that, abounding with passages of consummate beauty, it is still the work of the orator, rather than the statesman. Comparing it with his letters to his friends, in which he unbosomed himself of all the practical knowledge which his active life had enabled him to store up, and disclosed so many of those state secrets which shew his comprehensive acquaintance with the less obvious operations of policy, and the more recondite mysteries of governing mankind through their favourite prepossessions and their ruling passions,—we might justly suspect that Cicero had reserved the esoteric doctrines of his political sect for a public dissertation, keeping back its abstruser maxims for private communication. In a word, the *De Republicâ*, as far as we are now enabled to judge by the additional fragments of it which have been brought to light by Sig. Maio, was intended as a rhetorical exhortation to that species of patriotism which is lighted up by animated pictures of the past deeds and elder institutions of our country;—a studied eulogy of ancient, by way of a more cutting reproof to later Rome, intended also, perhaps, as a skilful piece of flattery to the senate. It is certain, however, that upon the interior policy of Rome, it is wholly silent. By that interior policy, we mean the system which preserved her ascendancy, and secured the obedience of conquered countries; what, in one word, may be expressed by a modern phrase,—the *management* of the republic. Yet, while we are thus compelled to admit that it accords but faintly with the idea that would arise spontaneously in our imagination, of a political discourse from the pen of a great, an active, and a successful statesman, for many years of a stormy public life the leader of the republic, and for nearly the whole of it one of its first citizens; and while, in point of practical wisdom,—the application of facts to argument,

and the reciprocal application of argument to facts, a single speech of Demosthenes unfolds a polity more comprehensive, and views of expediency more enlarged and more fitted for the peculiar occasion which had arisen, than the whole work of the *De Republica*; (of whose entire plan, we now for the first time are enabled to judge;) admitting also, that it displays still less of that acute and penetrating philosophy which enabled Bossuet and Montesquieu, in a distant age, to unravel the secret operations of that wonderful state-craft which subdued the world, and made the world proud of its subjugation;—with all these admissions, the Vatican manuscript is an invaluable relic. In the first place, it is a more perfect copy of the work, than could have been ever calculated upon as likely to be snatched from the destroying grasp of time. It is also the depository of the thoughts and reflections of a philosopher and a politician, upon the most important interests of the human race, bequeathed as a legacy to his country in the most perilous crisis of her affairs. In short, it is an augmentation of those treasures of eloquence and reason, which are contained in the works of the greatest orator of antiquity. To close the subject, we have obtained, by the happy discovery of Sig. Maio, two hundred pages more of Cicero!

**Art. III. *Royal Memoirs on the French Revolution*: containing, 1. A Narrative of the Journey of Louis XVI. and his Family, to Varennes, by Madame Royale, Dutchess of Angouleme. 2. A Narrative of a Journey to Bruxelles and Coblenz, in 1791, by Monsieur, now Louis XVIII. 3. Private Memoirs of what passed in the Temple, from the Imprisonment of the Royal Family, to the Death of the Dauphin, by Madame Royale, Dutchess of Angouleme. 8vo. 9s. 6d. pp. 302. London. 1823.**

**WE** shall not detain our readers long with this volume, since the most interesting portions of it were several years ago translated and given to the public, and the more recent matter has run the round of the newspapers. The details, supplied by the Dutchess D'Angouleme, of the sufferings of her family and herself, are painfully interesting. They make up a tale of misery which, even in the instance of private individuals, would be considered as most severe; but when we take into the account, the strong contrast furnished by the previous circumstances of the royal victims, and the merciless aggravation with which their persecutors wantonly visited them, we have before us a scene of calamity to which we can find a parallel only in those extreme cases which stand out from the surface of history, as instances of intense and unmitigated wretchedness.



It may be made a question, whether the journey to Varennes was a wise or an imprudent hazard ; but there can be no difficulty in characterizing the conduct of the King and his friends as admirably adapted to render ineffectual a scheme which, in the main, seems to have been well adjusted. With the exception of the Swedish Count Fersen, scarcely one of the parties concerned seems to have conducted himself with coolness and self-possession ; and Louis, with his usual timidity of character, and his ingenious knack at always doing precisely the thing which he should have most carefully avoided, was the Marplot of the whole business. So gross was the mismanagement of the very first movements, that it is quite inconceivable to us, how the party succeeded in leaving the Tuilleries unperceived. The delay which occurred in consequence, had a disastrous effect on the subsequent events. The confidential agents stationed on the route, quitted their posts, most unaccountably neglecting to leave a trusty person to collect or to communicate information. When the King was arrested at Varennes, not one of the cavalry officers who had been stationed there by the Marquis de Bonillé, had sagacity enough to recollect that, since it was deemed inexpedient to employ immediate force, the only possible chance of escape lay in the presence of the Marquis himself, with an effective force, and that the only way of accomplishing this object, was by riding off to head-quarters without a moment's delay. There does not, in fact, appear to have been any real impediment to the complete success of the enterprise, even amid the difficulties which arose from the emulative blundering of nearly all the assistants, excepting the restless folly of the King, whose absurd exposure of his well-known features at St. Menchould, was the sole cause of ultimate failure. With the help of a little seasonable prudence, Monsieur, now Louis XVIII., and his companion, the Count D'Avaray, succeeded at the same time, though on a different road. His narrative of their adventures forms an amusing section of a melancholy tale. We cannot, however, compliment the discretion which dictated the publication, since, though it exhibits his Majesty in the light of a gay and amiable person, it does not display his character as a man of feeling and reflection under an equally favourable aspect. Joyful for his own escape, he seems to have been but little annoyed by anxieties respecting the other members of his family, but very much so by the privations to which his appetite was constrained to submit. The prospect of a bad supper was little less formidable than the danger of arrest ; and his grief for the failure of his relatives, ' follows hard upon' his rapture at the unexpected discovery of a cask of Burgundy.

The volume is closed by an interesting document, the report of the Conventional Commissioner Harmand, appointed to investigate the condition and treatment of the son of Louis XVI. then confined in the Temple. The sketch of his life is worth citing.

‘ Few men, even in the Revolution, have suffered greater vicissitudes of fortune than J. B. Harmand, the author of the following paper. He was of a respectable family, and an advocate at the bar before the Revolution. In 1792, he was elected to the Convention, where he voted for the *exile* of the king, which was equivalent under the circumstances to a vote of acquittal. Though he sat on the Mountain, he was really a *modéré*, not to say a royalist. After the fall of Robespierre, he became a member of the Committee of Public Safety, in which capacity he made an official visit to Louis XVII., which is the subject of the following narrative.

‘ Harmand became a member of the Council of Ancients and secretary of that body: he was afterwards elected to the Council of Five Hundred, and when the accession of Bonaparte began to produce a regular government, M. Harmand was appointed Prefect of a Department, and created successively a member of the Legion of Honour, and a Baron of the Empire. He, however, does not seem to have been a more cordial partisan of the Usurpation, than he was of the Revolution; for he seems to have been deprived of his Prefecture, and reduced to an obscure and severe, but not dishonourable poverty. In 1814, he published a pamphlet on the treatment of the Royal Family in the Temple, of which the following report is an extract; but the sale of this work was too feeble a resource, and towards the end of 1815, this man—who had sat in all the legislatures of regenerated France—whose character and talents were always respectable—who held for a moment the fate of the Royal Family in his hands—who was governor of one of the most important departments of his country, and finally decorated with stars and titles of nobility—~~this man~~ was found in December, 1815, starving of cold and hunger in the streets of Paris, and lived only to be conveyed to the public hospital.

‘ The report itself is extremely interesting, particularly on account of the firmness and sensibility evinced in the steady silence of the unfortunate child.’ pp. 288—9.

We confess ourselves quite unable to perceive any thing of the ‘ firmness and sensibility’ which are so obvious to the Editor. The commissioners found the poor child amusing himself with constructing ‘ houses’ and ‘ trunks and boxes’ with playing cards, nor did their entrance induce him to desist from his occupation. He paid no attention to their motions; but, when they addressed him personally, proposing exercise and recreation, and offering him his choice of toys and sweetmeats, he looked at them ‘ with an amazing fixedness, denoting the most ‘ utter indifference.’ When grapes were set before him, he ate them readily; but to every question he listened with the same

fixed, attentive gaze, without returning a syllable in reply. When *commanded*, he obeyed; but, when requested, he took no notice of the appeal. He betrayed no surprise at any of the proceedings, but preserved to the close the same unbroken silence, and the same unperturbed tranquillity.

‘ I have stated,’ says M. Harmand, ‘ that the motive to which the commissaries attributed the obstinate silence of the Prince was, his having been forced by Simon to give evidence against his mother and his aunt. I inquired of them, in the ante-room, whether that silence really began on the day upon which that atrocious violence had compelled him to sign the odious and absurd deposition against the Queen. They repeated their assertions on that point, and protested that the Prince had *not spoken since the evening of that day!*

‘ My colleagues and I agreed, that, for the honour of the nation, which was ignorant of these unhappy circumstances—for that of the Convention, which, indeed, knew them not, but which ought to have known them—and for that even of the criminal Municipality of Paris, which knew all, and which caused all these evils,—we should confine ourselves to the ordering some steps of temporary alleviation (which were immediately carried into effect); and that we should not make a report in public, but in a secret committee; and it was so done.’ pp. 300—302.

Now, admitting the correctness of all these particulars, as well as of the specific period assigned to the commencement of this remarkable silence, we can see nothing in any of the circumstances to justify the inference, that they were the result of a self-imposed penance, or of a high-minded resolution. The impassive look and the uninterested and unanxious behaviour of the child; his infantine employment; his readiness to partake of dainties; his obedience to command;—all these seem the effect of a mind weakened to idiotcy by a long course of brutal treatment, rather than the consequence of heroic and unalterable resolve. We are not, however, quite satisfied of the entire correctness of these statements. We are unable to perceive the expediency of M. Harmand’s reserve ‘ for the honour’ of the criminal municipality of Paris,—a corporation of ruffians without a single redeeming or mitigating quality to shield their memory from universal execration; nor can we understand how a fact which must have been known to so many individuals, could remain a profound secret from 1795 to 1814.

The notes which the Translator has appended to the text, afford much useful explanation, but they occasionally display a very absurd spirit of Bourbonism, and are sometimes amusingly fantastic in their admiration of words and phrases apparently insignificant.

**Art. IV. *Letters on the State of Christianity in India* : in which the Conversion of the Hindoos is considered as impracticable, &c. By the Abbé J. A. Dubois, Missionary in Mysore. London. 1823.**

*(Concluded from Page 310.)*

**W**E have already adduced sufficient proof that the assertions of the *present* Abbé Dubois, cannot be in the slightest degree depended upon. But still, the reputation he enjoys as a learned, though not an honest man, may lead to the supposition, that his testimony is of some weight at least with regard to the Oriental versions. The ‘literal translation of the Canada Version of Gen. I.,’ which the Abbé has given, not without note or comment, in the Letters before us, has made an unfavourable impression even on persons well disposed to the cause of Christianity in India. It is prefaced with the following letter to J. S. Esq. which is too characteristic to be omitted.

‘ My dear Sir,

‘ In my last I informed you, that I would take the first moments of leisure I could spare, to give you my opinion on the printed *Canada* translation of the first four chapters of the book of *Genesis*, which you did me the honour to submit to my criticism. I have thought that the best way of performing this task, was to send you a literal translation into English from the *Canada* version, in order that you may be able to judge of the merits of the latter yourself; you will see from the accompanying translated chapter, that there is scarcely a single verse in that version, which may be said to have been accurately translated, and that in several instances the meaning of the text is perverted or materially changed.

‘ If you entertain suspicions as to the genuineness of my translation, as there are, I suppose, Brahmin writers in your office, acquainted with both languages, you can show them both the *Canada* version, and my English translation, and I trust that they will do justice to the correctness of the latter.

‘ The other chapters are equally incorrect, both as to the meaning and the style. The latter has appeared so low and so ludicrous, to several natives of good sense, whom I desired to peruse the whole attentively, that they all expressed themselves with marks of contempt and disgust at such a performance; and they all agreed in saying, that if it were intended to render the Christian religion for ever contemptible and odious to the pagan Hindoos, there were no surer means to attain this end, than to exhibit to them our sacred records under such a despicable garb.

‘ I have been so thoroughly disgusted in going through the translation of the first chapter, that I beg you will excuse me the trouble of translating the three others. For I cannot disguise to you, that as a most sincere believer in the divine origin of our Holy Scriptures,

I cannot help experiencing the most distressing feelings of indignation, when I see those sublime books, the sacred word of God himself, so basely, so shamefully, so sacrilegiously defaced, debased, and perverted, and held out under such a shape to the very enemies of our holy religion, as the pure word of God.

‘ If one of the many proofs of our holy books being of divine origin, be derived from their intrinsical worth, from their noble, inimitable, and majestic simplicity, there is, alas! on the other hand, but too much reason to fear, that the Hindoos will form a directly opposite judgment on the subject, when they behold the ludicrous, vulgar, and almost unintelligible style of the versions at present circulated among them; and that even the most reasonable and best disposed, in beholding our Holy Scriptures under such a contemptible shape, so far from looking upon them as the word of God, will on the contrary be strongly impelled to consider them as forgeries of some obscure, ignorant, and illiterate individual, and of course a downright imposture.

‘ It is, however, to execute such performances, (for the Tamoul and Telinga versions, parts of which I have also perused, have not appeared to me superior to this,) that public credulity in Europe is imposed upon, and immense sums of money are subscribed.

‘ You may rest persuaded, that all those *soi-disant* translations will soon find their way to the bazar streets, to be sold there, as waste paper, to the country grocers, for the purpose of wrapping their drugs in them; and indeed, in my humble opinion, they are fit for nothing else.

‘ I express to you my sentiments on the subject with candour, and without hypocrisy, as you have requested me so to do, and I am ready fearlessly to express the same, in the presence of the Bible Society itself, and of all the universities in Europe; for my opinion, (let them give it the appellation of prejudice, of ignorance, or obstinacy, it is the same to me,) being grounded on an inward conviction, the result of a long and attentive experience, is unalterable.

‘ I remain, &c. &c.

‘ 11th June, 1821.’

The first thing which struck us, on perusing this letter, was the mysteriousness of the circumstance mentioned—how J. S. should obtain possession of the first four chapters of Genesis in the printed Canara Version, when no such version was to be found enumerated among either the Serampore translations, up to the date of the above Letter,—or among the versions circulated by the Bible Society. A passage, however, in the Report of the Directors of the London Missionary Society for 1822, will probably furnish the key. It is there stated, that the *Canara* Version, (which is what the Abbé terms the *Canada*) of the New Testament was finished, and that ‘ that of the Pentateuch by Mr. Reeve, in a *revised* state, had been submitted to the Committee of the Madras Auxiliary Bible So-

ciety.' 'Printed specimens,' it is added, 'of this translation, containing the first three chapters of Genesis, had been transmitted to several Canarese scholars, and approbatory testimonials returned. The rest of the Pentateuch was to undergo a similar examination, and a Committee of Revision had been appointed to superintend the same.' So then, it would seem that this 'printed Canara translation,' which the Abbé holds up as a specimen of the approved versions circulated by the Bible Society, has never yet been either printed or finished; that only a few chapters of an *unrevised* version, had been privately circulated for the express purpose of inviting criticism, and ascertaining the merits of the execution; and that it was proposed to submit every part of the Pentateuch to this critical examination, before the work was proceeded in. Accordingly, in the Report of the Directors of the above mentioned Society, for 1823, unexpected and unavoidable difficulties are stated to have delayed the progress of this Canara Version; and Mr. Hands, the Missionary stationed at Bellary, to whom we are indebted for the Canarese Testament, is said to be engaged in a revision of Mr. Reeve's translation of the Pentateuch. Thus, the very circumstance which the Abbé Dubois has attempted malignantly to turn against the Oriental Missionaries, affords only a fresh illustration of the laudable caution and indefatigable diligence with which they are prosecuting their invaluable labours.

Was it an offence that one of these printed specimens was not transmitted by the Missionaries to the Abbé Dubois? We can only suppose that he does not rank, in the East, among Canarese scholars. He talks very roundly about what a 'Hindoo scholar' must think of such a performance; but a Hindoo scholar is a phrase almost as unmeaning as would be a European scholar,—unless we are to understand by it a learned Hindoo. But where will be found a Hindoo learned in all the sixty languages of Hindocstan! \* A 'Hindoo scholar.

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\* 'A good observer,' says the Abbé Dubois in the preface to his former volume, 'will remark, under all general points of resemblance, as much difference between a Tamul and a Telinga, between a Canara and a Mahrata, as one would perceive, in Europe, between an Englishman and a Frenchman, an Italian and a German. There are some countries in India, peopled from time immemorial by different nations, who, though mixed together in the same province, and even in the same district, still preserve their distinct language, character and national spirit. On the Malabar coast, for example, within a space of forty or fifty leagues from North to South, from Telicherry to Onore or to Nagara, there are no less than five different nations



to deserve that name, ought to be versed in at least ten alphabets and thirty dialects. The Abbé Dubois has probably acquired some knowledge of the Canarese, as well as of the Tamul and the Telinga. To these three languages of the Peninsula, we have reason to believe that his learning is confined; since in his "Description," there occur no distinct traces of his having had access to any other native sources of information, than these supply. The 'Hindu Tales' and 'Fables' which are there given, are such as 'have passed,' he says, 'into the Tamul, Canara, and Telinga languages.' The vague manner, however, in which he expresses himself, both in these Letters, and in the former work, on the subject of Hindoo literature, is very unlike an accomplished philologist. That the Tamul and Telinga versions 'have not appeared' to him superior to the Canara specimen, is a very unsatisfactory mode of speaking for a man to adopt, who had really had an opportunity of examining them. The fact is, that the Penta-teuch and the New Testament only, have as yet been finished in the latter; while the Tamul Version is not one of the Serampore Translations. If this learned Frenchman had known any thing about the matter, he would have been aware that the 'performance' was not one for which either the Missionaries or the British and Foreign Bible Society are responsible. In the Sixteenth Report of that Society, there will be found, among the documents given in the Appendix, a report from the Corresponding Committee in Bengal, who state that

'With reference to the Tamul Bible, the Society has already been informed, that a revision of the Version printed by Fabricius, had been undertaken by the Rev. Mr. Rhenius and Dr. Rottler at Madras. That revision, as far as it has been examined by competent persons on the Coast, having been pronounced a great improvement of the original work, the Committee resolved that the Book of Genesis should be printed at Madras for general circulation; and that, if the revised Version should be found generally acceptable, after the ex-

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peopling that small territory; and all of them appear to have been settled there upwards of a thousand years. These five nations are, *the Nairs or Naimars, the Kurga or Kudagu, the Tuluva, the Kaunguni, and the Canara*. These are not merely names of casts, as might be supposed, but they distinguish five different nations...and each has its peculiar language, by which it is as much discriminated, as by its national customs, spirit, and character.' This information is in itself curious; and it will shew that, in selecting the *Canada version* for his animadversions, the Abbé has not been influenced by its comparative importance, in reference either to Hindoo literature, or to the population who speak that language.



periment had been sufficiently made, it may be followed by an entire edition of the Sacred Scriptures in that language.' p. 163.

Here we perceive marks of the same exemplary caution on the part of the Society, extending to their adoption of existing versions. If the Abbé Dubois had any criticisms to offer on either the Tamul Bible of Fabricius, or the Telinga New Testament of the Serampore Missionaries, they would be thankfully received as the contributions of a scholar to the cause of Oriental literature, to say nothing of Christianity. But we cannot avoid suspecting, either that he has never seen either of the Versions in question, or that he did not feel competent to the task. Nor is it a little singular, that he should altogether have passed over the Canarese New Testament, to the accuracy and idiomatic propriety of which, testimony is borne by a learned Brahmin named Menachaya, in a letter to the Rev. Mr. Thompson, of Madras, printed in the same Report. To a Canarese scholar, such a production, whatever were its imperfections, must, one would think, have been interesting. Had the Abbé, then, never seen it? Or are we to understand from his silence, that it would not have suited his purpose to notice it?

It is scarcely worth while to examine the Abbé's 'literal translation' of the specimen in question. Many of his criticisms are frivolous in the extreme; and it must be obvious to every intelligent reader, that the test of a literal rendering is not a fair one; since the more idiomatic a version, the less susceptible must it be of being literally rendered back into English. Every scholar knows that the effect of a literal translation of any one of the Hebrew Psalms, would be, to a mere English reader, perplexing, if not ludicrous. Let us suppose that the merits of the Latin Vulgate were submitted to this test: what could be more barbarous than a literal translation into English of some passages in it? We need not, indeed, put this in the form of a supposition. The Roman Catholic authorized Version of the New Testament, commonly called the Rhemish Testament, is from the Vulgate. The following are a few specimens, taken at random, of this *literal* translation.

'Take heed that you do not your justice before men.' (Matt. vi. 1.) 'Give us this day our supersubstantial bread.' (ch. vi. 11.) 'He that is the lesser in the kingdom of heaven,' &c. (ch. xi. 11.) 'Then began he to upbraid the cities wherein were done the most of his miracles, for that they had not done penance.' (ch. xi. 20.) 'They eat bread with common hands.' (Mark vii. 6.) 'He travelled through the cities and towns preaching and evangelizing the kingdom of God.' (Luke viii. 1.) 'And it was the parasceve of the Pasch.' (John xix. 14.) 'There was given me a sting of the flesh, an angel of Satan to buffet

me... My grace is sufficient for thee, for power is made perfect in infirmity.' (2 Cor. xii. 7—9.) 'Of whom all paternity in heaven and earth is named.' (Eph. iii. 15.) 'All things are naked and open to his eyes, to whom our speech is.' (Heb. iv. 13.) 'By faith Jacob dying blessed each of the sons of Joseph; and adored the top of his rod.' (ch. xi. 21.)

Now, what would the Abbé Dubois say, were we to hold up these passages, embellished with pithy notes, as a specimen of that venerable Translation of the Scriptures, of which the Church of Rome claims to be both the appointed guardian and the authorized interpreter,—that immaculate Vulgate which the Council of Trent decreed to be more authentic than the Original Hebrew and Greek? But, in this case, the literal translation is not our *ad libitum* rendering: it is the one 'published' by authority and diligently compared with the original Greek. Might we not, with equal reason, exclaim with indignation at having the sacred word of God so basely, so shamefully, so sacrilegiously defaced, debased, and perverted? We defy the Abbé to point out a single error or impropriety in the Canara Version, as translated by himself, half so gross as some of the above passages exhibit; more especially the last.

We have not, however, adduced these specimens merely as an *argumentum ad hominem*, but to shew how unfair is the test of a literal rendering, applied to a translation; more especially when the idiom of the respective languages is widely different. Considering all the difficulties with which our Missionaries have to contend, in accommodating, for the first time, the vernacular idioms of pagan India to Scriptural ideas, we cannot but regard this very specimen of the Canarese Version, disguised as it is in the Abbé's literal translation, as in the highest degree creditable to the pious and laborious young man who has accomplished it. Some of the phrases marked as exceptionable by his learned Critic, it would seem to us impossible to mend. The compound word *Dewer-attma*, for instance, employed by Mr. Reeve to express "the Spirit of God," in Gen. i. 2. is translated by the Abbé, '*God's soul*.' He adds:

'This expression is different from the "spirit" (*spiritus*) of Scripture, and must convey to a man unacquainted with the Scriptural style, the idea of a corporeal being, composed of a soul and a body.'

Admirable critic! The *spiritus* of Scripture! What would he have said, had the Version been in this place closely modelled on the Hebrew original, in which the word is *רוח ruach*, denoting wind, breath, as well as spirit, and corresponding to the Greek *πνευμα*? Some Biblical critics have contended, that 'a mighty wind' is the sense of the passage. But this at least is

clear ; that a Canarese word answering to the original, or even to the *spiritus* of the Abbé's 'Scripture,' must have been capable of being *literally* rendered breath. That is to say, Mr. Rees had clearly no other alternative, than either to adopt the word signifying the immaterial principle in man—the soul, in composition with the word God, or, to take a word signifying literally wind or breath, answering to the Hebrew *ruach*, and employ it in a sense wholly foreign from any ideas hitherto connected with it by the natives. That he has chosen the best mode of rendering, will, we think, not be questioned. It is observable, that the Abbé does not hint at any better word, and the reason is obvious. Before a language could be made to express the precise idea conveyed by *spirit*, as distinguished from *soul*, in the sacred Scriptures, it must already have become the vehicle of those clearer conceptions which it is the object of religion and philosophy to impart. Such distinctions existing in a language, indicate a high degree of previous intellectual cultivation. The process by which the expression of such ideas is arrived at, is always by the metaphorical use of words primarily denoting physical objects. In proportion, then, as this metaphorical language obtains, a literal translation fails to convey its import : because, taken literally, the word employed to denote an abstract idea, (as for instance the word *πνευμα*,) will still retain its original sense (e. g. breath). But when the abstract idea which a Translator has to express, does not exist in the minds of the natives—has not yet been arrived at by any process of thought, and has consequently never occasioned the metaphorical use of any simple form of expression to be resorted to, one of three things he must do : either leave the word untranslated, which is sometimes advisable, but cannot be continually done without defeating the object ; employ a simple word in a new sense, which would endanger misconception ; or adopt an expression *not strictly proper*, such as the one before us, (God's soul,) but coming the nearest to the new idea which it is sought to express.

Among the expressions marked as 'mere interpolations,' or as 'words whose meaning *materially* differs from that of the 'text,' in the Abbé's literal translation, are several which display on his part an almost incredible fatuity. For instance : 'to govern the day and to govern the night,' (ver. 16.) are printed in italics as instances of mistranslation ; the word in the English Bible being, 'to rule.' 'And be in great numbers in the water of (the) sea : all birds multiply on the earth'—are marked in the same manner. Our readers will perceive, on turning to Gen. i. 22, that this reading is identical in meaning with the Common Version, but better expressed. 'Overcome' the earth—

another word printed in italic as 'materially differing' from the text: our text has 'subdue.' 'He created him *having the figure of God*,' (ver. 27.) is stigmatized as a 'blasphemous expression.' The reader will recollect that the *expression* is the *abbé's own*. The word in the English text is, "in the image of God." Now if the Canarese afforded a word more specifically signifying *image*, than that which the Abbé has been pleased to render *figure*, it would clearly have been *less* eligible, because it would have suggested more strongly the idea of a material likeness. But here again, he does not hint at there being any more proper word which could be substituted for the one employed by Mr. Reeve; and it is obvious, that the shades of difference between the words *form—figure—image*, are such as arise purely from our acquired associations. We have no doubt that the Canarese word which the Abbé renders *figure*, might with equal fidelity have been rendered *image*. If so, the charge of blasphemy returns upon the critic's head, for it is the language of Scripture.

Our readers will now be able to appreciate the competency of this learned Orientalist to criticise the performances of the aptist Missionaries. His contempt, and disgust, and distressing indignation at their base and sacrilegious proceedings, will be estimated accordingly. He has anticipated the only terms which such conduct as his can be characterized—'prejudice, ignorance, obstinacy.' But this is not the worst of his offending. On the strength of *this one chapter* of an unrevised, unpublished version of the Scriptures into a language never before attempted by a Biblical translator, and spoken only in a confined district,—this one chapter, which was actually submitted, as a specimen, for the purpose of soliciting critical commendation, and which, with a baseness peculiar, we would suppose, to the Author of these Letters, is thus held up to ridicule;—the strength of this one chapter does the Abbé affirm, that 'all the *soi-disant* translations' circulated in India by the Bible Society, are fit for nothing but waste paper, being but positions on the public credulity in Europe. We question whether the annals of literature could furnish a parallel instance of unprincipled effrontery. And yet there are good people in this country, who shake their heads when they hear that such and such is the opinion of a learned Abbé, a Missionary too, who has spent no fewer than thirty-two years in India, in the benevolent attempt to promote the cause of Christianity among the poor Hindoos. Surely, *he* must know the truth of what he affirms. The Abbé has presumed on this thing in his favour, but he has over-shot his mark. He has only proved that a man may spend thirty years in India to no

good purpose ; that he may come home, after that period, very little more learned, and much less honest than he went. Or not one of the Serampore translations which he thus audaciously characterizes as worthless, is he competent to form an opinion. With the exception of the Telinga and the Canara, he is not, we have every reason to believe, critically acquainted with a single one of the languages to which the labours of the Missionaries have been directed. By these estimable men, whose achievements have excited the admiration of all the learned in Europe, *the whole Bible* has now been finished at press, in the Sungskrit or Sanscrit, the Bengalee, the Orissa, the Hindee, the Mahratta, and the Chinese. The Pentateuch and the New Testament have been finished and printed in the Kunkuna, the Sikh, the Telinga, and the Afghan or Pushtoo. And the New Testament is either finished or in the press, in the Goojeratee, the Assamese, the Mooltanee (or Wutch), the Bikanere, the Kashmere, the Harotee, the Bhugulkhund, the Marawar, the Kunoja, the Nepalee, the Kurnata (Canara), the Oojein (or Oojjuvinee), the Khassee, the Bruj, the Jumboo, the Munipoor, the Mugudh, the Bhutneer, the Shreenngur (or Gurwal), the Kumaoon, and the Palpa. But says the Abbé Dubois :

‘ This brilliant success has not in the least dazzled me, nor altered my opinion, or diminished my scepticism on the entire inadequacy of such means to enlighten the pagans, or to gain them over to Christianity ; and I would not certainly dare to warrant, that these twenty *spurious* versions, with some of which I am acquainted, will, after the lapse of the same number of years, have operated the conversion of twenty-four pagans.’

He had before said, that ‘ a literal translation of the Holy Scriptures into any of these dialects, is *impracticable*.’ Now, having ‘ learned with some surprise,’ that this impracticable thing had been accomplished, he says, that it has not altered his opinion, because these versions are *spurious* and *useless*. Their inutility is quite another matter ; they have been executed ; and whether they are *spurious* or not, the Abbé Dubois cannot tell, because he is *not* acquainted with them. But thus sagaciously he argues :

‘ It is a well known fact, that when England separated herself from the church of Rome, not finding the Version of the *Vulgate*, till then used, sufficiently exact, the first care of her reformers was to procure a translation of the whole Bible, from the original Hebrew into English. In consequence, one was produced with great trouble, in the reign of the young king Edward the Sixth ; but this version, on a close investigation, proving abundant in errors, was finally laid aside, and a second undertaken in the reign of queen Elizabeth. This also

could not withstand criticism, and was found, on the whole, very incorrect and defective; a third version was therefore begun in the reign of James the First, which (if I am not mistaken) is that now used and approved by the established church. In order to render this as exact and correct as it was possible, the best scholars to be found in the kingdom were employed in the execution of it, and it is well known that this version, carried on by the joint labours of so many learned persons, took up a period of about sixteen years, for its completion; and yet modern criticism has found many errors and mistakes in it, although obtained by so much trouble and care.

‘ Now, if even in Europe, with all the assistance that learned translators were enabled to obtain, from enlightened criticism, &c., it proved so difficult, and required such great labours to obtain a genuine version of this work, what are we to think of the project of five or six individuals, who, without the assistance of any criticism whatever, suppose themselves able to execute genuine translations into intricate languages, with which they, after all, can possess only an imperfect acquaintance?’ pp. 36, 7.

‘ About twenty-five years ago, the French missionaries, in the province of Sutchuen in China, were earnestly requested by the congregation *De Propaganda Fide* at Rome, to translate the Gospel into Chinese, and send a copy to them. The missionaries answered, that as the Chinese language did not admit of a literal translation, they had, a long time before, compiled a work in Chinese, containing the history and moral of the Gospel, for the use of their congregations, and that nothing more could be satisfactorily executed on the subject; yet, as the request was urgent, they prepared, with the assistance of their best informed proselytes, a translation of the gospel of St. Matthew, a copy of which they sent to Rome, informing, at the same time, the congregation *De Propaganda*, that the translation of this gospel alone, obtained with the assistance of many well-educated natives, had cost them considerable labour and trouble; adding, that this literal translation differed so widely from the Chinese style, that even their converts could hardly refrain from laughing in perusing it.

‘ Now, it is not a little curious to observe that what European missionaries, who had passed the greatest part of their lives in China, judged next to impossible to execute even with the assistance of many well-educated natives, an unassisted Armenian, of the name of *Lassar*, at Serampore, should imagine himself able to perform; and it is not only the translation of a single gospel he has undertaken,—the whole Bible literally translated by this individual has been emphatically promised by the missionaries to the curiosity of the public.’

pp. 39—41.

We wish not to multiply charges of ignorance or wilful misrepresentation against this unfortunate man: we shall content ourselves with briefly supplying the corrections of his mis-statements. His whole history of the English Bible is wrong. It is doubtful, whether there was any translation or correction of a translation, in the reign of King Edward.



Eleven impressions of the Bible, and six of the New Testament, were published in the course of his short reign ; but they were mere reprints of the preceding editions of Tindal, Coverdale, Cranmer, &c. The Geneva Bible, of which above thirty editions were published between the years 1560 and 1616, mostly printed by the Queen's and King's printer, occupied the unremitting labour and study of Bishop Coverdale and his illustrious fellow-exiles, for *two years*. This translation was superseded in the churches, though it continued to be more read in private houses, by "The Bishops' Bible," undertaken by royal command, and completed in 1568. King James's Bible was undertaken at the suggestion of the Puritans in the Hampton Court Conference, on the ground of the exceptions to which the Bishops' Bible was open ; but the Translators were directed to follow this as closely as possible, to alter it as little as the original would permit, and, when they departed from it, to use the previous translations, if they agreed better with the text ; viz. Tyndal's, Coverdale's, Mathewe's, Whitchurch's, and the Geneva. This revision, (for, though King James's Translators collated the text with Hebrew and Greek exemplars, it cannot be strictly termed a new version,) was commenced in the Spring of 1607, and was published in 1611. But, instead of taking up *sixteen years*, as our blundering Abbé affirms, the translation was completed in less than *three* ; the intermediate time between its completion and publication, being occupied with the critical examination of the copy, and the conducting it through the press.

After this exhibition of his historical learning, the Abbé proceeds to affirm that the Serampore Missionaries suppose themselves able to execute their task without the assistance of any criticism whatever. Before we proceed to shew the falsehood of this charge, we would just remark, that the present advanced state of Biblical criticism, and the collective labours of their predecessors, give the Oriental Missionaries, in common with every other labourer in the same field, an immense advantage over King James's Translators. Nor have they been sparing of expense in furnishing their library with the choicest stores of European Biblical literature. Of their solicitude to procure all the assistance they can, towards the improvement and completion of the Versions they are preparing, the following advertisement, copied from "*The Friend of India*," (a monthly publication printed at Serampore,) will be a sufficient and satisfactory proof.

August, 1818.

' In the beginning of this month was finished at press, the New Testament in the *Pushtoo* and the *Kunkun* languages, under the



superintendence of the Missionaries at Serampore. The Pushtoo version was seven years in the press. This language is spoken by a nation of the Affghans, beyond the Indus, who have been by me supposed to be descended from the ten tribes carried away by Salmanaser. It is printed in the Arabic character, and contains 2 octavo pages. The *Kunkun* is spoken on the western coast of India from Bombay to Goa. It is printed in the Nagree character, and contains 706 pages. It has been about five years in the press. The Missionaries will esteem it a favour if any gentlemen acquainted with these languages, will examine either of these versions of the New Testament, and favour them with corrections and emendations, in a view to a second and improved edition. The following are points to which they would particularly request their attention.

They should feel greatly obliged if any one would examine the whole, and compare it with that of other books in the language, the style of which is allowed to be good. In doing this, it will be useful to avoid general observations, which, however easily made, are of no service in the improvement of a version; one observation drawn from critical knowledge, and supported by authorities brought forward in works of repute, contributing more to illustrate the true nature of any language or dialect, than a thousand general observations, supported by examples.

They also beg such as are sufficiently acquainted with these languages, kindly to examine the Construction, and to point out particular instances wherein they think it improper; in doing which, it will be of great utility to adduce examples of a different and superior style of construction, drawn either from valuable works or from critical observation.

They further intreat that gentlemen will examine the rendering of Particular Passages, and kindly instance such as may appear to be inadequate, or obscure. In doing this, they beg leave to press the still more urgent necessity of adducing *emendatory* passages and phrases, which they trust will appear evident when it is considered, that in the New Testament particularly, there must be many ideas which are almost wholly new in these languages; it can scarcely be expected, that in dialects as yet so little cultivated, there should be found all those terms in divinity which the Greek language furnished in such abundance. Many phrases and terms, therefore, must be created for the occasion, or accommodated as nearly as possible; and hence, though a term may be used, if we would express the idea, it must still be retained, if a better can be found. Important service will, therefore, be rendered by any gentleman's suggesting terms or phrases more accurate, or better understood, in the room of any which may now be objectionable, as by this method a number may be brought forward from which a selection may be made to the highest advantage. It may be hoped, that by this course, should those who are best qualified thus kindly contribute their aid, the various versions of the Scriptures in the languages of India, may ultimately be brought to a considerable degree of perfection.

of the words are previously understood, as well as the idiom and construction, must be great indeed. When this is effected, however, translator and his native assistant are quite at home together: as the knowledge which the one possesses of the text, and the other of the niceties of his own vernacular idiom, are rendered mutually available till each be put in possession of both; the native assistant ultimately gaining a clear idea of the meaning of the original work, and the translator becoming at length critically acquainted with the niceties of the language in which the version is given.

‘Nor can it escape notice, that the advantage of employing at once eighteen or twenty pundits, most of them acquainted with Sanskrit, and all of them with several of the cognate languages of India beside their own, will by no means appear trifling, when considered in its influence on the accuracy of the translation. Among these cognate languages which they understood beside their own, was always the Bengalee or the Hindee, which enabled them from the beginning to converse with each other and with the European translator in the readiest manner. This not only enabled each of them to read with ease that version of the New Testament which he chiefly used in preparing his rough draught for examination; but it gave them an opportunity of consulting each other relative to any passage or phrase the meaning of which they might not fully comprehend. It must be obvious too, that as among the number of pundits thus constantly sitting together to examine the literal meaning of the Scriptures, three or four have had many years’ experience in works of this nature, these could not be without their value. When to this is added, the examination of each sentence with the European Translator acquainted with the real text, at which every one of these pundits must have been individually present, and present alone, it must almost of necessity follow, that the advantages afforded for a correct version through a number of pundits thus conferring together and mutually assisting each other, must be greater than those which can be enjoyed by any person wholly new to the work, who may have to begin with any one of the cognate languages of India.

‘Such an assemblage of pundits learned in the various languages of India, afforded also advantages for ascertaining the correctness of versions when made, which are not easily met with elsewhere. Each of those who carefully perused another version for the sake of ascertaining the exact meaning of every passage, became a more unexceptionable witness to its accuracy or its incorrectness, than any native can possibly be who cursorily examines only a few passages. While the latter can do little more than testify to the correctness of the idiom and the general perspicuity of the language, the pundit, after spending month after month in examining it in order to obtain the literal meaning of each sentence for practical purposes, is a voucher for the accuracy of the rendering in a way that no native beside can be, till he become acquainted with the original text, or at least obtain a very thorough knowledge of the Scriptures in some other way. As it is impossible that any one of these pundits could guess beforehand what sense the European translator might wish him

wherein the discrepancy was very great, as for example, the Chinese, the Telinga, and the Kurnata, nearly twelve were given. It is, however, a fact, that above three-fourths of the words in most of the secondary cognate languages were understood in all their bearings through the Sungskrit, the Bengalee, and Hindee, before those secondary languages were begun; and in some of them, even seven-eighths of the words, to say nothing of the construction, the idiom, and the usual figures of speech, in which there is little variation throughout the whole of the Indian family. Hence it is easy to see, that if the translation of the New Testament into Bengalee, a language entirely new, and in which the meaning and force of every word ~~was~~ to be acquired before it could be duly applied, was completed in seven years alone, that of comparing and judging relative to the accuracy of one in which the meaning and force of at least three-fourths of the words were already familiar, must have been an easy task for seven years.

‘ This idea will be strengthened when we consider, that in these succeeding versions, the object of examination was almost solely the accurate rendering of each passage, it being evident that however wide of the actual meaning a sensible pundit might be who made the rough draft for examination, he could not pen a line without doing it in the construction and idiomatic phraseology of the language with which he had been familiar from his earliest infancy. Of this any one may convince himself by only reflecting, that were a native of Britain, thoroughly acquainted with the English language and imperfectly so with French, to attempt translating a French work into English, he might probably make some mistakes in the meaning of his French author, unless he had a person by him to consult from time to time thoroughly acquainted with his meaning; but of course the language of what he thus translated, would be perfectly English in its construction and idiom. On the other hand, were a native of France thoroughly acquainted with the same author and imperfectly skilled in English, to undertake to clothe him in an *English* dress, his knowledge of his author would not prevent his blundering in his English construction, possibly in every sentence. The difference between the two translations therefore would be, that although the English translator, imperfectly acquainted with his French author, might have mistaken his meaning perhaps once or twice in a page, his translation where he had not, would be perspicuous, spirited, and perfectly English in its construction; while the French translator’s English version of him would be so bald and stiff in its construction, if not so inadequate in its meaning, that it would be little more than the shadow of his original. Such is really the difference between a sensible and learned native’s sitting down with a person perfectly acquainted with his text, to make a rough draft of his author for examination in his own vernacular tongue, and a person’s doing it to whom the idiom and construction, as well as the words which compose the language, are altogether foreign.

‘ It will also strike the reflecting mind, that the ease with which the remaining part of any language can be acquired, when three-fourths

to find in the version he examines, (for this would have been equivalent to guessing in nearly every instance the exact meaning of the original,) it must follow that the meaning he brought out of each passage, and expressed in his own rough draught, was precisely the meaning he found in that version; and this, brought to the European translator, enabled him at once to judge of the merits of the version thus examined.

‘This may be illustrated by an example. The Bengalee version of the New Testament being the first that was finished, when the Orissa pundit commenced his labours, some years after, as he understood Bengalee nearly as well as his own vernacular tongue, he of course took the Bengalee version to assist him in making his own rough draft for examination. This, brought to Dr. Carey, enabled him at once to see how far he himself had given the exact meaning of the original in the Bengalee version, and wherein he had failed. This not only assisted him in rectifying the mistakes in that version, but enabled him to discern what mistakes were chiefly to be guarded against in future versions of the Scriptures. Hence, when several of these pundits have reciprocally read different versions, and in this way have given undoubted proof of the sense in which they understand them, this has carried more conviction to the mind respecting their accuracy, when the sense given has agreed with our own idea of the meaning of these passages, and assisted us more in discerning those passages which have been inadequately rendered, than all the other helps we have as yet been able to obtain, either from other natives or Europeans. And as each version has occupied from seven to twelve years in its formation and its passage through the press, neither time nor means have been wanting to enable us to make up our own minds respecting the merits of each, long before it has been sent into circulation. We are ready to indulge the hope, therefore, that although all first versions must necessarily be imperfect, each of these already named is sufficiently accurate and perspicuous to become, under the Divine blessing, the means of salvation, as well as the Bengalee, Sungskrit, and Hindee versions, which God has been pleased already thus to honour. But while we have this hope, we deem it important to *second* editions of these versions, to obtain from every quarter we are able, the opinions both of other natives and of Europeans respecting them, and, if possible, critical remarks on particular passages, in the manner described in the circular letter on that subject published in the Appendix of the Seventh Memoir.’

pp. 5—9.

Then follow testimonials in favour of the correctness of the several versions, from learned natives;—among others, relative to the Sungskrit version, from the chief Pundit of Fort William College, and from the chief Pundit of the Supreme Court; to the Mahratta, from the chief Moonshee or Pundit in that language to the Honourable Company; to the Telinga, from the brother of the chief Pundit in the chief native court of judica-

ture in Calcutta, himself a native of the Telinga country: to the Kurnata (Canara or Canada,) the following testimony from Madhava Rao, Kurnata Pundit to H. H. Wilson, Esq. secretary to the Asiatic Society :

‘ You have translated the New Testament into the Kurnata language. It is well done. Respecting its being the character and the language of the Kurnata country, there is no hesitation.’

We admit that these testimonies, though decisive as to the philological merit of the several versions, which they are adduced to establish, are not sufficient to prove the theological fidelity, if we may so express it, of the translation. But we shall presently see that it is this very fidelity that excites our Abbé’s warmest indignation, and which is what he alludes to when he terms them ‘ low translations.’ The atrocious misrepresentation of the facts connected with the Chinese Version of the Bible, which, after sixteen years’ incessant labour, Dr. Marshman has had the happiness to bring to a completion, will be best met with the following minute account of the process of translation, given in a letter from that valuable Missionary to the Rev. Dr. Ryland, dated December, 1813, and inserted in No. XXVII. of the “ Periodical Accounts,” published by the Baptist Missionary Society.

‘ “ I understand it has been questioned, whether the translation of *Confucius* was Mr. Lassar’s or mine. I may observe in reply, that for these five years past, in translating *from* the Chinese, I have used Mr. L. chiefly as one would use a dictionary or commentator. When I was at Bristol, if you recollect, I was never easy till I could stand on my own legs. If I had a translation by me, I preferred sitting half an hour weighing a sentence, to relieving myself by a translation. Of this I never repented, and it is now become a habit. Of course the translation of *Confucius*, within a little time after my engaging in it, with all its faults was my own. Relative to the translation of the Scriptures, it is as much our own as that of most other languages. We are now printing, with a considerable degree of vigor, and if I detail the method taken with every sheet, it may enable you to answer any questions a friend may put to you, though I fear it will be tiresome.

‘ “ The first step, as I have told you, taken in the translation, is that of Mr. Lassar’s setting down at my elbow, where he sits from month to month and year to year, and translating from the English, assisted by his knowledge of the Armenian. For a long time he and I read over the assigned portion together, prior to his beginning it, till he found it unnecessary; he now therefore only consults me respecting particular words and phrases. In due time follows the correcting verse by verse; when, with Griesbach in my hand, I read over every verse in Chinese, and suggest my doubts relative to the force of particular characters, rejecting some and suggesting others. When a whole

Chapter is thus done, which sometimes takes three or four hours, I give him the Chinese, and read Griesbach into English very slowly and distinctly, he the mean while keeping his eye on the Chinese version. It is then copied fairly, and sometimes, (that is, when any doubt remains,) it is examined thus a second and even a third time. It then goes to press, and here it undergoes a fresh ordeal. A double page being set up with our moveable metal types, I then read it over with another Chinese assistant who is ignorant of English. He suggests such alterations as may seem necessary to render the language perfectly clear. It is then corrected, and a clean proof given, or two or three if they be required, to be read by different persons. This done, I sit down alone and read it, comparing it with Griesbach again, and occasionally consulting all the helps I have. This is to me the most close examination of all. Here, as I have two Latin Chinese Dictionaries by me, I make it a point to examine them for every character of the meaning of which I do not feel quite certain; and to assist me herein the more effectually, I have a book by me wherein I write down the meaning of every character I examine. These, as I have told you, are seldom more than twenty, and sometimes not so many. In reading the original in Griesbach, I deviate a little from my first method. I then read verse by verse; now I read a small portion of the original, perhaps five or six verses at one time, and then the same portion in Chinese, that I may view the force and connection to greater advantage: this I find profitable. Having written in the margin of the sheet every alteration my mind suggests, and every thing that seems a discrepancy, I then consult Mr. Lassar and the Chinese assistant together, sitting with them till every query be solved and every discrepancy adjusted. This done, another clean proof is given, which when read I give to my son John, that he may examine for himself, as his knowledge of the Chinese idiom is perhaps greater than my own. When he has satisfied himself respecting it, another clean proof is given, and then I give one to my Chinese assistant to read alone, and one to Mr. Lassar, that they may each point out separately whatever they dislike. When this is done, I compare it with Griesbach for the last time, to see if any thing has escaped us all. I then in another clean proof desire the Chinese assistant to add the stops according to his idea of the meaning; these I then examine, and if his idea of the stops agrees with mine, send it to the press. When on the press a clean proof is brought to me, which I first give to the Chinese assistant to see if all be right, then to Mr. Lassar, and lastly read it myself, and order it to be struck off. Thus you see that after the translation has been corrected for the press, we still have generally ten or twelve proofs of every sheet before we suffer it to be printed off. You may perhaps think it strange that this should be necessary, and that two or three revisions at most do not complete the corrections. It must be remembered however that these frequent revisions involve the judgment of four different persons—Mr. Lassar, the Chinese assistant, myself, and my son; each of whom judges independently of the other three; and I am of opinion that beyond two or three revisions of the same copy, there can



be little advantage gained; the same ideas will arise the fourth time which arose the third, or even the second, and thus the need of correction does not appear. But when a *corrected* proof is given for examination, the former chain of ideas is broken, and a new object for criticism is presented. I recollect Dr. Beattie's observing, that he never could judge of his own style till he saw it in print. It is probable that you yourself have observed a sermon when printed, appear very differently in certain passages from what it did while in manuscript.

“ By means of this severe scrutiny, I cannot but hope that a faithful version of the holy scriptures in the Chinese language will at length be produced. The importance of presenting the word of life faithfully and perspicuously expressed, to two or three hundred millions of perishing sinners, when I duly realize it, removes all thoughts of the labour, and causes me to feel a joy I cannot describe. And I cannot but view it as a part of Divine wisdom, to put it into the hearts of two persons, labouring independently of each other, (Mr. Morrison and myself,) thus to care for the translation of the sacred scriptures into a language so peculiar in its nature, and understood by such multitudes of men. Should we have wisdom given us rightly to profit by each others' labours, I suppose that the translation of the scriptures will be brought to as great perfection in twenty years, as they might have been in the hand of one alone in the space of fifty.”

pp. 410—13.

Further particulars with regard to this stupendous literary achievement, will be found in the Ninth Memoir respecting Translations, cited above. In the mean time, Drs. Morrison and Milne, Missionaries sent out by a Sister Society, have been, with equal diligence and success, prosecuting the study of the Chinese, and, before the lamented death of the latter, had nearly completed an independent Version of the whole Bible into that language. Nearly ten years ago, Dr. Morrison had completed the Chinese New Testament, two large editions of which, consisting of 5,500 copies, were printed between the years 1813 and 1819, exclusive of detached portions previously published. A third edition was printed in 1822. On reprinting the Serampore Version of the Gospels, the opportunity was taken by Dr. Marshman, of comparing it with Dr. Morrison's; ‘and although we do not presume,’ he says, ‘that these gospels yet perfectly accord with the original text, we are ready to hope that this edition of them is brought somewhat nearer to it than any one which has before appeared. As leisure may be afforded, we are about to adopt the same course with the remainder of the New Testament.’ Thus, the Christian world will have eventually the satisfaction of a Chinese text, formed by the collation of the respective works of two independent sets of labourers. But besides this great work,



the French Missionaries gave up as impracticable, Dr. **son** has recently brought to a close his Chinese and **h** Dictionary, which has occupied more or less of his **uring** the past fifteen years. It has been executed under **tronage**, and is printing at the expense of the Honourable **India Company**, and will make five quarto volumes. **are** the men whom this calumniating Priest affects to **of** with contempt.

trust that the importance of the general subject, and the **ely** interesting nature of these details, will supply our **:** for devoting so large a space in our Journal, to the **of** a volume like the present, of humble dimensions and **ess** character. We shall endeavour to dismiss the re-  
g topics with greater brevity. To substantiate our as-  
i, that the theological genuineness of these Biblical Ver-  
is regarded by the Abbé Dubois as their most repulsive  
xceptionable feature, we need only transcribe a short  
raph.

fact, a translation of the Holy Scriptures, in order to awaken  
iosity, and fix the attention of the learned Hindoo, at least as  
ry production, ought to be on a level with the Indian perform-  
of the same kind among them, and be composed in fine poetry,  
ry style, and a high stream of eloquence, this being universally  
de in which all Indian performances of any worth are written.  
g as the versions are executed in the *low style* in which we find  
you may rest assured that they will only excite contempt, and  
o increase the aversion already entertained by the natives  
: the Christian religion.'

thing can be clearer than that the matchless simplicity of  
riptures, which forms one internal mark of their Divine  
, and so materially contributes to their universal adapta-  
s what the Abbé here characterizes as a low style, com-  
with the imbecile bombast of the Hindoo writings. And  
tent to which his sinister policy would lead him to falsify  
cred writings, in adaptation to the taste of the Hindoos,  
e judged of from his confessing that he durst not, in ex-  
ng to his native converts the sacrament of the Eucharist,  
only that the materials are bread and wine; it would  
' too revolting to their feelings.' 'We have, therefore,'  
ys, 'the precaution to soften *this coarse term* by a peri-  
sis, saying that the materials of the Eucharist are wheaten  
d, and *the juice of the fine fruit called grape*; which ex-  
ions become more palatable to their taste.' Again, it  
not do, to avow that Christ was the son of a humble  
ter, and that his apostles were twelve illiterate fishermen,

because the casts of carpenters and fishermen are two of the lowest and vilest in the country. The passages in the Gospels which contain these facts, must therefore be suppressed; and the first chapter in the first Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, must by no means be read to well-bred Hindoos. In reading the parable of the Prodigal Son, too, it would be necessary to substitute a lamb for the fatted calf, to prevent their regarding Christianity as a low or pariah religion. From these and other declarations, it is evident, that it is the Bible itself, not the translations, but 'the naked text' of the Bible, which he objects to as adapted to wound the feelings, excite the contempt, and deepen the prejudices of the Hindoo.

'What,' he says, 'will a well-bred native think, when, in reading over this holy book, he sees that Abraham, after receiving the visit of three angels under a human shape, entertains his guest by causing a calf to be killed, and served to them for their fare? The prejudiced Hindoo will at once judge that both Abraham and his heavenly guests were nothing but vile pariahs; and, without further reading, he will forthwith throw away the book, containing (in his opinions) such sacrilegious accounts.'

'What will a Brahmin say, when he peruses the details of the bloody sacrifices prescribed in the mosaical law in the worship of the true God? He will assuredly declare, that the god who could be pleased with the shedding of the blood of so many victims immolated to his honour, must undoubtedly be a deity of the same kind (far be from me the blasphemy) as the mischievous Hindoo deities, Cohly, Mahry, Darma-rajah, and other infernal gods, whose wrath cannot be appeased but by the shedding of blood, and the immolating of living victims.'

'But, above all, what will a Brahmin or any other well-bred Hindoo think, when he peruses in our holy books the account of the immolating of creatures held most sacred by him? What will be his feelings, when he sees that the immolating of oxen and bulls constituted a leading feature in the religious ordinances of the Israelites, and that the blood of those most sacred animals was almost daily shed at the shrine of the god they adored? What will be his feelings when he sees, that after Solomon had at immense expense and labour built a magnificent temple in honour of the true God, he made the *pratista* or consecration of it, by causing 22,000 oxen to be slaughtered, and overflowing his new temple with the blood of these sacred victims? He will certainly in perusing accounts, (in his opinion so horribly sacrilegious,) shudder, and be seized with the liveliest horror, look on the book containing such shocking details as an abominable work, (far be from me, once more, the blasphemy, I am expressing the feelings of a prejudiced Pagan,) throw it away with indignation, consider himself as polluted for having touched it, go immediately to the river for the purpose of purifying himself by ablutions from the defilement he thinks he has contracted, and before he again enters his house, he will send for a Poorohita Brahmin to perform the requisite

ceremonies for purifying it from the defilement it has contracted, by ignorantly keeping within its walls so polluted a thing as the Bible.

‘ In the mean while he will become more and more confirmed in the idea, that a religion which derives its tenets from so impure a source is altogether detestable, and that those who profess it, must be the basest and vilest of men.

‘ Such are the effects which, in my humble opinion, the reading of the naked text of the Bible cannot fail to produce on the unprepared minds of the prejudiced Hindoos.’ pp. 28—31.

We shall assuredly not undertake the vindication of the word of God. Here the true spirit of the Romish corruption in its most inveterate form, unequivocally manifests itself. It is of no avail to tell this infatuated man of the *fifty native preachers*, among whom are some Brahmins of the highest rank, who are at this time zealously engaged in teaching, as assistants to the Missionaries. These things would not change his opinion, that the conversion of the Hindoos is impossible, and that to give them the Bible is worse than useless. This blindness and obstinacy, however, which may in part be accounted for by his own ill-success in gaining proselytes, and his bigoted attachment to the principles of his Church, become almost excusable when compared with the conduct of a Protestant clergyman, a Dr. Bryce, who is said to have insinuated in a sermon preached at Calcutta, that no conversions deserving the name had been made in India. ‘ Alas !’ exclaimed the preacher, with the grimace of concern, ‘ it may be doubted if ‘ at this day the Christian Missionary boasts a single proselyte ‘ to his creed, over whom he is warranted to rejoice.’

‘ This gentleman did not know,’ mildly remarks the late estimable Mr. Ward, ‘ but, living only fourteen miles from Serampore, he might have known, had he wished for the information, that the persons connected with the Serampore Mission have baptized between 6 and 700 Hindoo Pagans and Mahommedans ; that there is a Christian church of 150 Aracanese, in and round Chittagong, speaking the Burman language, and reading that part of the Burman New Testament which is already published, who have been converted to the Christian faith ; that in Jessore there is another church of converted Hindoos and Mahommedans, consisting of nearly a hundred members ; that at Cutwa, another church, amounting to about the same number of Hindoo and Mahommelan converts, exists ; that at Dinajepore, a similar church exists, of more than a hundred members ; and that at Serampore and Calcutta, there are nearly 200 Christian Hindoos and Mahommedan converts ; in short, that in Hindoostan and Bengal, this Mission has nearly twenty churches of Christian natives. Is there not one individual then, in all these, over whom the Christian Missionary is warranted to rejoice ?

‘ Krishnoo-Prisad, the first Brahmin who was baptized in Bengal,

died a few years ago. He was most exemplary in his life, sought to bring his wealthy relations to the faith, and died full of hope, leaving behind him a name embalmed in the memory of all his brethren. Krishnoo, the first Indian convert, has stood the test of twenty years, and still adorns his Christian profession.\* A young man, Gorachund, was seized by his relations, who were about to carry him from Serampore by force. He appealed to the Danish magistrate, who put it to his choice; and before this Magistrate, and in the presence of his heathen mother, he declared he would be a Christian:—he is now a Christian teacher. Rammohun, a converted Brahmin of the highest cast, and who, when a heathen, set fire to the pile in which his living mother was consumed to ashes, has been the means of the conversion of several persons, and he is now such a persuasive preacher of the Gospel, that I have seen his congregation drenched in tears.

With regard to the efficacy of the Translations, Mr. Ward states :

‘ To say nothing of six or eight individuals resident in the village of Ramkrishnupore, who, in consequence of reading one copy of the Bengalee New Testament, and without the intervention of any living teacher, were led to renounce heathenism, and embrace the Christian faith,—the same Translation was the means of conversion to two very respectable Hindoos of the writer cast : one of them is now employed in the Court of Justice under the Dutch Government of Chinsurah; the other (*Tarachund*) is one of our best Hindoo poets, the greater part of the hymns in our Bengalee hymn-book being his composition. He has also written an able defence of Christianity, which has been printed, contrasting the heathen tenets in which he was educated, with the glorious doctrines of the Gospel.’

Annual Report of the Bapt. Mis. Society, for 1820

From the Reports of the London Missionary Society, we might gather additional facts of the most pleasing and encouraging nature. At Madras, a native teacher named Appavoo, addresses his countrymen, in the Tamul language, with the approbation of the Missionaries, every Thursday evening. At Belgaum, a Brahmin and his nephew have embraced Christianity, and have given their assistance in preparing religious tracts in the Mahratta language. Mr. Hands, the Missionary at Bellary, states, that in the early part of last year, he travelled through a considerable part of Mysore, accompanied by the native teacher Anundarayer, who assisted him in addressing the natives. Satisfactory evidence, he says, exists, that the Canara New Testament is read by the Hindoos of Bellary at their own houses. At Bangalore, a native teacher is stationed,

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\* He has since died in the faith.

in connexion with the English Missionaries, who has taken the name of Samuel Flavel. He is mentioned as continuing to labour with exemplary diligence and considerable success. 'Nineteen adult heathens were baptized at that station during the last year, and several others exhibit promising indications of a disposition to embrace Christianity.' The South Travancore Mission has now attached to it seventeen native readers, who carry on their useful labours through a very extensive district. The Abbé Dubois appears, however, to be ignorant of the very existence of the London Missionary Society. He notices, in succession, the Lutheran Mission, the Moravian Brethren, the Nestorians in Travancore, and the Baptists at Serampore, all of whom he represents as perfectly unsuccessful. Nay, he is persuaded that, were the latter to be asked 'on their honour and conscience,' whether their labours had produced the conversion of a single pagan, they would 'all reply in the negative.' He would hardly have ventured thus far, we think, had he not been really destitute of all information on the subject. Stationed in the heart of the Mysore, all that he knows of the state of society within the presidency of Bengal, is from hearsay. It is but just to add, that the progress of the cause of Christianity in the South, has been chiefly of late years. Still, ignorance cannot justify the extreme confidence of the assertions which he makes on this subject; nor could he be unaware that he was pretending to a knowledge which he did not possess, in a manner that no man of 'honour and conscience' would have done.

The latest arrivals from Calcutta furnish an interesting account of the baptism of a Brahmin, the Pundit Ramchurun, at Delhi: it is contained in a letter from Mr. Thompson. After worship, he was on this occasion called upon to give an account of his faith in the Lord Jesus Christ as the God and Saviour of the World, and of his desire to conform to his will.

'Being asked *why* he embraced the gospel, he replied, "For *salvation*." And on our wishing to know *what* had affected his mind most in all that he had read, he replied: "Jesus, being God, had made himself of no reputation (*apa ko tooch'h keea*) for sinners, and for my sake." . . . . . The people were greatly amazed, and began to make many inquiries. The report of a brahmin's having embraced Christianity having spread through the city, our brother became the subject of conversation every where. The effect has been very good. Numbers of brahmins have come to inquire after Christ and the Gospel, who never thought of these things before; yea, have eagerly taken books, and solicited larger ones containing a fuller account of the Saviour. They see that the Gospel is capable of producing conversions even from among them, and therefore some of them are anxious to know

what that Gospel is. On every side we excite curiosity; and the preaching and discussions abroad have become doubly interesting from the Pundit's baptism.\*

A few more instances of this description, it is justly remarked, will do more than any thing else, to shake the fabric of Hindooism. But that fabric is already loosening at its very base. Such instances as the above are in the highest degree animating, as serving to shew that there is no impossibility in the way of converting even the adult Brahmin; but they have hitherto been so rare as to excite, in connexion with the immense mass of the heathen population, feelings bordering on despondency. What are a thousand converts when set against sixty millions of idolaters? But the progress of the schools is slowly but surely undermining the whole system of Hindooism: and it is these which, by the time that the Versions have attained an adequate degree of correctness, will supply the best channels for distributing them, and which are destined to place in its true light, the value of those meritorious labours which have for so many years been unremittingly expended on them. These native schools have latterly increased in an astonishing degree. In those of Calcutta alone, upwards of 2800 pupils are at present under education. But the most pleasing feature of these institutions is, that they are liberally supported by native contributions, that they are frequently visited by respectable Hindoos, and that the parents of the pupils connive generally at the use that is occasionally made in the schools, of even Christian tracts, rather than withhold their children from the advantages of elementary education. We have now before us the First and Second Reports of the "Calcutta School-Book Society," established in 1817, for the purpose of preparing, publishing, and cheaply or gratuitously supplying works useful in native schools and seminaries. This Society, though not of a directly religious nature, strikes at the very root of the Hindoo religion, if it be true, as the Abbé Dubois affirms, that 'it is a crime, a sacrilege in every Hindoo' who is not born a Brahmin, to endeavour to emerge from ignorance, or to aspire to the lowest degree of knowledge.' Yet are both Mahommedans and Hindoos associated with English gentlemen on the Committee of this Society. At its second annual meeting in the Town Hall, Calcutta, (Sept. 21, 1819,) though held at an unfavourable time of the year, the number of natives present was considerable. On this occasion, it was

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\* Asiatic Journal, for Oct. 1823. p. 370.



moved by the Rev. Dr. Carey, seconded by the Rev. Mr. Thomson, and resolved unanimously,

‘ “ That the special thanks of this Meeting be presented to the *native* Gentlemen, whether in or out of the Committee, for their seasonable and zealous exertions in the various departments of the Society’s undertakings, without whose valuable co-operation the numerous works described in the Report could never have been accomplished.”

‘ To this Baboo Radhacant Deb, a member of the Committee, after communicating the resolution to the native portion of the meeting, returned thanks in their name.

‘ Moonshee Umeen’ ooddeen, the Company’s Vakeel in the Sudur Decwanee Adalut, also rose, and expressed his opinion of the decided utility of an Institution *which thus provided for the instruction of all classes without regard to sect or name* ; and that it was gratifying both to the Hindoo and the professor of Islam, to see the English gentlemen thus united for this purpose.’

Want of room prevents our making larger citations from these interesting documents. But we must transcribe from the Appendix to the First Report, the remarks which are made on the subsequent formation of a distinct society for the establishment and support of schools, and the maintenance and tuition of a body of native teachers and translators.

‘ In three months from the establishment of the Calcutta School Society, the contributions to it were Sa. Rs. 9,899 as donations, and Sa. Rs. 5,069 as annual subscriptions. *A considerable proportion of both has been contributed by natives, principally Hindoos.* When encouraged by European example, co-operation, and condescension, the opulent and learned natives evince a laudable willingness to aid in the efforts making to improve the condition and character of the inhabitants of this country. It is an interesting and encouraging fact, that, *besides the Hindoo College, almost entirely founded on the contributions of that class of the natives whose appellation it bears,* there are now no less than *four philanthropic institutions* in this metropolis or its neighbourhood, whose funds are derived partly from European, partly from native liberality. These are, the Calcutta School-Book Society, the Calcutta Leper Asylum, the Calcutta School Society, and *the Institution for the Encouragement of Native Schools, under the Management of the Serampore Missionaries.*’

The Abbé Dubois ridicules the ‘ Don Quixote-like’ appeal of the late Mr. Ward, to the sensibility and compassion of English ladies, for the purpose of soliciting their assistance towards establishing schools for the Hindoo females.

‘ The ladies of Liverpool are not aware, I suppose,’ sneeringly remarks this most amiable Priest, ‘ that such a project is merely visionary, and altogether impracticable, the most deeply rooted prejudices of the country being decidedly hostile to its execution. The



ladies of Liverpool are not aware, that, even should not the prejudices of the country oppose an almost insurmountable bar to the establishment of schools for females in India, the state of poverty of the latter, and their numerous avocations, would not allow them to attend those schools ?'

After a few more assertions of this kind, and telling them that they had better spend their money in alms-giving at home, he very unnecessarily, but very characteristically adds :

' But I shall certainly never call on any lady, or other individual whatever, to engage him or her to squander away their money in contributing to the (in my humble opinion) absurd project of establishing schools for the purpose of enlightening the Hindoo females, or of circulating Bibles and tracts which are perused by no one, and are above the comprehension of all.'

It is remarkable, that at the very moment that this shameless avowal is first published, advices have been received, containing the heart-cheering intelligence from Miss Cooke, (the lady sent out from this country for the express purpose of promoting native female education,) that she has succeeded in establishing fifteen schools, and in obtaining between three and four hundred female scholars; that one native gentleman has already been induced to receive a European Teacher for his females; and that another, a high Brahmin, who, with the profound contempt for Bengalee females, common to his cast, had assured Miss Cooke at the outset, that she would never succeed,—' their women were all *beasts*—quite stupid, never ' could or would learn—nor would the Brahmins ever allow ' *their* females to be taught,'—this same individual is now giving his active assistance in forwarding her plans.\* Thus are the invincible prejudices of the country, and the insurmountable barriers of cast, giving way on every side, while the Brahmin, the Papist, and the Infidel,

' esteem it strange,

Gaze, and admire, and hate the change.'

We imagine that we may now take leave of the Abbe Dubois and his abettors, or dupes, both here and in India. For, whatever share his Roman Catholic prejudices, and his jealousy of the success of rival Missionaries, may have had in instigating him to this disgraceful publication, we have no

\* For these particulars, and other highly interesting details which we have not room to transcribe, we have great pleasure in referring our readers to the August No. of the *Missionary Register*, pp. 351—364.

doubt that he has abettors, who have both prompted and directed his base attack on Mr. Ward, and supplied him with many of the falsehoods which he has vented. Of this, his Letters contain internal evidence; and that there are men in this country capable of such conduct, will not be doubted by those who recollect the publications of Scott Waring, Twining, and Co., or who may chance to have seen the work of a Mr. Bowen of Bridgewater, published in 1821, entitled "*Missionary Incitement and Hindoo Demoralization*," in which he charges those 'enemies of India,' the Serampore Missionaries, with demoralizing the hitherto virtuous Hindoos.\* This must be admitted to tally remarkably with the *latter* Letters of our Abbé, in which he undertakes the vindication of the much aspersed Hindoos; maintaining, among other things, that nothing in the conduct of the Hindoo fanatics who flock to the temples of Teeropatty and Juggernaut, 'can be compared 'with the scenes of extravagance and madness' exhibited by the *Quakers* in this country; (p. 171.)—that the leading dogmas of the Predestinarians and others, have been borrowed from the Hindoo teachers; (p. 220.)—that the doctrine of the Millennium 'is nothing but an almost literal copy of the tenth 'avattera of Vishnoo, called *Kalky-avattera*, or incarnation 'into a horse,'—the coincidence being so close, that 'the one 'must have been copied from the other;'—and finally, that he can

'perceive between the religious exercises of the Quakers, Methodists, Jumpers, Shakers, &c. &c. and those of the Hindoo Dassaroo, Jangoomas, Andys, &c. no difference, unless that the religious practices of the former, surpass by far in folly and extravagance those of the latter. Both, in their convulsions and contortions, in their wild dancing, jumping, groaning, howling, own a common origin, that is, the inspiration or possession of a supernatural spirit or agent. *The only difference* is, that our European *Energumenes* leave their Hindoo brethren far behind them in the career of extravagance.' p. 220.

Impious and absurd as is this declaration, it is not without parallel in the writings of Mr. Bowen and his enlightened compeers; and probably, the worthy Captain who lent the Abbé "*Evans's Sketch*," might assist in furnishing the representation which is the basis of the above exquisite comparison.

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\* For our only knowledge of this work, we must confess ourselves indebted to an article in the seventh Number of the "*Friend of India*," (a quarterly work, printed at Serampore,) published in Dec. 1822.

Assuredly, we should never have bestowed so much attention on a production containing such abundant proofs of imbecility and ignorance, had not its author's name been eagerly caught at by the Editors of the Old Monthly Magazine and of the Christian Remembrancer, *par nobile fratrum*, and other enlightened philanthropists of the same class, as an authority. We have only to wish those gentlemen joy of their new confederate.

On one point, these Letters are adapted to afford both instruction and satisfaction—instruction as to the true character of Roman Catholic missions in the East, and the nature of the Christianity they impart; (see especially pp. 5—11; 62—77; 125; 134.) satisfaction as to the gratifying prospect which is held out by the probable secession of the baffled emissaries of Rome from the missionary field. The Abbé, throughout these Letters, sounds the note of retreat; and amid his endeavours to dissuade others from prosecuting the work which he has abandoned as hopeless, it is not difficult to perceive that his despondency relates to his own Church, rather than to the Hindoos. The progress of Biblical translations, the spread of native schools, and the other efforts of Protestant Missionaries, whatever they may fail of accomplishing, will certainly effect the overthrow of the Romish idolatry and the ruin of the *De Propaganda* missions in the East. This the Abbé foresees, and it awakes his bitterest malignity. He admits that 'these missions are threatened with a speedy extinction,'—on which account he would seem to have abandoned them, to see to 'his own concerns.' The nominal Christians belonging to these stations, form a part of the population which would seem to have peculiar claims on our attention. Among them, the circulation of the Scriptures might be expected to have the happiest effect. If we may place any dependence on the Abbé's statements, the numbers dispersed over the country, from the banks of the Krishna to Cape Comorin, though much reduced, are still very considerable. The archbishop of Goa is stated to have under his jurisdiction, (which comprehends the Island of Ceylon,) 300,000 souls; the archbishop of Cranganore, between 60 and 70,000; the bishop of Cochin, about the same number; the bishop of St. Thomas near Madras, 'about 50,000 Christians, natives and half-casts.' Besides these four titular prelates, appointed by the court of Portugal, there are three apostolic vicars under the immediate control of the *De Propaganda* congregation at Rome; viz. the bishop of Bombay, the Christians under whose jurisdiction do not exceed 10 or 12,000, chiefly half-casts; the apostolic vicar at Pondicherry, who exercises spiritual jurisdiction over the Carnatic and Mysore, is

which are to be found about 35,000 Christians; and the apostolic vicar of Verapoly near Cochin, whose mission reckons 120,000 Christian natives, chiefly in the Travancore country, who are attended by about a hundred native priests, educated by the Carmelites, now three or four in number, in their seminary at Verapoly. This is stated to be the only mission in which converts are still made among the heathen. The Abbé says, that he has it from good authority, that ‘between 3 and 400 pagans’ are yearly christened in it,’ chiefly outcasts from the tribe of Nairs. Besides these missions, there is another at Madras, under the direction of Italian capuchins, having for their superior an apostolic prefect, and holding their spiritual powers also from the congregation *De Propaganda*; this is said to contain 10 or 12,000 Christians, ‘of several descriptions,’ at Madras and in its vicinity. According to this rough estimate, there would seem to be no fewer than between 6 and 700,000 nominal Christians, exclusive of the Nestorian congregations in Travancore, and the Armenians of Madras, who are in a religious condition but little removed from the grossness of Hindoo polytheism,—destitute alike of the Scriptures and of any competent religious instruction. The prejudice which such an exhibition of Christianity is adapted to excite against every thing that assumes that name, both among the Hindoo and the Mahomedan natives of the Peninsula, is incalculably pernicious. It certainly presents one of the most serious obstacles to the spread of the Christian religion among the professors of Islam. On every account, the conversion of these poor victims of a debased creed and a Jesuitical policy, seems a consummation most ardently and devoutly to be desired: In numbering the abominations which have so long defiled and cursed this devoted tract of country, next to the temple of Juggernaut, we must not forget to rank the Inquisition at Goa.

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*Art. V. Report of the Speeches delivered before the Presbytery of Glasgow, on the Motion for inducting the Rev. Dr. M’Farlane into the Ministry of the High Church of this City. 8vo. pp. 74. Glasgow. 1823.*

**W**E have read this pamphlet with much gratification, on more accounts than one. It is extremely interesting as illustrating the state of things and the general sentiment, existing in the Scottish Kirk, on subjects of ecclesiastical discipline; and it shews the exceeding importance and value of free and public discussion. It exhibits in a most impressive

view the injurious character of church patronage, as well as the mischievous effects of pluralities on ministerial usefulness; and it furnishes an additional testimony in proof of the injustice and pernicious consequences of refusing to the people the power, as they undeniably possess the right, of choosing their own pastors.

Dr. M'Farlane, Principal of the University of Glasgow, has recently been presented, by the Crown, to the pastoral care of the High Church in that city. By the forms of the Scottish Kirk, it is necessary that every minister, on his appointment to a cure, should be regularly inducted by his co-presbyters. In the present instance, the business came before the presbytery of Glasgow on the 11th of June last. After some debate, the final consideration of the question was postponed till the 2nd of the following month, when the presentation was exhibited, and Mr. Grahame, in behalf of Dr. M'Farlane, required the presbytery to give it effect. Dr. Burns, of the Barony church, immediately rose, and objected to the requisition, on the strong grounds, that the system of pluralities was injurious; that two offices of high trust and responsibility, each demanding the full exercise of one individual's time and talents, ought not to be united in the same person; and that, as the minister of the High Church is one of the three visitors appointed to superintend the application of the college funds, it was highly indecorous that the Principal should hold an office which imposed upon him the duty of 'doCKETTING his own accounts.' He was followed by Dr. Taylor in a speech somewhat more distinguished by peremptory assertion and whimsical illustration, than by valid argumentation. The worthy Dr. defended the appointment by affirming, that the office of Principal was little more than 'a sinecure,' and that the more work a man had to do, the more easily he got through it. Mr. Lapslie clenched the first clause of this hypothesis by the assertion, that 'for a few shillings, he would make a clerk do the most 'important part of the Principal's duty.' Other ministers spoke on different sides, and Dr. Chalmers strongly supported the objections of Dr. Burns.

By far the ablest and most important speech was delivered by Dr. Macgill, the professor of divinity. This excellent man had the stronger claim to be heard on this occasion, as he had been once placed in similar circumstances. When he was appointed to his professorship, he held the pastoral charge of the Tron Church, in Glasgow; and this, on his acceptance of the former, he immediately resigned, though he might have retained it unquestioned. On the present occasion, he evidently felt himself most painfully situated; but he acquitted himself of

his task of duty in the most admirable manner, combining courteousness with firmness, and the dignity of a Christian minister with the utmost energy of appeal. He proves, in the document before us, unanswerably, the illegality of the pluralizing system. His exposition of the duties both of the parish-minister and the college-principal, is most luminous and eloquent, and his whole appeal breathes a spirit of piety such as should be always prominent in the public address of a Christian teacher.

The refusal to proceed to the induction of Dr. M'Farlane was carried by thirteen votes against nine. The business will, in its next stage, be discussed in the Synod of the Western District, and be finally decided by the General Assembly.

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Art. VI. 1. *Notices illustrative of the Drawings and Sketches of some of the most distinguished Masters in all the principal Schools of Design.* By the late Henry Reveley, Esq. 8vo. pp. 305. London, 1820.

2. *Liber Studiorum*, illustrative of Landscape Compositions. By J. M. W. Turner, R. A. Nos. I. to XIV. Price 1l. 1s. each.

NOTHING appears more strange to a spectator uninitiated into the mysteries of art, than the delight with which a genuine amateur hangs over what bears the semblance of a mere scrawl, sometimes almost unintelligible, and at others presenting nothing more than hints of design and snatches of expression. These contain, however, the secret history of the artist and his productions; they shew the workings of his mind, the impulses of his feeling, fresh and vigorous from the primary inspiration, untrammelled by the apprehension of public censure, and unimpaired by the timidity of second thoughts. If in these works of a moment, these first jets of a ready genius and a master-hand, we often find a wildness and negligence which require the correction and elaboration of many a painful hour, yet, we have nearly as frequent reason to regret the absence, in the finished picture, of the spirit, raciness, and energy that charmed us in the bold and realizing sketch. We have sometimes, when privileged to ransack the treasures of an artist's portfolio, felt surprised at the difference, disadvantageous to the latter, between the materials and the completed work. The studies have been fraught with innumerable felicities of invention, drawing, and effect, which, in the painting, have been tamed and polished down to comparative insipidity. We well remember our astonishment, at a time when our acquaintance with the arts was less familiar and practical than it



has since been, while inspecting the study of one of the most deservedly popular productions of a celebrated artist of the present day, and tracing its decided superiority to the laboured transcript, in vivacity and originality. Nor is it difficult to account for this ; since, independently of the circumstances which we have already suggested, it is obvious that, notwithstanding the advantages which the painting derives from the thought, selection, and criticism of which it is the result, it is, after all, nothing more than a copy, revised and corrected indeed, but shorn of some of its higher qualities by the very processes which have been employed for its perfection.

These considerations are sufficient in themselves to account for the admiration in which the drawings and sketches of distinguished artists are held by the discriminate observer. But there are others, of equal weight, which are not to be forgotten, when we are assigning reasons for the apparently exaggerated value of these imperfect works, and for the eagerness with which they are bought up by collectors. The great productions of the masters of design are rare and costly : the results of protracted effort, both of mind and hand, they are prized on a mixed calculation of scarceness, labour, and intrinsic worth. But the sketches and studies of these same illustrious men are in much greater abundance, and from this circumstance, were there no other, are comparatively, and sometimes positively cheap. From their unfinished and frequently mutilated condition, they are generally unfit for decorative purposes, and their peculiar character prevents them from being ostentatiously exhibited, in gilt and varnished glory, as furniture or gallery pictures. But, though they are less showy, and though, of the list of high qualities which go to make up the full compliment and rate of a perfect work of art, they have but a limited portion, yet, those which they possess, are so excellent in their kind, and so impressive in their display, that there is no cause for wonder at the intense interest which they excite, and the eager rivalry with which their purchase is disputed. There is, indeed, something exceedingly delightful in the feeling that we have in our own custody, and that we can take up at will, and contemplate at leisure, the works of the noble spirits of ancient times ; that the very substance which they handled is in our hands, that the lines which they traced are before our eyes, and that the first vivid expressions of their imagination are enkindling ours.

The value, in traffic, of these admirable fragments, has occasioned some difficulty to collectors. The demand for these drawings has deluged the auction-rooms and the print-shops with an inundation of copies ; and it requires much tact and some



practical skill, to determine between an original and a clever imitation. At the same time, the excess of the fraud has not only assisted in its own defeat, but has enabled persons of limited means to possess themselves, on easy terms, of works which, though unquestionably inferior to originals, are yet far more satisfactory representations than prints. We have seen some of these copies which had been obtained at a low price, and were exceedingly meritorious in execution.

Another method has been devised of rendering these treasures of the art more generally accessible, by multiplying transcripts through the medium of the graver; and men of high fame have distinguished themselves in this way. Ryland, Bartolozzi, Earlom, have produced engraved copies from the drawings of the great masters, which have given, with admirable spirit, the very lines of the original. Such works as those of Pond and Rogers, and the *Liber Veritatis* of Claude, by Earlom, outweigh all the tinsel which seems so fashionable in the present day. Of the latter work, it is scarcely possible to speak too highly, though the subjects are frequently more highly finished than the originals from which they are copied.

Mr. Reveley's volume is an able attempt to supply a deficiency in the literature of Art, by giving a series of short historical, descriptive, and critical essays on the professional character and productions of the principal artists whose works are in request among the collectors of drawings. The Author has executed his purpose very judiciously, and his son has done well to publish a book which communicates a great variety of useful information in a very intelligible and interesting manner. As a specimen of the book, we shall extract the article which is assigned to

‘ HANS HOLBEIN.

N. 1498.

D. 1554.

‘ Of Basle; possessed an uncommon genius both for history and portrait-painting, but particularly excelled in the latter.

‘ The pictures of this artist are sufficiently well known: his drawings are equally admirable in their way. Even his slightest sketches in black chalk are fine: but his most finished ones, consisting chiefly of heads executed in coloured chalks upon stained paper, have a boldness and relief, which, considering the little use he made of the effect of light and shade, is truly wonderful; and an air and character of truth and nature, an expression of individuality, if I may be allowed the phrase, peculiarly his own.—In this latter style of handling, are two large volumes in the Royal Collection at the Queen's Palace, filled with original portraiture of the principal personages of the court of Henry the 8th. This inestimable treasure, which once belonged to Charles the 1st., after having long disappeared, was acci-

dentally discovered by Queen Caroline in a bureau at Kensington Palace.—In the King's Library in the Green Park, is a small upright drawing, framed, of the Queen of Sheba before Solomon, highly finished in Indian ink, and coloured : it has been etched by Hollar.—At the Duke of Devonshire's at Chatsworth, are portraits of Henry the 7th and 8th, the size of life, handled in black chalk, and heightened with very fine effect.—Mr. Hervey has a volume of twenty-three capital Portraits of the court of Henry the 2nd of France : the faces are very highly finished in coloured chalks ; and over many of them are inscribed the names of the persons they represent.—The Earl of Carlisle has a room at Castle Howard completely hung with a set of his Portraits of distinguished personages in the court of France.—In the British Museum, is a Book for jewellers to work from ; and a collection of designs for Weapons and Ornaments of different kinds, some of which have been engraved by Hollar.—Sandrart has a folio volume of his drawings, representing the Passion of our Saviour, which he so highly prized, that, there being a deficiency of two to complete the set, he publicly offered a reward of two hundred florins for their recovery.—At Basle are many historical designs by this master, intended as patterns for painters on glass.—But by far the largest collection of Holbein's drawings ever got together, was that made by the great Earl of Arundel ; some of which have found their way into the present royal collection, and form the most valuable specimens it possesses of the style of this admirable artist.'

Reveley. pp. 164—166.

We have added to this article, the title of the *Liber Studiorum*, that we might have an opportunity of briefly noticing a series of engravings, which, in our opinion, stands at the head of all similar publications. Were we to make any exception, it could only be, and that with much hesitation, in favour of the *Liber Veritatis* ; of course, not including in our estimate any other than prints in imitation of drawings. The fourteen numbers contain about seventy subjects, ' historical, mountainous, pastoral, marine, and architectural.' Of these, three or four are insignificant, as many more have failed in the hands of the engraver, but the rest are admirable, with a large proportion above all eulogy. Two of the Plagues of Egypt, the fire running along the ground, and the death of the First-born, are a mixture of the historical and architectural, combined with the powerful effects of the ' elemental war : ' their design and execution are alike excellent. All the five subjects of the first Number are examples of interesting scenes finely treated, and full of exquisite sketching ; etched, as are the outlines and marking features of all the remainder, by Turner himself. This gives a peculiar value to the work ; and, in some instances, when the engraver has not felt, or, feeling, has failed to realize, the character of the drawing, this alone gives expression and effect to what would, without it, be altogether poor and unmeaning.

We have often felt surprise that works like these have not

been more frequently employed in the business of education. There seems, indeed, to prevail a notion altogether mistaken as to the real object of instruction in the arts of design. If, as is too frequently the case, it is intended merely to communicate a superficial accomplishment, and to enable the pupil to produce, as speedily as possible, a groupe of tawdry flowers, or a portfolio of showy landscapes and sprawling figures, to be handed about and indiscriminately lauded among friends and visitors,—we dare say, that the approved methods of manufacture, may be well enough suited to the purpose. But if it be designed to impart real and practical knowledge, the art must be taught in its highest principles as found in the productions of its genuine masters; and as these are not accessible, for common purposes, in their primary state, they may with nearly equal advantage be studied through the medium of skilful imitations. Were we called upon to train a youth to the practice of art, we should, if his bent were Landscape, take the *Liber Veritatis* and the *Liber Studiorum* as the basis of our system of instruction, availing ourselves occasionally of the works of other masters as illustrations of the varied range of art. If the Figure were the object of acquisition, we should, in conjunction with the Cast, follow the same plan, and avail ourselves of the fine copies made by such men as Ryland and Bartolozzi, from the great designers of former ages. The study of natural scenery and of the human body, would come advantageously after this, if the bias of the mind led to the cultivation of the arts as a profession. But to this, we are not now adverting. The only genuine object of general tuition in drawing, appears to be that of enabling the individual to realize the scenery and the living forms which may attract his eye, and impress his fancy; to provide himself with a delightful recreation for leisure hours, or to contemplate, with just and discriminating admiration, those works of illustrious artists on which the multitude look with a languid and unintelligent gaze; and this is to be effected only by impregnating the mind with right principles, and accustoming the hand to trace the most accurate lines, and the noblest forms. The copies from Claude, by Earlom, of which the *Liber Veritatis* consists, are full of instruction; their fine sketching, and exquisite effects of light and shade, can never be too closely studied. Some of them, it is true, are unworthy of their associates; but a fair proportion of them is entitled to scarcely qualified praise. That they are somewhat more highly finished than their originals, may affect their value as correct transcripts, but is immaterial in our present view. The *Liber Studiorum* is more complete and elaborate. The subjects are wrought up to the

effect of finished pictures; and such is the magical power with which the various forms and accidents of nature are realized, that we scarcely regret the absence of colour. The glow of sunset, the dewy freshness of the dawn, the fierce brilliancy of the tempest, the play of sunlight amid dense foliage, the alternate shade and lustre thrown on scenery by a stormy sky, the rainbow on the bosom of the shower, the wild and appalling desolation of the *Mer de glace*,—all these are represented with the utmost vividness and truth, and with inexhaustible variety. There is a beautiful view of the ‘vine-covered hills and ‘gay mountains of France,’ with deep shadows and catching lights, rich plains and Alpine distances, that is perfectly enchanting. The story of Esacus and Hesperie is richly decorated; the nymph combing her long dark tresses, the silent dell with its sunny foliage, the cool stream broken by ripples in the distance, and spreading into a deep glassy pool in the foreground, with the fern and foxglove fringing its margin, the fantastic forms and intersections of the overshadowing branches, make up a scene of romantic attraction. There is a sort of counterpart to this, in the noble *Salvatoresque* sketch of Jason stealing on the slumbers of the dragon, amid a close scenery of rock and foliage, and shivered trunks and skeletons. The way in which part of the monster’s scaly coil is shewn at the entrance of his lair, is intensely indicative of magnitude and strength. Solway Moss is a capital specimen of the artist’s skill in giving interest to an insignificant scene, and the engraver (Lupton) has given it its full effect. A deep black cloud stretching athwart a strong gleaming sunshine in the distance, throws its deep shadow over the middle and foregrounds, while a winding train of cattle coming forward in dark perspective, breaks, in the immediate van of the picture, into well managed light and shade. The story of Rispah, watching the dead bodies of the sons of Saul by moonlight, is singularly, but powerfully treated. But, were we thus to particularize every interesting subject in the collection, we should extend this article to a most unreasonable length; we shall notice only one or two in the last published number. A church with reader and congregation by lamp-light, is excellently represented. The chandeliers are dazzling in their effect, the plate and gilding of the altar are lustrous in the gleam, and the dark gothic arches make a good foreground. The last is a beautiful scene, representing Christ and the Woman of Samaria at the well. A bank with beautifully disposed trees overhangs the spring, near which lie scattered cornices and masses of hewn stone, the vestiges of some building thrown down by violence; the foreground sinks into a woody valley,

beyond which rise the gates, and walls, and edifices of the city. The plate is excellently aquatinted by Reynolds.

The frontispiece to the first volume is a whimsical but rich composition, in which all sorts of heterogeneous things are thrown together—gilt picture-frames and Roman Cippi, ginkgoes and antique urns, herring-barrels and Greek cornices, eels and egg-baskets, soles and Saxon arches, mackerel and Ionic volutes, *caducei* and water lilies, turbot and thistles, peacocks, bulrushes, dock-leaves, masts, oars, and sails, are thrown together in most picturesque confusion, with a ‘picture in little,’ the story of Europa, slightly but exquisitely handled, in the centre.

**Art. VII. *Observations on Providence*, chiefly in Relation to the Affairs of the Church. By John Leifchild. 24mo. Price 3s. London. 1823.**

**N**O truths are in so great danger of being overlooked, or of losing their hold on the mind, as those which are the most nearly related to the predominant errors of the day. Error is always a thing of parasitical growth; and that which it at once fastens and feeds upon, and serves to conceal, will in every instance be found to be truth. If this be correct, the truths which are thus overgrown, must be in a condition to be almost entirely lost sight of. This was strikingly the case, when the doctrine of Divine Influences was absolutely hidden by Quakerism, and those who attacked the error seemed to have lost the knowledge of the truth it grew from. This has partly happened with regard to the doctrines defiled and perverted by the Antinomian; and the difficulty consists in tearing down the vile weed that has twisted itself with the heavenly plant, without injuring any essential part by the separation.

We think that Mr. Leifchild has, in this little volume, selected for illustration not only an important, but a neglected truth—a truth which the absurd pretensions of the Papist, and the narrow notions of the Sectarian, have, on either hand, tended to obscure. The one, by secularizing the Church of Christ, has altogether transformed its character, so that what the Scriptures declare respecting the true Church, is in no sense true of *his*. The other, by contracting and schismatically dividing the kingdom of Christ, and making the elect of God consist of a little enlightened knot of initiated “believers” of a certain stamp, who can say Shibboleth as their pass-word, has done scarcely less dishonour to the true dignity and glory of the “Bride” of Jehovah. In the notions of neither can

we recognise that august institution, that holy and royal priesthood, that catholic unity, which the Scriptures denote, when they speak of "the Church of the living God." Yet, it is not the less true, that God has a people, though composed of men of all nations,—a spiritual kingdom upon this earth, as really, though not as visibly, as when the Jewish theocracy comprehended the only worshippers of the true God. Of this Church, and of this only, it is truly declared, that

‘ Besides the general ends to be answered by Providence, noticed in the scriptures, and discoverable by reason—such as the preservation of the world from ruinous disorder; the employment of a vast number of good agents, in a way suitable to their capacities and principles; the overwhelming with confusion, and so punishing, the evil agents at work in the creation; the supplying of every age, and in a way obvious to every capacity, with proofs of the moral perfection of the Deity, extorting the homage of the wicked, as well as attracting the admiration of the just, and leaving the profane and impious without excuse;—besides these general ends, the Bible constantly holds up to us a great and principal one, in which they all unite, and to which every thing else that is done, or permitted to be done, in the world, is more nearly or more remotely subservient. This end is none other than the raising and keeping up a number of individuals in the world, according to the gracious counsel of God, to be redeemed from all the evils of the fall, and eventually associated together, when the present material heavens and earth, having answered their great design, shall be dissolved, and the mystery of God be consummated. The *church*, then, is the main object of the care of Providence. All the rest of the world is governed with reference to its interests. As an indulgent prince, while he extends his regards and affords his protection to all his subjects, pays a particular attention to those who claim affinity with him, and makes their interest and welfare a grand object in all his counsels and proceedings relating to his dominions at large; so the followers of Christ, and all in every age who seek and serve the true God, according to the measure in which he is made known to them, are those, for whose preservation, prosperity, and increase, every thing else is adjusted and regulated. The whole scheme of this world's affairs is but a kind of *under-plot* to that of grace, to the development and accomplishment of which it is completely subservient: in the same manner, though on an infinitely larger scale, as a good man is required to make the whole concern of his life, extending to the most trivial circumstance, subordinate to the sanctification of his nature, and the advancement of the Divine glory: or, to express the same thing in different words, as an individual of multifarious concerns, and of numerous interests, having one predominant object of solicitude,—one main interest which he is urging in the world, makes every thing else, whatever particular end besides it may have to answer, conducive to the prosecution of this his great and paramount design.’ pp. 51—54.



This interesting doctrine, Mr. Leifchild illustrates by a rapid review of the leading facts in church history. Besides the numberless striking interpositions which are recorded in the Scriptures, there are two remarkable facts which stand out from the page of the historian. The one is 'the establishment of a universal language, so essential to the speedy propagation of a universal religion,' at the time of our Lord's advent; taken in connexion, too, with the tolerant spirit of that gigantic empire which embraced within its jurisdiction the civilized world, and for a season silenced, by its ascendancy, the voice of war. The other is, the discovery of printing prior to the Reformation, on which Luther remarked, that 'the revelation of God's word would never have become so glorious, unless first the tongues and arts had been brought into use, and flourished, and made way for divinity, as John Baptist did for Christ.' The present era, in many respects the most remarkable one since the Apostolic age, is not less singularly distinguished by analogous circumstances;—a period of almost universal peace, when *One* country may be said to possess an *intellectual* empire, though not a political one, all but universal; when one language is rapidly spreading over two hemispheres; and when the labours of translators, the researches of travellers, and the rapid spread of education in all countries and languages, are producing results far more extensive and important than any which immediately followed the discovery of the Art of Printing itself.

The general doctrine of Providence is admitted by all Christians; and there is a disposition among a certain class, to dwell, perhaps injudiciously, on private instances of what is termed a particular providence. 'A general providence, without a particular one, in the sense ordinarily attached to these words,' is, as Mr. Leifchild justly remarks, 'a contradiction in terms.' Nor can we be too minute in our private references to the doctrine of Providence. No event, however small, is excluded from the infinite scheme, which extends to the fall of a sparrow, and which makes the prayers of the pious, one means and condition of the Divine operations. But there is such a thing as a rash interpretation of what are termed particular providences. And there have been good men so exclusively occupied with these, as not to take a proper interest in the development of those general designs which relate to the Church of Christ at large. The contemplation of such a subject as the present, seems well adapted to correct this contracted habit of viewing things, to enlarge the sphere of our sympathies, to counteract the selfishness of party, and to make us feel our alliance, if Christians, to the noblest of



causes, as subjects of that " Kingdom which cannot be moved," and which shall at length be universal.

Mr. Leifchild is too well known as one of our most popular and efficient pulpit orators, to render it necessary for us to add any formal commendation of this little treatise, beyond what we have already bestowed on his choice of the subject. It is very pleasingly written, and by ' the humble and thoughtful ' disciples of Christ,' for whose benefit it is especially designed, will be read with equal benefit and satisfaction. The concluding paragraph is peculiarly excellent.

' One topic remains, without which the subject of these pages would be incomplete ; and which, appended to the foregoing remarks, may give them additional force and interest. It relates to the distinguished station, in the administration of human affairs, which is occupied by the *Saviour*. Prophets, as well as Apostles, point to him as sustaining the honours of universal dominion. All kingdoms, might, and power, are his ; to carry into execution, by their subordinate ministry, the gracious purposes of his Father, in the gift of the world to him with which he has become so intimately and tenderly related, and for which he endured the most agonizing sufferings.

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" He,  
Who wore the platted thorns with bleeding brows,  
Rules universal nature."

This exaltation, while it supposes for its basis, his possession of the Divine nature, conveys, from the union of it with ours, an additional and endearing pledge of its successful issue. In his superior nature, he challenges our adoration ; in his subordinate nature, he encourages and wins our confidence. What less than omniscience, omnipresence, and omnipotence, can avail for the discharge of an office which has all other intelligent beings, together with dumb and unintelligent nature, subjected to its notice and control ? The union is impossible, even in thought, of limited ability with universal authority. Let those who have invented an hypothesis which renders this reconciliation necessary, weary themselves with attempting to accomplish the impossible task, which, could it be accomplished, would bestow neither comfort nor benefit ; but we, whom the scriptures have taught to recognise the Godhead of Christ, breaking through the dark veil of flesh in the days of his humiliation, cannot be backward to recognise it in his present supremacy. With cheerful songs and rejoicings, we compass the Divine throne ; and, having such a security for our hope, we cast our eyes on the world, with perfect confidence of its becoming, in a future age, all that the fond wishes of saints have anticipated, and more than has entered into the heart of man to conceive. " Come forth then, O thou Prince of all the kings of the earth ! Put on the visible robes of thine imperial majesty : take up the sceptre of unlimited empire which thine Almighty Father hath bequeathed thee. Lo, thy bride waits to receive thee, and all creatures sigh to be renewed !" ' pp. 113—117.

## ART. VIII. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

*\* \* Gentlemen and Publishers who have works in the Press, will oblige the Conductors of the ECLECTIC REVIEW, by sending information (post paid) of the subject, extent, and probable price of such works; which they may depend upon being communicated to the public, if consistent with its plan.*

Preparing for publication, *Memoirs of Samuel Pepys, Esq.*, Secretary to the Admiralty during the reigns of Charles II. and James II., and the intimate friend of the celebrated John Evelyn, now first deciphered from the original MSS. written in short-hand and preserved in the Pepysian Library. The journal commences immediately before the restoration, (when Mr. Pepys sailed with Admiral Montagu to bring over the king from Breda,) and is continued almost uninterruptedly for ten years, containing much curious matter not to be found in any other history of that eventful period. Independently of the naval transactions, which are detailed with great exactness, the pages abound with private anecdotes of Charles II. and his court; and Mr. Pepys's peculiar habits of observation led him generally to record the most curious characteristics of the times in which he lived. The work will be comprised in 2 vols. 4to. printed uniformly with Evelyn's *Memoirs*, and embellished with portraits of the author, and some of the principal persons connected with the memoirs.

Preparing for the press, and speedily will be published, *A Practical German Grammar*, being a new and easy method for acquiring a thorough knowledge of the German Language, for the use of schools and private students. By John Rowbotham, Master of the Classical, Mathematical, and Commercial Academy, at Walworth.

On the 25th of November will be published, with the Almanack, embellished with an emblematical frontispiece, including a medallion portrait of Captain Parry, *Times Telescope for 1824*, or the *Astronomer's Botanist's, Naturalist's, and Historian's Guide for the year*, forming also a complete illustration of the Almanack, to which will be prefixed, an introduction, containing the outlines of historical and physical geography, and an Ode to Flowers, written expressly for this work, by Bernard Barton.

The *New Trial of the Witnesses, or the Resurrection of Jesus considered, on principles understood and acknowledged equally by Jews and Christians*, is in the press, and will be published in the beginning of the ensuing month.

A Poem, entitled *Clara Chester*, by the Author of "*Rome*," and "*The Vale of Chamouni*," will be published in a few weeks, in post 8vo.

In the press, *Father Clement, a Roman Catholic Story*. By the Author of "*Decision, Profession not Principle, &c.*"

In the press, *Batavian Anthology*, or specimens of the Dutch Poets; with remarks on the poetical literature and language of the Netherlands. By John Bowring and Harry S. Van Dyk.

The *Private Correspondence of the late William Cowper, Esq.*, in 2 vols. 8vo., now first published from the originals, is in a forward state, and may be expected in the course of the present month. This work will, it is presumed, form a valuable addition to his *Life*, as throwing a new light upon those parts of his interesting character, which have hitherto been but slightly alluded to.

Sir Andrew Halliday has nearly ready for the press, the *Lives of the Dukes of Bavaria, Saxony, and Brunswick*, ancestors of the Kings of Great Britain of the Guelphic Dynasty; with portraits of the most illustrious of these princes, from drawings made from ancient statues and paintings, by the old masters, expressly for this work.

Preparing for publication, *Short Hand-Writing made easy, concise, and legible*, with 25 letters including the vowels; upon the most philosophical principles, and suited to any language. Compiled from the M.S. of the late W. Blair, Esq.

Speedily will be published, *Extracts from various Greek Authors, with English Notes and Lexicon, for the Use of the Junior Greek Class in the University of Glasgow*. In 1 vol. 8vo.

Mr. Gamble, author of "Sketches in Ireland," and other works, is about to publish, Charlton, or Scenes in the North of Ireland. In 3 vols.

A new Poem, entitled a 'Midsummer Day's Dream,' will speedily appear, from the pen of Mr. Atherstone, author of "The Last Days of Herculaneum."

Admiral Ekins has in the press, a work on Naval Tactics, entitled, 'Naval Battles from 1744 to the Peace in 1814, critically revised and illustrated.'

Dr. Henderson's History of Ancient and Modern Wines, is nearly ready for publication.

A new work entitled, 'Fatal Errors and Fundamental Truths, illustrated in a Series of Narratives and Essays,' is in the press.

Mr. Riddle, Master of the Mathematical School, Royal Naval Asylum, is preparing a 'Treatise on Navigation and Nautical Astronomy,' adapted to practice and to the purposes of elementary instruction.

Dr. Prout is preparing a volume of 'Observations on the Functions of the Digestive Organs, especially those of the Stomach and Liver.'

A Translation from the German, of Morning Communings with God for every Day in the Year, by Sturm, the author of the "Reflections," is in the press.

Mr. Jefferys Taylor, author of "Esop in Rhyme," &c. is printing 'The Young Historians, being a New Chronicle of the Affairs of England, by Lewis and Paul.'

## ART. IX. LIST OF WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

### HISTORY.

Sir Robert Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, or Court of Queen Elizabeth, her Times, and Favourites. A new edition, corrected by the Original MSS. With illustrative notes, and life of Naunton. Nine portraits, small 8vo. 12s. 6d. demy 11. 1s.

### MISCELLANEOUS.

Report of the Speeches delivered before the Presbytery of Glasgow, on the Motion for inducting the Rev. Dr. M'Farlane into the Ministry of the Tron Church. 8vo. 1s 6d.

School Hours: a collection of exercises and prize poems by the young gentlemen under the tuition of the Rev. A. Burnaby, M.A. Louth, Lincolnshire. 12mo. 5s.

### THEOLOGY.

An Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. By Thomas Hartwell Horne, M.A. 4th edition, corrected. Illustrated with numerous maps and fac-similes of Biblical MSS. In 4 large volumes, 8vo. 31. 3s.

\*.\* Possessors of former Editions may have an additional Fac-simile gratis, on applying through their respective Booksellers.

The Approach of the Latter Days: in four Dissertations on the following Subjects: the Sword, or War, Pestilence, Famine, and Anti-Christ. Reprinted from a Work published in 1713. 8vo. 2s.

A Collection of Facts, in a Series of Letters addressed to the publisher of D'Alembert's "Hell Destroyed," by James Baker. 1s. 6d.

## TO CORRESPONDENTS.

WE are not a little amused at finding ourselves called upon by an esteemed Correspondent, formally to contradict the report that One Hundred Pounds was paid for the insertion of a minor Article in our July Number. Our readers will appreciate the implied acknowledgment to our influence and importance, at the expense, however, of our integrity. We have only to state most unequivocally, that no sum of money was ever paid or offered, with the knowledge of the Editor or Proprietor, for the insertion of any Article whatsoever in this Journal.

# THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR DECEMBER, 1823.

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- Art. I. 1.** *An Account of some recent Discoveries in Hieroglyphic Literature and Egyptian Antiquities*, including the Author's Original Alphabet as extended by Mr. Champollion, with a Translation of five unpublished Greek and Egyptian Manuscripts. By Thomas Young, M.D. F.R.S. &c. 8vo. pp. xvi, 160. Price 7s. 6d. London. 1823.
- 2.** *Lettre à M. Dacier, Secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*, relative à l'Alphabet des Hiéroglyphes phonétiques employés par les Egyptiens pour inscrire sur leurs Monumens les Titres, les Noms, et les Surnoms des Souverains Grecs et Romains. Par M. Champollion le Jeune. A Paris. Chez. Didot. 1822.


**T**HIS is the age of discovery. The French are beginning to sonnetize in hieroglyphics. Dr. Young has discovered the marks of the feminine termination, and M. Champollion can read the ancient Egyptian inscriptions as fast as Count Forbin can drink champagne. M. Biot has proved that the Zodiac of Denderah may have been constructed a hundred and thirty nine years after the Christian era, and M. Fourier is as mad as a March hare. So then, the chronology of the Bible may be correct, and we need indulge the less anxiety respecting the possible results of the researches of French savans and English Quarterly Reviewers into the mysteries of Hieroglyphic literature, from which, no doubt, we may eventually hope to learn

“How the world looked when it was fresh and young,  
And the great Deluge still had left it green.”

We cannot, however, compliment Dr. Young on his having added much to our stock of information by the volume before us. He entitles it an “Account of some recent Discoveries ;” but, throughout the preface, the nine chapters, and the two appendices, into which the volume is distributed, we have been unable to discover any thing that had not previously been

given to the public in one form or other, either by himself or by his Egyptian co-adjutors, except a few proper names in the Enchorial character, the Greek text of the papyrus of Mr. Grey, and that of Anastasy and Böckh: His reasons for 'presuming' to appear again before the public in any other capacity than 'that of a practical physician,' are, first, his having discovered the Greek MS. brought from Thebes by Mr. Grey, to be the translation of a hieroglyphical papyrus lately purchased by the King of France; and secondly, M. Champollion's not having 'very fully' enumerated all his obligations to his predecessor in hieroglyphic studies—Dr. Young. With a commendable jealousy, not so much for his own fame as for the honour of the British nation, he has done violence to his own modesty and to 'professional decorum,' in thus stepping forward to vindicate his prior claims as an Egyptian antiquary—'desirous,' he says,

'of securing at least for my country, what is justly considered as a desirable acquisition to every country, the reputation of having enlarged the boundaries of human knowledge, and of having contributed to extend the dominion of the mind of man over time, and space, and neglect, and obscurity. *Corona in sacris certaminibus non victori datur, sed patria ab eo coronari pronuntiatur.*'

It may be information not unacceptable to some of our readers, that all the recent commotion in the learned world about Egyptian literature, has been occasioned by a huge block of black stone which was found by the French in digging for the foundations of Fort St. Julien near Rosetta, and which is now in the British Museum. One side of this stone bears an inscription which has been called trilingual, but which ought rather to be termed triliteral; for it is only in two languages, (the ancient Egyptian and the Greek,) although it is in three distinct characters, the Hieroglyphic, the Enchorial, and the Greek. The whole of the inscription is imperfect, parts of the stone having been broken off and lost. The upper part, which is in the hieroglyphic character, has suffered the most: it consists of only fourteen lines. That in the Enchorial character is the most perfect, and occupies thirty two lines. The Greek consists of fifty-four lines. The first line of hieroglyphics answers to the fifteenth in the Enchorial character, and to the twenty-seventh in the Greek. This difference in the number of lines, arises not so much from the different power of the respective characters, so that one can be made to express more ideas in a given compass, as from the mode in which they are written. The hieroglyphic lines are very broad, one occupying fully as much in breadth as three lines of Greek. This is necessary, 

variously sized characters, some of which are large, and occupy the whole breadth of the line, while others are much smaller; and these are placed one above the other, two or three in breadth, as if we were to write <sup>m</sup> instead of *man*. The Enchorial letters generally follow each<sup>a</sup> other, but, in some instances, are ranged above each other, as in the hieroglyphic lines. In the Greek, the words of course are written in the usual mode, and consequently occupy a greater number of lines. No sooner had this lithic biglot arrived in this country, than philologists from all parts hived upon it. The Society of Antiquaries, with laudable zeal, caused the three-fold inscription to be engraved, and copies were very generally circulated. Literati in different countries exercised their utmost ingenuity upon the mystic characters. M. Silvestre de Sacy first attempted that in the Enchorial character, and sent a conjectural translation of it to M. Chaptal, then Minister of the Interior. He was followed by M. Akerblad, a gentleman residing at Paris in a diplomatic capacity, who, in a letter to M. de Sacy, endeavoured to reduce all the letters in the Enchorial inscription to an alphabet arranged according to the order of the Coptic. He took for his model, the method pursued by Barthelemy in his attempt to discover the Palmyrenian Alphabet, which was, to find out first the proper names, and then, to ascertain the letters which they had in common. M. de Sacy had discovered the names of Ptolemy and Alexander: to these M. Akerblad was enabled to add those of Arsinoe, Berenice, Philinus, Pyrrha, &c.; and having corrected several of his Correspondent's mistakes, he framed an alphabet of thirty-one letters and three numerals. In accomplishing this, he derived great assistance from his knowledge of the Coptic language, which he studied in the Coptic Bible, Liturgy, Homilies, Martyrology, and Church Songs, with the help of La Croze's Coptic Dictionary. But he confesses that he found great difficulty in recognising the identity of the Coptic and the Egyptian words; and Dr. Young says, that the number which he could identify, scarcely amounts to one in ten. Within the space of from four to five hundred years, which elapsed between the date of this inscription and that of the oldest Coptic books extant, the language appears to have undergone a much greater change than was produced in the languages of Greece and Italy by the lapse of two thousand years. This will at once shew the great difficulties with which its expounders have to contend, and the uncertain basis on which many of their interpretations must rest. First, they do not understand the character. Next, if this difficulty were surmounted, they

do not understand the language it is employed to express. And granting that an unknown language might be deciphered, yet, where there exist no means of correction, as in the present case, the most expert and accomplished decipherer must be liable to frequent mistake; or rather, the utmost that he can attain, will be an approximation to the meaning,—a probable guess. We may further remark, that although the idiographic hieroglyphics, or direct representations of the object, would be the same in all languages, yet, when they came to be used *phonetically*, they would differ as widely as the languages themselves. The word man, for instance, means, in English, the same that the word *homme* does in French; and its idiographic hieroglyphic would be the same in both languages; but the phonetic hieroglyphics in each, would necessarily be different. Thus, the M. in man, might be represented by a mouse, a marmot, a monkey, or any idiographic hieroglyphic the initial sound of which answered to the M. In the same manner, H. in the French word *homme*, would be represented, in phonetic hieroglyphics, by an owl (*hibou*), a swallow (*hirondelle*), or any other idiographic sign whose initial letter was H. And so on throughout the letters respectively composing the words man and homme. Hence, when these idiographic hieroglyphics came to be written hieratically, and enchorially or demotically, they would necessarily have a quite different power in different languages; and thus, the alphabets of the several countries would vary, not arbitrarily or accidentally, but owing to the letters being formed from phonetic hieroglyphics altogether dissimilar. We should like to instance this by a comparison of the hieroglyphics of Babylon, (where Greek sovereigns also reigned, and many names might be expected to occur in common,) with those of Egypt, written in phonetic hieroglyphics.

The Greek part of the inscription presented also serious difficulties, arising from the numerous blemishes and defalcations in the stone; but the greater part of these were surmounted by the profound learning and ingenuity of Professors Porson and Heyné; and a translation of it by Mr. Gough, corrected by Porson, was published in 1809.

The hieroglyphic part of the inscription still remained untouched; and Dr. Young, we believe, was the first who ventured on this sacred ground. He had previously made himself familiar with the Coptic language, in the hope of finding an Alphabet which would enable him to read the Enchorial inscription; but this hope, he informs us, he was compelled subsequently to abandon, and to admit the conviction, that 'no such alphabet would ever be discovered, because it had



‘ never been in existence.’ In the progress of this investigation, however, he discovered a multitude of characters which were obvious imitations of the hieroglyphics in the first inscription; and, in one of his letters to M. de Sacy, he expresses himself as led to entertain more hope of being able to interpret the old Egyptian manuscripts by means of the hieroglyphics, than the hieroglyphics by them. He gave a conjectural translation of the Enchorial inscription in the xviiiith volume of the *Archæologia*. In the volume before us, he thus sums up the facts that he has ascertained.

‘ A cursory examination of the few well identified characters, amounting to about 90 or 100, which the hieroglyphical inscription, in its mutilated state, had enabled me to ascertain, was however sufficient to prove, first, that many simple objects were represented, as might naturally be supposed, by their actual delineations; secondly, that many other objects, represented graphically, were used in a figurative sense only, while a great number of the symbols, in frequent use, could be considered as the pictures of no existing objects whatever; thirdly, that, in order to express a plurality of objects, a dual was denoted by a repetition of the character, but that three characters of the same kind, following each other, implied an indefinite plurality, which was likewise more compendiously represented by means of three lines or bars attached to a single character; fourthly, that definite numbers were expressed by dashes for units, and arches, either round or square, for tens; fifthly, that all hieroglyphical inscriptions were read from front to rear, as the objects naturally follow each other; sixthly, that proper names were included by the oval ring, or border, or *cartouche*, of the sacred characters, and often between two fragments of a similar border in the running band; and, seventhly, that the name of Ptolemy alone existed on this pillar, having only been completely identified by the assistance of the analysis of the enchorial inscription. And, as far as I have ever heard or read, *not one* of these particulars had ever been established and placed on record, by *any other* person, dead or alive.’ pp. 13, 14.

‘ Dead or alive!’ Excellently said, most learned Doctor! *Vir gregis ipse caper*. What figure of speech is this? To what class belong the ancient translators of hieroglyphics, or the writers of this same Rosetta inscription? But this is not the whole of the literary property to which the Doctor lays claim, and which he is anxious to have legally secured to himself, against the rival pretensions of all other authors ‘ dead or alive.’ After wading through a long series of complimentary acknowledgements and tedious personal details, we find him fretfully complaining that M. Champollion had not given him distinct credit for the discovery, that the oval and the semi-circle constitute the feminine termination.

‘ The interpretation of the female termination,’ he says, ‘ had never, I believe, been suspected by any but myself: nor had the name of a single god or goddess, out of more than five hundred that I have collected, been clearly pointed out by any person.’ p. 45.

Moreover, whereas M. Champollion acknowledges that Dr. Young has recognised the phonetic values of four of the characters, the Dr. states, that, ‘ instead of four letters which ‘ M. C. is *pleased to allow*’ him, he had actually specified *nine*, in different parts of the article Egypt in the Supplement to the Encyclopedia Britannica. What flagrant injustice, and how little short of insulting! ‘ *Homo quatuor literarum.*’ May we be permitted to submit to our much injured Author’s attention, a precept from another Roman poet?

‘ Ut jam nunc dicat, jam nunc debentia dici.’

When a man feels that he is injured in his literary reputation, he has a right to complain; but let him, in that case, manfully close with his antagonist, administer, if he can, a hearty castigation, or bring the aggressor to justice, and have done with it. It is ludicrous to see a man fretted to the heart, and whimpering page after page, because the ‘ chronology’ of his researches has not been more distinctly stated by a foreign rival, or because he has not had full credit allowed him for this and for that. We must further take the liberty of telling Dr. Young, that, though he occasionally communicates some valuable facts, yet, they are mixed up with so much wordy speculation, the reader is so long in arriving at them, and they are often so obscurely enunciated, that he ought not to be surprised at finding himself despoiled of some portion of the credit which he considers as his due. We can honestly assure the learned Doctor, that we would not injure him in his literary property, to the amount of the smallest cobweb in his library. But were we called upon to enumerate his discoveries in Egyptian literature, we could not point out in what part of his own immortal works (and, so far as we know, we have read them all) they are to be found. For example, where shall we find the ninety or one hundred hieroglyphic characters which he says he has ascertained in the Rosetta inscription, alluded to in the extract cited from page 13? Or the five hundred gods and goddesses mentioned at p. 45? Or the nine letters mentioned at p. 47? In Appendix II. to the present volume, we have two hundred and two specimens of hieroglyphics: but where are the rest? Or do these form part of the discoveries alluded to? He has divided the fourteen lines of the hieroglyphic inscription into a certain number of sections, each

comprising a given number of hieroglyphic characters; but he nowhere tells his readers what principle led him to make such divisions, nor does he give the Coptic word that answers to each of them. He has inserted a Latin (why not English?) word or words under each of these sections; but he ought to have inserted the Coptic also, and disclosed the process by which he was led to the discovery, as M. Akerblad has done with regard to that by which he was led to ascertain so many letters in the Enchorial inscription. His readers would then have had it in their power to judge of the accuracy of his deductions. When it is recollected, that the French savans are reported to have mistaken goats' heads for cherubim, and to have represented black legs by blue pantaloons and red edging; and that an English consul-general is said to have given forty piastres (about 1*l.* sterling) for the stone bowl of a tobacco pipe as an antique, because it bore a few hieroglyphics cut on it by a cunning Frenchman, and to have exhibited it as a proof that the ancients smoked tobacco, because neither Herodotus nor Diodorus Siculus affirms that they did not; it will not appear a very unreasonable or uncandid suspicion, that our most learned Egyptian may possibly have committed some mistakes scarcely less palpable. His withholding from the public the principle of his operations, seems, at all events, like shrinking from the test of criticism; and his having given the name of Psammis to the tomb discovered by Belzoni at Thebes, when Herodotus informs us that that monarch, with all his dynasty, was buried at Sais, shews at least that his conjectures are not always to be depended upon. When he again favours us with any learned speculations, should professional decorum and his extensive medical practice admit of his again appearing before the public in the capacity of an Egyptian antiquary, we shall hope to find a few more facts and discoveries, with somewhat less of prologuing, and complimenting, and wrangling, and self gratulation, — more of the subject, and less of Dr. Young. Clear thinking or good writing we do not expect from him. The Marquis de Caylus justly remarked long ago, 'Chiffrer, caculer, soustraire, et diviser, n'est pas bien écrire.'

We now come to the work of M. Champollion. This ingenious gentleman, who has employed ten years in the assiduous study of Egyptian literature, has already submitted to the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, one memoir on the Egyptian mode of writing called *hieratic* or sacerdotal; and a second on the *demotic* or popular. His present Letter relates to the hieroglyphic alphabet employed by the Egyptians in inscribing on their monuments the titles, names, and surnames of the Greek and Roman sovereigns; which hierogly-

phics he terms *phonetic*; i. e. possessed of the power of expressing sounds. It may not be improper to remind our readers, that, according to Herodotus\*, the Egyptians had two sorts of *grammata*, or modes of writing; the ἱερα γραμματα and the δημοτικα γραμματα, both of which were written from right to left. Porphyry and Clemens Alexandrinus state, that they had three modes of writing; the Epistolographic, the Hieroglyphic, and the Symbolic. Abinuphius says, that they had four modes of writing; one used by the people and private individuals; a second used by the philosophers and savans; the third, a mixture of letters and symbols or pictures; the fourth, that used by the priests. Warburton adopts the opinion that the Egyptians had four modes of writing; the Hieroglyphic, which he subdivides into the Cyriologic and the Tropic; the Symbolic, which also he distinguishes as of two kinds, one simple and tropic, the other mysterious and allegorical; the epistolographic, adapted for common affairs; and the hierogrammatic, consecrated to religion. We deem it unnecessary in this place to wind through a labyrinth of learned discussions, in order to ascertain the respective merits or demerits of each of these modes of classification. Herodotus (who, notwithstanding Dr. Young's sarcastic remark about the pride of the Greeks and their want of philological talent, was probably as well informed on the subject as any one of the learned men whose names we have mentioned, from the Alexandrian Father down to Dr. Young) classes the hieroglyphic, the hieratic, and the symbolic modes under the first general description—ἱερα γραμματα—the common, epistolographic, and enchorial under the second—δημοτικα. The French have called the second *cursive*, and the English, *running-hand*. We consider M. Champollion, therefore, as perfectly right in adopting the term employed by Herodotus, (in preference to Enchorial, the term used in reference to the Rosetta inscription,) as the title for his Alphabet, under which to include all the varieties occurring in the common manuscripts of the ancient Egyptians.

Our Author observed that, in this demotic character, foreign names were expressed phonetically by means of signs which were syllabic, rather than alphabetic. From a comparison of several of these proper names, (twenty are given in his plate, he ascertained the value of each character, and thus formed his alphabet or demotic syllabus. Having once established the use of phonetic characters in the demotic writing, which he had shewn to have been borrowed from the hieratic, which

again was merely a *tachygraphy* or running-hand of the hieroglyphic, he drew the reasonable conclusion, that this last mode, the hieroglyphic itself, must also possess a certain number of phonetic signs; that is, that there existed a certain series of phonetic hieroglyphics. To prove this, it was requisite only to obtain two ancient names, which contained several letters in common. In consequence of fractures, the hieroglyphics of the Rosetta inscription furnished him only the name of Ptolemy. The obelisk of Philoe gave him the same name expressed in the same characters, and also the name of Cleopatra, both enclosed within an oval ring, or, as he terms it, a *cartouche*, and possessing several characters in common. The names were originally ascertained by means of the accompanying Greek inscription; and a comparison of them furnished him with eleven consonants and vowels or diphthongs of the Greek Alphabet; viz. Α, ΑΙ, Ε, Κ, Λ, Μ, Ο, Π, Ρ, Σ, Τ. The phonetic value of these signs was further proved by their application to other cartouches containing proper names taken from Egyptian monuments. Thus, one of the proper names on the Temple of Karnak in Thebes, was found, in the *Description de l'Egypte*, to answer to Alexander. This furnished him with one new character, Ν, and a new form of Κ and Σ. Having proved the value of these Letters, he read, as he informs us, (p. 10.) ΑΑΚΣΕΝΤΡΣ; which is thus written, letter for letter, in the demotic writing of the Rosetta inscription, and in the papyrus in the King's Cabinet at Paris, and, in both, answers to the Greek name, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ. He found that the form of the Κ and the Τ were different, in this proper name, from what they had in Kleopatra. For this he accounts in the following very natural and satisfactory manner. The phonetic writing among the ancient Egyptians, whether hieroglyphic or demotic, was not so fixed and invariable a system as our alphabet. The Egyptian hieroglyphic mode of writing was idiographic; that is, it consisted of actual representations or symbols of the objects to be expressed. But, whenever the Egyptians had occasion to use these characters phonetically, they then lost their idiographic power, and no longer denoted the objects of which they were the picture or actual representation, but merely the initial sounds of the words that expressed those objects. Thus, if any person wished to write the word *Barrow*, he might draw a hog, or the species of carriage so named. Either of these would be a specimen of idiographic writing, and perfectly significant of the object intended. But, if he wished to write the same word in phonetic symbols, he would draw, first of all, a great boar, which would stand simply for the initial Β;

next, an ape for the A ; then, two rams for the double R ; then an owl for the O ; and last, a weasel for the final W. All these heterogeneous symbols united would make BARROW in phonetic hieroglyphics, none of them being idiographic or significant of the object which they pictured, but signifying merely the initial sound of the name of the object. But the idiographic sign of any object, the name of which began with the same initial, might stand for B ; as, for instance, Bee, Bat, Badger, Bull, instead of Boar ; and so of the other letters. And the substitution of one phonetic sign for another, or the employing of different signs of the same power, would occasion no difficulty to any person acquainted with the language, the character, and the subject. The number of phonetic signs for the same alphabetic character might thus be indefinitely numerous ; and it would be impossible to predict in any given case, the idiographic sign which the writer would select for phonetic use. Hence, the necessity of being acquainted with the object represented, in order to understand the hieroglyphic or idiographic sign, and the further necessity of a previous acquaintance with the language, so as to know the name of the object, in order to understand its phonetic power. But, though all the idiographic signs were originally significant of the object, they ceased to be so when employed phonetically ; and he who first reduced all the phonetic signs into an alphabet of twenty-four or twenty-five letters, did more to facilitate the means of recording and extending human knowledge, than all that has since been done in the way of perfecting the medium of thought. The demotic writing furnishes ample proof that this improvement was not effected at once, but was progressive ; for, in the writing of foreign names, whenever different phonetic signs are used, the demotic signs, or letters, are also different, being imperfect imitations of them ; which shews that the hieroglyphic was the original mode of writing, and that it fell by degrees into the hieratic, the demotic, and at length, the alphabetical\*.

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\* Professor Murray, in his very learned but somewhat fanciful history of languages, has thrown considerable light on the hieroglyphic origin of the Phenician, Hebrew, and Chaldee alphabets, by shewing that the names of the letters are taken from the objects of which they were originally the idiographic signs. Thus, we are told, Alph signified an ox ; Beth, a house ; Gaml, a camel ; Dalth, a door ; Waw, a hook ; Caph, the grasp of the hand ; Lamb, a sharp instrument, a spit ; Samch, a support : Ain or Gain, an eye ; Resh, a summit, a head ; Shin, a tooth. Hitherto, the Egyptian alphabet has not ex-



M. Champollion shews, in a number of instances, that the initial sound of the idiographic character answers exactly to the phonetic name. Thus, a hawk, one of the phonetics of A, is, in Egyptian, Halœt ; the vault or kind of arch which is one of the phonetics of K, is, in Egyptian, Kepe ; the Lion, one of the phonetics of L, is Laboi ; the mouth, the phonetic of R, is Ro ; the semi-circle, Dr. Young's favourite symbol, one of the phonetics of T, is, in Egyptian, Ti or Tori, the open hand. Thus he proceeds to form a hieroglyphic alphabet comprising eleven forms of Alpha, five of Beta, two Gammas, two Deltas, one Epsilon, no Zeta, nine Etas, no Theta, five Iotas, sixteen Kappas, (two of which are the same with Gamma,) four A's, five M's, seven N's, two  $\pi$ 's, (which are merely the sign of K, placed over that of S,) six Omicrons, three Pi's, eleven R's, fifteen Sigmas, four Tau's (two the same as  $\Delta$ ) no Upsilon, two  $\Phi$ 's (the same with  $\Pi$ ) no  $\Upsilon$ , no X, and two Omegas, the same with O. These are all accompanied with corresponding demotic signs ; but the differing forms of each letter are not by any means so numerous, the utmost variety being five, the generality having but two forms ; and the variation is often so trifling as hardly to require a separate notation.

Our ingenious Author, with that zeal which accompanies and ensures success, proceeded to examine the cartouches enclosing the proper names inscribed on the different monuments of Egypt. He has given three plates, containing seventy-nine of these in hieroglyphics, adding, in an explanatory table, the letters which each of them contain in Greek capitals ; so that any person may with very little trouble make himself master of the Author's whole Alphabet, and read any Greek or Roman name that he encounters on these monuments. On the great temple at Karnak in Thebes, he found inscribed the name of Ptolemy, written Ptolmes, the letters arranged  $\overset{N}{\underset{B}{\text{ml}}}_p$  ; and

Berenice, written Brneks, the letters arranged SKER : also, the name of Alexander, Alksntrs, the letters arranged  $\overset{N}{\underset{LRS}{\text{trs}}}_s \overset{A}{\text{L}}$

He also finds the name of Ptolemy and Cleopatra on the temples of Philoe and Koom Ombos ; at Edfou, Ptolemy Alexander ; at Denderah, Ptolomy Neo Kesrs (the young Cæsar), meaning the Son which Julius Cæsar had by Cleopatra.

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hibited any coincidence in its phonetic signs, and the presumption is against their common origin, although both would seem to have been formed, in the same manner, from idiographic hieroglyphics.



So much for the Macedonian Kings of Egypt. But he also found the names of several Roman Emperors. On what has been called the Circular Zodiac of Denderah, he finds the title AOTOKRTR, which he refers to the Emperor Claudius or Nero, because most of their medals struck in Egypt, bore the simple legend Autocrator. Hence he very justly infers, that this same circular zodiac was sculptured under the dominion of the Romans, thus at once shivering to atoms the theories of Volney and his infidel school. On the great temple of Philæ, he reads Aotokrtr Kesrs, which he refers to Augustus Cæsar, because his Greek medals struck in Egypt, bore only these two words; and he supposes the bas-reliefs to relate to the victory at Actium, which constituted a new and important era in the history of Egypt. The names Aotkrtr Tbres Kesra (Emperor Tiberius Cæsar), and Aotkrtr Tomtens Sbsts (Emperor Domitian Sebastus), are also found on the monuments of Philæ. The name of the latter emperor is more frequently found at Denderah, where it occurs with the surname affixed, Krmnch (Germanicus). The name Aotkrtr Ksrs Nro Treus (Emperor Cæsar Nero Trajan) is also found at Philæ: and Aotokrtr Ksrs Antonens (Emperor Cæsar Antoninus) is found on the Typhonium at Denderah. The reading of the hieroglyphics begins at that end of the inscription towards which the heads of the animals are turned: the demotic is always read from right to left.

The Egyptian phonetic writing is, we think, very properly considered by M. Champollion as bearing a close analogy to the ancient Phenician, Hebrew, Syriac, Cufic, Arabic, and modern Arabic, which may be called *semi-alphabetic*; presenting only the skeleton of words, the consonants and long vowels, and leaving it to the skill of the reader to supply the short ones. The Chinese, whose mode of writing bears a great affinity to that of the ancient Egyptians, adopted, under similar circumstance, the same expedient. In order to write a foreign word in their language, they employ the idiographic signs whose pronunciation appears to possess the greatest resemblance to the syllable or element of the word they wish to express. And when we recur to the hideous manner in which the names of Patterson, Richardson, &c. were caricatured in their account of the late affray at Canton, we must acknowledge that, in accommodating their idiographic signs to Greek and Roman names, the Egyptians beat the Chinese hollow. M. Champollion is further of opinion, that the phonetic use of the hieroglyphics preceded the dominion of the Greeks and the Romans in Egypt, and that the Europeans received from

the ancient Egyptians the invaluable gift of Alphabetic writing, as well as the elements of their science and arts ; in which opinion he has on his side, the testimony of antiquity as recorded by Tacitus and others. But, by means of his alphabet, he has never been able to read a single word of the ancient hieroglyphics. So that as yet, the veil seems impenetrable, which covers the ancient learning of that most interesting country. M. Champollion is, indeed, still labouring to remove it, and as heartily as we thank him for the present able attempt, do we wish him success in his future researches. From his youth, learning, talents, and address, much may be expected. The pamphlet before us contains, within fewer than fifty pages, more interesting matter on the subject of hieroglyphics, than is to be found in all the books we have seen. We warmly recommend it to every lover of learning, and especially to every traveller directing his course to the country of whose literature it treats. We learn with much pleasure that the same ingenious gentleman has turned his researches to the arrow-headed character. Dr. Young states, that M. Champollion informs him, that he has lately discovered the name of Xerxes, both in hieroglyphics and in the nail-headed characters, on an alabaster vase on which both are found together. Hitherto, he had been unable to detect a Persian name, or any inscription or relic relating to the Oriental conquerors of Egypt.

‘ This is, indeed,’ remarks Dr. Y., ‘ a wonderful opening for literary enterprise ; and I am even inclined to hope, from M. Champollion’s latest communications, that he will find some means of overcoming the difficulties that I have stated respecting the Pharaohs ; for he assures me, that he has identified the names of no less (fewer) than *thirty* of them, and that they accord with the traditions of Manetho, and, as far as he can judge, with the notes that I had sent him of an attempt that I had formerly made to assign temporary names to the Kings enumerated at Abydos, in which those of all the later ones began with the syllable Rꜥ.’ p. 53.

We should exceedingly like that M. C. should have an opportunity of following up his researches by comparing the arrow-headed character with the hieroglyphics in Babylon, Suza, and other seats of ancient learning. The present Hebrew character is said to be Chaldaic ; yet, so far as we know, not a single inscription in that character has been discovered among the ruins in Mesopotamia. By Hager and Lichtenstein, indeed, the arrow-headed characters are conjectured to be variations of the Hebrew alphabet ; but the subject forms at present one of the darkest enigmas of antiquity.

**Art. II. 1. *Memoirs of General Count Rapp, first Aide-de-Camp to Napoleon.*** Written by Himself, and published by his Family. 8vo. pp. 431. Price 12s. London. 1823.

**2. *Memorial de Sainte Hélène.*** Journal of the Private Life and Conversations of the Emperor Napoleon at Saint Helena. By the Count de Las Cases. 8vo. Vol. IV. Parts 7 and 8. pp. 652. London. 1823.

**T**HE spirit of modern institutions is invincibly adverse to power without title, to empire without claim; and yet, we have seen, in the instance of Napoleon, the old system revived of enthroning the emperor on the shields of his soldiers, and confirming his elevation by the suffrage of the people. And never was a sceptre thus illegitimately obtained, held with a surer grasp, until one act of rashness, followed by a series of false measures, wrested it from his hand, and restored it to the forgotten line of Bourbon. With a few years of peace, the generation of 1789 would have passed away, and their bigotry, their intolerance, their admiration of despotic forms and privileged orders would have perished with them. But this tame and obvious course was at total variance with the gigantic schemes, the military partialities, and the untemporizing policy of Napoleon. His first false step was the invasion of Spain; his second, the march on Moscow; his third, the campaign of Germany; his last, the obstinate determination, in defiance of all counsel, to rest the decision of his fate on the arbitrament of the sword, when, without a single ally, and with a mere handful of devoted soldiers, he was assailed by the tremendous coalition of the European powers.

Of the brilliant campaign which, under the last mentioned circumstances, he fought against Schwartzemberg and Blucher, as well as of the subsequent events, we gave a general outline in our recent review of Baron Fain's interesting volume. We shall now have an opportunity of supplying some interesting illustrations of previous transactions, from the *Memoirs of Count Rapp*; and we shall avail ourselves of this favourable occasion to take a final adieu of our pleasant but rather tiresome companion, M. de Las Cases.

General Count Rapp was a native of Alsace, and seems to have had in his composition much more of the German than of the Gaul. He was brave to rashness, and frank to an imprudent extreme. Warm-hearted, but irritable and petulant, his habits were singularly unsuited to the etiquette of courts, and made him an unusual object for the partiality of monarchs. Yet, we find him a sort of favourite with Napoleon; his indiscretions and blunt speeches were tolerated, and his violations

of decorum were visited with no heavier punishment than temporary displeasure. Rapp was nothing more than a subaltern in the French army, though he had been successful in several daring enterprises, when he was distinguished and promoted by General Desaix, who made him his aide-de-camp. In Egypt, he was made *chef d'escadre* after the battle of Sediman, and his brilliant conduct in the affair of Samanhout obtained for him the rank of colonel. After the death of Desaix, Rapp was placed by the First Consul on the list of his personal aides-de-camp.

‘ Zeal, frankness, and some degree of military talent, procured for me the confidence of Napoleon. He frequently remarked to those about him, that few possessed a greater share of natural good sense and discernment than Rapp. These praises were repeated to me, and I must confess I was flattered by them: if this be weakness, I may be excused; every one has some foible. I would have sacrificed my life, to prove my gratitude to the First Consul. He knew this; and he often repeated to my friends, that I was a grumbler—that I had a poor head, but a good heart. He treated both me and Lannes familiarly, using the pronoun *thou* when he spoke to us: if he addressed us by *you* or *Monsieur le General*, we became alarmed; we were sure that we were out of favour. He had the weakness to attach importance to a gossiping police system, which for the most part deceived him by false reports. That odious system of police embittered the happiness of his life; it frequently incensed him against his best friends, his relations, and even his wife.’

Rapp. pp. 4, 5.

The favour shewn by Napoleon to the old *noblesse*, gave offence to his old associates; and on one occasion, Rapp seems to have expressed himself to his Master rather intemperately on the subject. He had forgotten this circumstance when Napoleon renewed the conversation, and, in a half apologetic tone, disavowed the partiality which had been imputed to him. ‘ You think that I have a predilection for this people; but you are mistaken. I employ them, and you know why. Am I connected with nobility? I, who was a poor Corsican gentleman?’ The reply of his aide-de-camp was just what it ought to have been. ‘ Neither I nor the army have ever inquired into your origin. Your actions are sufficient for us.’ Notwithstanding this feeling of jealousy, Rapp had himself been the medium of restoration and advancement to several of these noble sycophants, most of whom repaid him with ingratitude. Their character is impressively described in the following paragraph.

‘ Most of these same nobles, however, allege that they had yielded

only to compulsion. Nothing can be more false. I know of only two who received Chamberlains' appointments unsolicited. Some few declined advantageous offers; but, with these exceptions, all solicited, entreated, and importuned. There was a competition of zeal and devotedness altogether unexampled. The meanest employment, the humblest offices, nothing was rejected; it seemed to be an affair of life and death. Should a treacherous hand ever find its way into the portfolios of MM. Talleyrand, Montesquieu, Segur, Duroc, &c. what ardent expressions may be found to enrich the language of attachment. But the individuals who held this language, now vie with each other in giving vent to hatred and invective. If they really felt for Napoleon the profound hatred which they now evince, it must be confessed that, in crouching at his feet for fifteen years, they did strange violence to their feelings. And yet, all Europe can bear witness, that, from their unrestrained manner, their never-varying smile, and their supple marks of obedience, their services seemed to be of their own free choice, and to cost them but little sacrifice.'

*Rapp.* pp. 6, 7.

The Count affirms of the Emperor, that his character and habits were 'perfectly gentle,' and that those measures of his administration which were the least defensible, were urged upon him by the malignity of individuals who possessed his confidence, and abused it. Artful and interested men were always at hand to applaud his anger, and to give it edge.

'Many persons have described Napoleon as a violent, harsh, and passionate man; this is because they have not known him. Absorbed as he was in important business, opposed in his views, and impeded in his plans, it was certainly natural that he should sometimes evince impatience and inequality of temper. His natural kindness and generosity soon subdued his irritation; but it must be observed that, far from seeking to appease him, his confidants never failed to excite his anger. "Your Majesty is right," they would say, "such a one deserves to be shot or broken, dismissed or disgraced; I have long known him to be your enemy. An example must be made; it is necessary for the maintenance of tranquility."

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'Never was there a man more inclined to indulgence, or more ready to listen to the voice of humanity: of this I could mention a thousand examples; but I confine myself to the following. Georges, and his accomplices had been condemned. Josephine interceded for M. M. Polignac, and Murat for M. de Rivière, and both succeeded in their mediation. On the day of execution, the banker Scherer hastened to Saint Cloud, bathed in tears, and asked to speak with me. He begged of me to solicit the pardon of his brother-in-law, M. de Russillon, an old Swiss Major, who had been implicated in the affair. He was accompanied by some of his countrymen, all relatives of the prisoner. They observed that they were conscious the major merited his sentence; but that he was the father of a family, and that he was

allied to the most distinguished houses in the Canton of Bern. I yielded to their entreaties, and I had no reason to regret having done so.

‘ It was seven in the morning. Napoleon was up, and in his closet with Corvisart, when I was announced. “ Sire,” said I, “ it is not long since your Majesty settled the government of Switzerland by your mediation. But you know that the people are not all equally satisfied; the inhabitants of Bern in particular. You have now an opportunity of proving to them your magnanimity and generosity. One of their countrymen is to be executed this day. He is connected with the best families in the country; if you grant his pardon, it will certainly produce a great sensation, and procure you many friends.”—“ Who is this man? What is his name?” inquired Napoleon.—“ Russillon,” I replied. On hearing this name, he became angry.—“ Russillon,” said he, “ is more guilty than Georges himself.”—“ I am fully aware of all that your Majesty now does me the honour to tell me; but the people of Switzerland, his family, his children will bless you. Pardon him, not on his own account, but for the sake of the many brave men who have suffered for his folly.” “ Hark ye,” said he, turning to Corvisart, while he took the petition from my hand, approved it, and hastily returned it to me; “ immediately despatch a courier to suspend the execution.” The joy of the family may be easily guessed: to me they testified their gratitude through the medium of the public papers. Russillon was imprisoned along with his accomplices; but he afterwards obtained his liberty. Since the return of the king he has several times visited Paris, though I have not seen him. He thinks that I attached but little importance to the act of service I rendered him; and he is right.’

*Rapp.* pp. 8—11.

Napoleon was warmly attached to his family and his friends, and was liberal in the reward of service. Count Rapp states of himself, that he returned from Egypt with a colonel’s commission and two hundred louis, the savings of former years: at the time of the abdication, he possessed an income of 400,000 francs, arising from his various appointments. ‘ A thousand others were in like manner overwhelmed with favours, and the injury which he suffered through the misconduct of some, proved no bar to the exercise of his kindness.’ Of his readiness to forgive, we find, among other examples, a striking illustration in the kindness with which he passed over an instance of gross indiscretion on the part of General Rapp. The Generals Regnier and Damas were in disgrace, and Rapp, who was intimate with both of them, employed his utmost exertions in their favour. He was one day urging his suit in behalf of Regnier, when the Emperor, growing impatient, replied that ‘ he wished to hear no more about him.’ In the letter which was written to inform his



friend of his want of success, Rapp indulged himself in some very improper reflections on the conduct of his sovereign, and the correspondence having been intercepted, it came into the hands of Napoleon.

‘ He read it over three or four times, ordered some of my writing to be brought to him for the purpose of comparing it, and could scarcely persuade himself that I had written it. He flew into a violent rage, and despatched a courier from Saint Cloud to the Tuilleries where I was lodged. I thought I was summoned for a mission, and set out immediately. I found Caulincourt in the saloon of the household with Caforelli, and I asked him what was the news. He had heard the whole affair; he seemed much vexed by it; but he said not a word about it to me. I entered the apartments of Napoleon, who came out of his closet, with the letter in his hand, in a furious rage. He darted upon me those angry glances which so often excited dismay. “Do you know this writing?” said he.—“Yes, Sire.”—“It is yours?”—“Yes, Sire.”—“You are the last person I should have suspected of this. Is it possible that you can hold such language to my enemies? You, whom I have treated so well! You, for whom I have done so much! You, the only one of all my aides-de-camp, whom I lodged in the Tuilleries!” The door of his closet was ajar; he observed this, and he threw it wide open, in order that M. Meneval, one of the secretaries, might hear what passed, “Begone,” said he, scanning me from head to foot, “begone, you are an ungrateful man!”—“Sire,” I replied, “my heart was never guilty of ingratitude.”—“Read this letter,” said he, presenting it to me, “and judge whether I accuse you wrongfully.”—“Sire, of all the reproaches you can heap upon me, this is the most severe. Having lost your confidence, I can no longer serve you.”—“Yes, you have indeed forfeited my confidence,” I bowed respectfully, and withdrew.

‘ I resolved to retire to Alsace, and I was making preparations for my departure, when Josephine sent to desire me to return and make my best apologies to Napoleon. Louis, however, gave me contrary advice, and I was not much inclined to obey the directions of the Empress, as my resolution was formed. Two days elapsed, and I heard no news from Saint Cloud. Some friends, among whom was Marshal Bessieres, called on me. “You are in the wrong,” said the Marshal, “you cannot but acknowledge it. The respect and gratitude you owe to the Emperor render it a duty to confess your fault.” I yielded to these suggestions. No sooner had Napoleon received my letter, than he desired me to attend him in one of his rides on horseback. He was out of humour with me for some time, but one day he sent for me very early at Saint Cloud. “I am no longer angry with you,” said he, with exceeding kindness of manner; “you were guilty of a great piece of folly, but it is all over—I have forgotten it. It is my wish that you should marry.” He mentioned two young ladies, either of whom, he said, would suit me. My marriage was brought about; but unfortunately it did not prove a happy one.

*Rapp. pp. 14-17.*



To the absurd imputation of want of personal bravery, which some individuals have amused themselves with endeavouring to fix on Napoleon, his aide-de-camp replies, that ‘the man who, from the rank of lieutenant of artillery, rose to be the ruler of a nation like France, could not be deficient in courage;’ and refers to well known circumstances as proofs of his firmness and self-possession in the midst of danger. After the explosion of the ‘infernial machine,’ when Rapp entered the theatre in attendance on Josephine, he found the Consul calmly eyeing the audience through his opera-glass. ‘The rascals,’ said he coolly, ‘wanted to blow me up. Bring me a book of the Oratorio.’ The following anecdotes will shew that Napoleon could take a joke even when the point of it happened to gall himself.

‘Madame Bachiaci one day brought to the Tuileries her relation M. d’A\*\*\*\*. She retired after introducing him to the saloon of the household, and he was left alone with me. This M. d’A\*\*\*\*, like many of his countrymen, had a very unprepossessing countenance. I was distrustful of him, but, nevertheless, I informed the Emperor he was waiting, and he was introduced. He had doubtless something important to communicate. Napoleon, by a motion of his hand, directed me to return to the saloon. I pretended not to observe him, and I remained, for I was apprehensive for his safety. He advanced towards me, and said that they wished to be alone. I then withdrew, but I left the door of the chamber partly open.

‘When Napoleon had dismissed M. d’A\*\*\*\*, he asked me why I had been so reluctant to withdraw. “You know,” replied I, “that I am not officious; but I must frankly confess that I do not like your Corsicans.” He himself related this anecdote, which displeased some of the individuals of his family. However, I am persuaded that he would rather not have heard me speak of his countrymen in this way.

‘One evening, after the battle of Wagram, we were playing at *vingt-et-un*. Napoleon was very fond of this game: he used to try to deceive those he was playing with, and was much amused at the tricks he played. He had a great quantity of gold spread out upon the table before him. “Rapp,” said he, “are not the Germans very fond of these little Napoleons?”—“Yes, Sire, they like them much better than the great one.”—“That, I suppose,” said he, “is what you call German frankness.”’ *Rapp*. pp. 24-6.

Rapp was with the French army in the campaign of Ulm and Austerlitz, and contributed effectually, by his daring valour at a menacing crisis, to the defeat of the Russians in the desperate battle fought at the last-mentioned place. Our readers may have seen the engraving from Gerard’s picture painted by order of Napoleon, representing the Count, wounded and with his sabre broken, galloping up to report his success to the Em-

peror. The subsequent war with Prussia, and the victories of Jena and Auerstadt, are briefly and not very distinctly described. In the midst of the confusion, Rapp was not idle. Warrior, diplomatist, secretary, and gen-d'arme, he acquitted himself like a man of universal dexterity, and what was better still, lost no opportunity of interfering in behalf of the unfortunate. He was an urgent intercessor with Napoleon in behalf of the Prince of Hatzfeld and the Duke of Saxe Weimar, and his active kindness was gratefully acknowledged by those noblemen. He speaks in the highest terms of the invariable humanity, gallantry, and honourable conduct of Berthier, Duroc, and Caulincourt. In the mean time, the strong fortresses of the Elbe and the Oder surrendered without defence, and at length, the French army crossed the Vistula to attack the Russians. In Rapp's early campaigns under Custine, Pichegru, Moreau, and Desaix, he had been four times wounded; in Egypt, three times; at Austerlitz he had not escaped, and his arm was broken at the battle of Pultusk.

'I was removed to Warsaw. Napoleon arrived there on the 1st of January, and he did me the honour to come and see me. "Well, Rapp," said he, "you are wounded again; and on your unlucky arm too." It was the ninth wound which I had received on my left arm, and the Emperor therefore called it my unlucky arm.—"No wonder, Sire," said I, "we are always amidst battles." "We shall perhaps have done fighting," he replied, "when we are eighty years old."

'MM. Boyer and Yvan dressed my wound in his presence. When Napoleon saw that the bone was really broken, he said, "His arm must be amputated. He is now very ill; and this wound may be his death." M. Boyer smiled and said, "Your Majesty would go too hastily to work; the General is young and vigorous; we shall cure him." "I hope," said I, "this is not the last time you will have occasion to make me suffer martyrdom." *Rapp. pp. 129, 30.*

On the surrender of Dantzic, Rapp was appointed governor. When the fourth Austrian war broke out, he joined the army, and distinguished himself greatly at the battle of Aspern; but an unfortunate accident, by which his shoulder was dislocated, and three of his ribs were broken, prevented him from being present at the decisive conflict of Wagram. One day, during the negotiations consequent on that victory, he was soliciting from Napoleon, the promotion of two officers.

"I will not make so many promotions," said he; "Berthier has already made me do too much in that way." Then turning to Lauriston; "Lauriston," said he, "we did not go on so fast in our time; did we? I continued for many years in the rank of Lieutenant!"—"That may be, Sire, but you have since made up famously for your lost time."—He laughed at my repartee, and my request was granted.' *Rapp. p. 140.*

On the marriage of Napoleon with Maria Louisa, Rapp failed in some point of etiquette, and was sent off to his government by way of honourable punishment. He describes himself as constantly standing between the Dantzickers and the oppressive visitations of the Emperor's fiscal exactions; and he frankly avows that he connived at the violations of the blockading decrees which were daily occurring on that part of the coast. He represents all this as gratuitous policy and beneficence; he has, however, the repute of having acted from mercenary motives, and we have no means of deciding on the truth or falsehood of the imputation. At length, the preparations for the grand Russian campaign rendered Dantzic a place of the utmost importance, and Napoleon, with his generals, visited that fortress on their route to Konigsberg. The tenor of the following conversation will shew, how little the new enterprise met with the approbation of the Emperor's principal officers.

' In the evening I had again the honour of supping with Napoleon, the King of Naples, and the Prince de Neufchatel. Napoleon maintained silence for a long time; at length he suddenly asked, how far it was from Dantzic to Cadiz. "Too far, Sire," I replied. "Ah! I understand you, General," said he, "but we shall be further off a few months hence." "So much the worse," I added. The King of Naples and the Prince de Neufchatel did not speak a word. "I see, gentlemen," said Napoleon, "that you do not wish for war. The King of Naples does not like to leave his beautiful kingdom, Berthier wishes to hunt at Gros Bois, and General Rapp longs to be back to his superb hotel in Paris." "I must confess," I observed, "Sire, that your Majesty has not spoiled me; I know very little of the pleasures of the capital." Murat and Berthier continued to observe profound silence: they seemed to be piqued at something. After dinner they told me that I had done right to speak as I did to Napoleon. "But," replied I, "you should not have allowed me to speak alone." *Rapp. p. 167.*

Rapp attended the Emperor in his advance through Poland, and across the Boristhenes, and took a conspicuous part in the fierce and sanguinary battle of Borodino. On the night previous to the engagement, he slept in Napoleon's tent.

' The part where he slept was generally separated by a partition of cloth from that which was reserved for the aide-de-camp in attendance. The Emperor slept very little: I waked him several times to give him in reports and accounts from the advanced posts, which all proved to him that the Russians expected to be attacked. At three in the morning, he called a valet de chambre, and made him bring some punch; I had the honour of taking some with him. He asked me if I had slept well; I answered that the nights were already cold, that I had often been awaked. He said, "We shall have an affair

to-day with this famous Kutusow. You recollect, no doubt, that it was he who commanded at Braunau, in the campaign of Austerlitz. He remained three weeks in that place, without leaving his chamber once. He did not even get on horseback to see the fortifications. General Bonigsen, though as old, is a more vigorous fellow than he. I do not know why Alexander has not sent this Hanoverian to replace Barclay." He took a glass of punch, read some reports, and added, "Well, Rapp, do you think that we shall manage our concerns properly to-day?"—"There is not the least doubt of it, Sire; we have exhausted all our resources; we are obliged to conquer." Napoleon continued his discourse, and replied: "Fortune is a liberal mistress; I have often said so, and begin to experience it."—"Your Majesty recollects that you did me the honour to tell me at Smolensko, that the glass was full, that it must be drunk off."—"It is at present the case more than ever: there is no time to lose. The army moreover knows its situation: it knows that it can only find provisions at Moscow, and that it has not more than thirty leagues to go. This poor army is much reduced, but what remains of it is good; my guard besides remains untouched." He sent for Prince Berthier, and transacted business till half-past five.—*Rapp*. pp. 201—203.

Severely wounded in the fight, Rapp took up his quarters in Moscow, but was speedily driven from his residence by the conflagration, and compelled to take shelter in a house near the barriers. After the disastrous retreat from that ancient metropolis of Russia, he took the command of the garrison of Dantzic, and was, almost immediately, invested by the Russians. Under the greatest privations, and with their ranks daily thinned by disease, the troops under his orders made a gallant defence against superior numbers; nor was the place surrendered until every resource had been exhausted. The general and his soldiers remained prisoners till the abdication of Napoleon. On his return to France, he found the scene strangely altered. 'The army and the anti-chambers' were 'invaded by the emigrants.' Men who had been indebted to him for promotion, had lost all recollection of his person; one even who had served under him at Dantzic, laboured under the same unhappy lapse of memory. Another change of scene took place, and Rapp again greeted his old master at the Tuileries. The conversation which took place between the Emperor and his former aide-de-camp is too long for citation; it terminated in the appointment of the Count to the command of the army of the Rhine. Some severe but indecisive fighting took place, and, finding his corps too feeble to resist the numbers which were pressing on him in all directions, he fell back on Strasburg, where his regiments mutinied for want of pay. After a temporary retirement to Switzerland, the General returned to Paris, and was restored to favour. He became a

member of the House of Peers. But his health had been destroyed by the effects of his wounds and privations, and a life of incessant fatigue and agitation, was closed by a tranquil death.

The Count de Las Cases has occupied so much of our attention in former Numbers, that we can afford him but little of it now. Of the two parts which are given to the world as the *finale* of his Journal, one is entirely occupied with the detail of his own movements after his expulsion from St. Helena, and the other contains but little that is new or piquant. The health of Napoleon had been much affected by the climate, and by the circumstances of his imprisonment, and he began to exhibit the first symptoms of the malady which ultimately terminated his life. His mental powers were, however, unimpaired, and he bore up with characteristic energy under the pressure of disease. He spoke of his plans with enthusiasm, and, we suspect, with much of that unconscious exaggeration with which all men are apt to review the operations of their own minds. Many of his observations are, however, mere repetitions of what had been given before; and we really think that all the important novelty in the present *livraison*, might have been fairly included in a score of pages, the place for which would have been the close of the volume immediately preceding. The only passage that we feel inclined to extract, occurs in the report of a conversation, in the course of which Napoleon had expressed himself strongly in censure of Lord Castlereagh. In general, he avoided all mention of the Duke of Wellington; but, on this occasion, he spoke without reserve.

“ “ Lord C—— is artful enough to support himself entirely on Lord W—— (whom the Emperor now found was included among the members of the English Ministry). W—— has become his creature! Can it be possible that the modern Marlborough has linked himself in the train of a C——, and yoked his victories to the turpitude of a political mountebank? It is inconceivable! Can W—— endure such a thought? Has not his mind risen to a level with his success?”

“ “ I have been told,” said he, “ that it is through W—— that I am here; and I believe it. It is conduct well worthy of him, who, in defiance of a solemn capitulation, suffered Ney to perish;—Ney, with whom he had so often been engaged on the field of battle! For my own part, it is very certain I gave him a terrible quarter of an hour. This usually constitutes a claim on noble minds; his was incapable of feeling it. My fall, and the lot that might have been reserved for me, afforded him the opportunity of reaping higher glory than he has gained by all his victories. But he did not understand this. Well, at any rate he ought to be heartily grateful to old Blücher: had it not been for him, I know not where *his grace* might

have been to-day ; but I know that I at least should not have been at St. Helena. W——'s troops were admirable, but his plans were despicable ; or I should rather say that he formed none at all. He had placed himself in a situation, in which it was impossible he could form any ; and, by a curious chance, this very circumstance saved him. If he could have commenced a retreat, he must infallibly have been lost. He certainly remained master of the field of battle ; but was his success the result of his skill ? He has reaped the fruit of a brilliant victory ; but did his genius prepare it for him ? His glory is wholly negative. His faults were enormous. He, the European Generalissimo, in whose hands so many interests were entrusted, and having before him an enemy so prompt and daring as myself, left his forces dispersed about, and slumbered in a capital until he was surprised."

" " No," continued he, " W—— possesses only a special kind of talent : Berthier also had his ! In this he perhaps excels. But he has no ingenuity ; fortune has done more for him than he has done for her. How different from Marlborough, of whom he seems to consider himself as the rival and equal. Marlborough, while he gained battles, ruled cabinets, and guided statesmen. As for W——, he has only shewn himself capable of following the views and plans of C——. Madame de Staël said of him, that when out of the field of battle, he had not two ideas. The saloons of Paris, so distinguished for delicacy and correctness of taste, at once decided that Madame de Staël was in the right ; and the French Plenipotentiary at Vienna confirmed that opinion. His victories, their result, and their influence, will rise in history ; but his name will fall, even during his life-time."

*Las Cases. Part VII. pp. 221—224.*

The principal event, however, which occurs in these pages, is the arrest of the Count de Las Cases by the order of Sir Hudson Lowe, with the avowed intention of separating him from Napoleon, and sending him off the Island. About the middle of November 1816, Sir H. had deprived the Count of the services of a mulatto who had long waited upon him at Longwood. A few days after his dismissal, the man contrived to visit his old master, by passing the sentinels in the night. He volunteered to convey despatches to Europe, and Las Cases entrusted him with a letter, written on satin, to Lucien Bonaparte. Within twenty-four hours after this, the Count was arrested by the orders of Sir Hudson, and placed in confinement on a charge of clandestine correspondence founded on this circumstance. Sir Hudson expressly denied that any snare had been laid by him ; but he did not explain the precise nature of the transaction. However this might be, he obtained no information of importance from the seizure and inspection of papers, and proposed to restore Las Cases to his situation at Longwood. For reasons which we are unable to comprehend, this offer was declined ; and we are left to adopt one of



two inferences:—the first, that the Count was tired of restriction, and glad to obtain emancipation; the other, that he had made a previous arrangement with Napoleon, which made it expedient for him to visit Europe with as little delay as possible. If the last was his intention, it was disappointed by a long detention at the Cape of Good Hope, where he was allowed to occupy Lord Charles Somerset's country residence. At length, he sailed for Europe; and after various adventures, he appears now to be comfortably settled in his native land, preparing a new edition of his "Atlas."

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Art. III. *Vestiges of Ancient Manners and Customs, discoverable in Modern Italy and Sicily.* By the Rev. John James Blunt, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and late one of the Travelling Bachelors of that University. 8vo. pp. xvi, 294. Price 9s. 6d. London. 1823.

A more instructive and interesting subject of investigation can scarcely be proposed, than that which occupies the pages of the work before us. The coincidence of ancient and modern customs, is something more than a dry antiquarian topic. It enters largely into those speculations concerning human nature, which constitute the true philosophy of history, and without which, history is an amusement for an idle hour, rather than the school of experience. He who is solicitous to imbibe the real spirit of history, and to derive the most profitable lessons from the study, will attentively scrutinize, not only the broad lines of demarcation which separate the great portions of mankind, but those traits which are discernible in the people of the same country at the same or at different periods. To illustrate the influences of climate or locality upon national manners, it will be necessary to trace in the same people, at distant eras, those features of character, those moral lineaments which remain unchanged by the stupendous changes that conquests, invasions, and the various vicissitudes of states and empires, have wrought upon the face of the globe.

No where is this more strikingly illustrated, than in the manners and pursuits of the ancient and the modern Romans. There are vestiges, indeed, of the ancient, in the modern manners of that country,—many more perhaps than the learned industry of Mr. Blunt has enabled him to collect. But, although the two pictures present innumerable analogies, the contrasts are happily more numerous still. The ancient Romans, to use the philosophic words of Tacitus, were *propriam et synceram et tantum sui similem gentem*. It was a state of society to which the



history of man scarcely furnishes a parallel; a state in which, from the rankness of the moral soil, or some mysterious principle of social vegetation, all that is severe in virtue or dignified in wisdom, grew up by the side of all that is relaxed in manners, vicious in taste, or perverted in feeling,—the gentlest and most sacred of affections being darkened and over-shadowed by the most detestable vices. In the still more downward periods of their history, when even those contrasts ceased, and all was crime and sensuality, there arose a contrast even in their vices. At one time, we are sickened at the whining delicacy of Lesbias weeping their extinct sparrows; at another, disgusted by whole crowds of Lesbias witnessing with delight the bloody amusements of the circus, and calmly dooming the vanquished gladiator to death, by bending their delicate thumbs, the signal for his destruction. Among a people almost enslaved by sumptuary laws, a single female carried about her person, jewels equal in value to the capital of the richest jeweller in London.\* Boars roasted entire for a Roman supper, present an image of savage voracity which carries the imagination to the banks of the Oronooko; while the same table exhibited dishes consisting of the brains of nightingales, and the tongues of peacocks, and a *rôti* of singing birds, recommended to the pampered palate only by the beauty of their plumage and the melody of their song. The Roman beau, who bathed for five hours every day, and was anointed from head to foot with aromatics and unguents, had not so much as a handkerchief for his nose, while he carried suspended from his neck, a cloth for the purpose of wiping away a secretion which has no name in polished society. To a table groaning beneath massive vessels of plate, every guest brought his own napkin, into which he openly thrust a portion of the supper, to send to his family. At the most hospitable feasts of Rome, sat parasites† invited for the express purpose of repaying the liberality of the host with the grossest adulation, while they sustained at his hands indignities which only the most brutal insolence could offer, or the most stupid servility endure.

‘To have imbibed the liberal and elegant arts,’ remarks Horace, ‘humanizes the manners, and prevents mankind from being barbarians.’ Yet, how poor a comment upon the aphorism is to be found in the best days of Roman refinement! Never were the elegant studies cultivated more generally. The senses and the intellect drank delight from the fairest models of art,

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\* Arbuthnot computes the jewels worn by Lollia Paulina at the sum of £332,916, 13s. 6d.

† Hor. Epist. l. i. 18.

and the sublimest products of genius. Every street, every house presented forms of ideal beauty, so infinitely multiplied, that the expression of Cassiodorus, who said, that the statues of the ancient city nearly equalled the numbers of its inhabitants, is scarcely an exaggeration. The lyric, the epic, the comic muse by turns ministered to enchant the soul. But, beneath this florid and gaudy bloom, lurked a moral taint of deadliest poison. Vices at which nature recoils, were not merely tolerated, but made the theme of poetry and of wit. Christianity has effected much, even among the people who have most disfigured and debased her. In no country, has it been more strongly proved, how little the refinements of a polished age are calculated to quicken the real progression of nations to happiness and virtue. Mr. Blunt has confined his inquiries to Italy and Sicily. His dissertation would have been more complete, had he also travelled into Greece, and collected the strong resemblances of the religious rites and social habitudes that prevail among the modern inhabitants of that territory, to those which prevailed among their Grecian progenitors. The present state of that nation, and the awful conflict in which they are engaged, render the subject, at this moment, peculiarly interesting. Although we can allow ourselves to notice a few analogies only, we cannot abstain from the attempt to point out a few of the most striking correspondences between ancient and modern Greece: we should be happy if our imperfect hints should invite some scholar like Mr. Blunt to complete them by personal observation. For such a task, how well qualified was Villoison! He explored Greece and Turkey with this intent, and much are the circumstances to be lamented, which interrupted his researches. The prolegomena to his Homer contains, we believe, all that remains of his investigations.

A mythology so fanciful and splendid as that of Greece, must have had, from the very constitution of our imperfect nature, a strong hold upon its inhabitants. The exterior worship addressed itself to their ardent imaginations. The pomp of their festivals, their sacrificial processions, flattered and nourished their natural fondness for show and decoration. Every art was consecrated to the service of their divinities. The sacerdotal character, from the earliest ages, was honoured with peculiar respect and obeisance. At length the Gospel beamed upon them; but it was not long before the purity of primitive Christianity was stained by the mixture of ancient rites, and its simple truths interpolated with heathen fiction. When the political extension of the Church became the main object of its rulers, it was deemed expedient to flatter the existing prejudices of the multitude, and Christian churches were built on sites already

hallowed in their eyes by the temples of their former worship. Chrysostom and others of the Christian fathers frequently lamented the inveteracy of the Grecian customs; and the superstitious character of the ancient Greek has been fully transmitted to his descendants. The feelings of a modern Greek are never, perhaps, in a state of so high excitement as at mass. The Greek is, in this respect, distinguished from the more negligent and formal Latin. A church or a sacred fountain in Greece almost invariably points out the site of an ancient temple; and those who have navigated the Archipelago, have frequently noticed the little white chapels upon the *πρῶται ἀκροί* (the high promontories) of that coast. At sight of these, the mariner devoutly crosses himself, and offers up his prayers with the punctilious exactness of the sailor who formerly invoked the

‘ *Dii maris et terræ tempestatumque potentes,*’

from the prow of the Argo.

Among the most classical superstitions of modern Greece, may be ranked the agiasmata or holy fountains. Of these, the usual characteristics are, a romantic landscape and the neighbourhood of a cavern or a grove. To these fountains, they repair at certain festivals in crowds, to invoke the saint (the *genius loci*), and there they disburthen the joyousness and gayety of their hearts in songs and dances. The sick are brought there to drink the waters, and those whom the saint has vouchsafed to heal, never neglect to affix a strip of linen (the *votiva tabella*) in gratitude for the favour. The description, in the *Odyssey*, of the fountain Arethusa, would convey an accurate account of a modern agiasma. No business is undertaken, no voyage begun, without an offering at the shrine of a favourite saint. No Athenian ever leaves the Piræus without presenting a taper to San Spiridion, whose monastery occupies the site of the Diana Mynychia, and receives the offerings formerly made to that goddess. The manners of the *Iliad* may be distinctly traced in the violent feasting which accompanies many of the ceremonies of modern Greece. It is not unusual to see a crowd roasting two hundred sheep in the open air. On the first of May, every door at Athens is crowned with a garland. Boccaccio and Dryden have judiciously chosen this festival at Athens for the scene of the exquisite fable of Palamon and Arcite. A similar garland is suspended from the prow of a ship, when it is first launched.

‘ *Puppibus et læti nautæ imposuere coronas.*’

Virg. *Georg.* i. 361

The master of the ship first raises the cup of wine to his lips as he stands on the deck, and then pours it on the ground.

Might we not trace to this classical custom, the ceremony practised among ourselves on similar occasions? The ceremonies of marriage, their dances, their games, their feasts, their funerals, would present similar analogies.

The intimate and visible union which the forms of religion maintain with all the events of private life in the countries visited by Mr. Blunt, renders it a conspicuous topic in his treatise. Dr. Middleton had indeed gone over the same ground before him, for the express purpose of shewing, that the corruptions of the Roman Church were derived from Pagan ceremonies. But the celebrated "Letter from Rome" left a plentiful gleanings to those who might come after him; especially, possessed as we now are of sources of information not open to that vigorous writer, in the excavations of Herculaneum and Pompeii. Mr. Blunt's object, however, is classical illustration; and he deprecates being supposed guilty of the intention to write a polemical essay.

'I feel,' he says in his preface, 'the more desirous that this should be clearly understood, because otherwise it might be supposed that I am about to renew the warfare against the church of Rome, which Dr. Middleton waged so vigorously in his celebrated 'Letter.' My present aim is perfectly distinct from his. I mean no attack upon that church; and if I were to attack it, I should do so on more general, and, as I conceive, stronger grounds. I have lived much amongst its members, and have experienced from them many personal civilities. That their faith is erroneous, of course I believe; but I believe that the faith of him who would oppose it with uncharitable bitterness and invective, is no less so. In tracing, however, the vestiges of a classical age which still exist in Italy and Sicily, it is impossible not frequently to refer to the rites and ceremonies of paganism, or to avoid remarking the close connexion which they often have with those at present in use. Many such customs are innocent in themselves, and therefore may be retained by the church of Italy without censure. Some few are more than innocent, they are meritorious, and therefore may be retained with praise. But others, it must be confessed, and those no small class either, are unquestionably superstitious and idolatrous, and therefore ought to be abolished. Of this the *enlightened* Romanist himself is no less conscious than those who hold the reformed faith; for he cannot defend, nor do I think he would be desirous of attempting it, the gross abuses which fraud or credulity or inveterate custom has engrafted upon the fundamental tenets of his church. Many of these abuses, however, it was necessary to introduce in order to complete my picture; nor had I any reason for passing over unnoticed, objects which are familiar to all who travel through Italy. Where I have discovered then any points of conformity between the religion of ancient and modern Rome, I have fearlessly mentioned them, as I would mention any points of conformity between the houses or streets; neither have I denied myself the full liberty of expressing my own

opinion upon their character and propriety. Thus much for the religious portion of my essay. pp. ix—xii.

This, we must take the liberty of remarking, is a rather strange avowal to proceed from a Protestant clergyman. But “evil communications corrupt good manners.” To what ‘innocent’ and ‘meritorious’ customs of the Church of Italy, our Author alludes, we should have been quite at a loss to conjecture, had he not instanced, in another place, the keeping open the churches during many hours every day, as ‘a custom admirably calculated to preserve alive an attention to religious duties, and a spirit of devotion among mankind, and which cannot but be acceptable to that Being who unfolds not the gates of the heavenly temple for limited periods, but all the day long stretches out his hand to a disobedient and gainsaying people.’ Of course, our Author will imitate this laudable example, and keep open the church doors in his parish, as a means of preserving alive a spirit of devotion among his parishioners. But seriously, when it is considered for what purpose the churches of Italy are kept open—not for religious instruction, not for social worship, but for idolatrous rites borrowed from heathenism, and for the gains of a corrupt and apocryphal priesthood, Mr. Blunt is guilty of something worse than forgetfulness, in representing such a custom as assuredly acceptable to the Divine Being.

The endless superstitions and overflowing polytheism of the ancient Romans advanced in the usual progress of erroneous belief. Fear, hope, the passions and infirmities of man, multiplied the objects of worship. The blight of a crop, or a plentiful harvest, the common phenomena of the winds and the waves, war and famine, perpetually increased the divinities of their pantheon. Even a fever and a cough were subjects of apotheosis. To these delusions, the craft of man contributed. Every shrine had its priest; and, as the priests were maintained by the oblations of the altar, their avarice was deeply pledged to cherish and uphold the superstition.

‘It is lamentable,’ says our Traveller, ‘to observe in how many particulars this picture is true of modern Italy and Sicily; where, in spite of that knowledge of the one and only God which revelation has communicated, the same tendency to polytheism (for the worship of saints has all the character of that creed in practice, however ingeniously it may be explained), is still manifested; and where the same abuses as those which have been already enumerated, and from the same causes, abundantly prevail. On the one hand, impertinent and unworthy solicitations of divine interference; on the other, encouragement in such a practice by self-interested individuals. Priests ill paid, and hordes of friars, mendicants by profession, have been tempted to

lay under heavy contribution the credulity of the public ; and accordingly we find most cathedrals, as well as nearly all the chapels of the regular clergy, possessed of images or relics said to be endowed with miraculous virtues, while a box is at hand to receive the offerings of those who, out of gratitude for the past, or hope for the future, are disposed to give their mite for the good of the church. I have seen the poor fishermen at Catania regularly greeted on their arrival at the coast with the produce of their day's toil, by the craving voice of a Capuchin or Franciscan ; nor has that been refused to the holy vagrant, which ordinary beggars, though wrung with distress, would have besought in vain. Indeed, few persons are so poor as to escape subscribing their quota towards filling the satchels of these men, or so fearless of the consequent anger of Heaven as to risk a denial.

‘ The general effects of this unhappy system have been, to degrade the worship of the Deity—to swell the calendar with saints—to extend the influence of charms—to instigate pilgrimages—to clothe the altars with votive tablets—and to give currency to numbers of miracles which have not a shadow of testimony to their truth. In short, it has made the countries of Italy and Sicily what they are, emblems of the churches in them, replete themselves with beauty, yet serving as vast magazines for objects calculated to excite the devotion of the superstitious, the pity of the wise and good, and the scoffs of the profane.’  
pp. 4—6.

Mr. Blunt proceeds to a fertile subject, that of the Saints, and traces the various circumstances which undeniably demonstrate the close affinity of tutelar saints to the gods of old Rome. The multitude of saints and their reputed lives furnish strong resemblances to the ancient deities. A striking parallel is also to be found in the supernatural powers with which the saints of the Italians and the gods of the Romans have been respectively endowed. The several ways in which the figures of both have been employed, ‘ as Lares, Dii Tutelares, charms, and the like,’ furnish another remarkable coincidence.

‘ The first division of Lares,’ says Mr. Blunt, ‘ of which I shall speak, consists of those that were fixed in the public streets, particularly in situations where several ways meet, and where the conflux of the populace was consequently greater. These were called Viales or Compitales, and the festival observed in honour of them, Ludi Compitalicii. I think it not unlikely that the Priapus in the principal street at Pompeii, of which so much has been said, was one of these Lares Viales. By a decree of Augustus they were annually adorned with spring and summer flowers. (*Sueton. Aug. 31.*) In the towns of Italy and Sicily, then, there are at this moment few streets which cannot display at least one Madonna, situated also in general, after the ancient manner, at their points of intersection, entitled therefore to the name of Compitalis, and commonly decorated with garlands and bouquets. I recollect having seen in Sicily a few withered ears of corn placed in the hand and wreathed round the brow of a Madonna,



Vialis ; a trifling circumstance in itself, but such as could not fail to suggest that such were the legitimate ornaments of the goddess who once held there undisputed empire :

‘ Tum demum vultumque Ceres animumque reponit,  
Imposuitque suæ spicea sarta comæ. Ovid. *Fast.* iv. 615.

‘ With this was Ceres cheer’d and comforted,  
And put a corn-ear’d garland on her head.’

*Gower's Translation.*

‘ Around these objects of reverence little groups of persons daily assemble to sing their vespers ; and for a month before Christmas peasants, principally from Calabria, come trooping into the towns with their pipes, on which they play gratuitously a simple air before every Madonna Compitalis, and regale those also within doors for a few baiochs, which the piety of the poorest housekeeper urges him to spend :

‘ Ante Deum matrem cornu Tibicen adunco  
Cum canit, exiguæ quis stipis æra neget ?

Ovid. *Ep.* i. l. 11

‘ When to the mighty Mother pipes the swain,  
Grudge not a trifle for his pious strain.’

‘ I am thus circumstantial, because from the passage which I have just quoted, as well as from numberless others, it is perfectly known that the Romans used to sing to the images of their gods, and that the Tibia was more especially consecrated to their service. (*Vid. Ovid. Fast.* vi. 652.)

‘ A word with respect to these pipes. They are of two kinds ; the one of a very simple construction, in shape resembling our flageolet, with six holes, but without keys ; in short, neither more nor less than the old Tibia, as it is preserved in many antique pieces of sculpture. The other is a somewhat more complex instrument. It consists of a tube through which the musician inflates a goat-skin that he holds under his left arm. Two pipes of unequal length (Tibie impares) communicate with this skin by a single mouth ; the shorter serving for a drone or continued bass, and admitting, I think, only one variety of modulation ; the longer having three or four apertures. This rustic performer probably differs little from the Utricularius of the ancients.’

pp. 21—24.

The mixture of sacred and profane images in the early ages of the Church, marks the transition of the ancient, into the present practice. St. Augustine mentions a woman who offered adorations and incense to Jesus and Paul, and Homer and Pythagoras ; and Alexander Severus is reported to have reckoned among his household gods, Apollonius and Christ, and Abraham and Orpheus. Ships were under the peculiar protection of the Dii Tutelares. Horace puts them into his catalogue of the ship's furniture. In his celebrated illustration of the dissensions of the state by the metaphor of a ship in distress, the vessel is de-



ascribed as not only having lost her mast, her sails, her oars, but the gods too, who might have been invoked in distress, had been washed away. In fact, 'they formed an established part of a Roman ship.' Vessels also took their names from those deities. The boat in Catullus is dedicated to Castor and Pollux; and St. Paul sailed from Melite in a ship "whose sign was Castor and Pollux." In Modern Italy, the names of ships are almost invariably sacred.

'At Messina or Naples may be seen the *Swift*, the *Dart*, the *Enterprise*, or the *Wellington*, from Liverpool, lying beside the *Santa Elizabeta*, the *Santa Maria della Providenza*, the *Santissimo Core di Jesu*, &c. with corresponding figures conspicuous on the prow. At the same time in the cabins of these latter will be found a Madonna or a saint in wax, wood, or paper, with a lamp suspended before it. In Sicily the smallest boat which is paddled along-shore by a fisherman or porter, would be thought not more ill-appointed without an oar, than without a guardian angel of insurance against calamity. A friend of mine who, in conjunction with some others, had hired a sparonara to convey them from Naples to Rome, (communication by land being at that time difficult, in consequence of the advance of the Austrian army,) was put to considerable inconvenience through one of these protectors. The head of the saint having been unfortunately knocked off by some operation in managing the boat, fell into the sea. Nothing could persuade the master to proceed till it was found; which, from the motion of the vessel, and the drifting of the head, was not soon done. Meanwhile a foul wind sprang up, which prevented them from making Ostia, till after a most tedious and troublesome delay: and indeed, it is but too frequently that the passenger has occasion to lament the blind reliance on supernatural aid, which leads an Italian crew to neglect altogether those ordinary means which the wise Governor of the World has placed within their reach; and upon the use or neglect of which he may, in his providence, have ordained their fate to depend.' pp. 32—34.

Few phenomena in the Christian world are more extraordinary than the adoration of the Virgin in all Catholic countries. Mr. Blunt ascribes it to the religion of ancient Rome, which recognised a vast variety of female deities. The religion of the New Testament, he remarks, 'afforded no stock on which this part of heathen mythology could be grafted.' But when we consider the natural disposition of nominal converts from Paganism, to mingle the rites of the religion they had quitted, with that which they had adopted, and the willingness which many of the early Christians displayed to come to an accommodation with the Pagans, in hopes that time and knowledge might purify their faith, it is not much to be wondered at, that so many of the rites paid to the old female divinities should be trans-

ferred to the Madonna. This error was probably confirmed by the title *Deorum*, *Mater Dei*, which was uniformly assigned to the Virgin, until the famous Nestorian controversy brought the subject into debate. The Council of Ephesus, in 428, decided after all, that the term might be used with propriety. Now this epithet was, in Pagan times, that of Cybele, and it was inevitable that some confusion in the minds of half-enlightened persons would ensue, in consequence of such an identity. Mr. Blunt has brought together several independent facts in support of his opinion. Among which, not the least striking is, that our Lady-day, the day of the Blessed Virgin of the Roman Catholics, was heretofore dedicated to Cybele.

As Mars was once the defender of Rome, Ceres of Enna, Diana of Syracuse, so now, every Christian town in these countries has a protecting saint. Our Author traces the honours paid to St. Agatha at Catania, to the honours formerly paid in the same city to Ceres. The festival of this saint lasts many days; and the different ceremonies appropriated to each day, present many striking coincidences.

The chapter on the churches of Italy and Sicily, is an ingenious and learned exposition of many other points of resemblance. The conversion of heathen temples into churches, opened a wide door for the admission of the old superstitions. In these temples, a variety of ceremonies had been practised for ages. Here was the Aquaminiarium, or vessel of purifying water, at the doors; here were paintings, altars, censers, tripods, the usual furniture of a heathen temple. These, as too valuable to be destroyed, were naturally transferred. Many temples were consecrated to the same deity under different titles, as, in ancient Rome, the temple of Jupiter Custos, of Jupiter Feretrinus, of Jupiter Sponsor, of Venus Calva, Venus Verticordia, Venus Cloacina, &c. &c. &c. So, in modern Rome, we find a church of Sa. Maria degli Angeli, of Sa. Maria Imperatrice, of Sa. Maria Liberatrice, of S. Pietro in Vaticano, of S. Pietro in Carcere, &c. &c. &c. Again, heathen temples were often dedicated to two divinities, as to Venus and Cupid, to Isis and Serapis, &c. So, there are now churches to Jesus and Maria, to S. Marcellinus and Peter, to Celsus and Julianus, &c. &c. Sometimes more deities, each having his separate altar, were worshipped by the Gentiles under the same roof. In St. Peter's, there is, in like manner, an altar ascribed to S. Leo, another to the Madonna della Colonna, and many more.

But a still more remarkable connexion is, in many cases, to be traced between the ancient temples and the modern churches, in the corresponding attributes of the deity and the saint. Thus, the temple of Vesta is now the church of the Madonna of the

Sun, fire being the prevailing idea in both appellations ; that of Romulus and Remus, is dedicated to the twin brothers Cosmo and Damien ; and the chapel dedicated to S. Anna Petronilla, is supposed to mark the site of the ancient games instituted in honour of Anna Perenna, the sister of Dido. Finally, in the custom of keeping open the church doors in Italy and Sicily, from dawn till noon, then closing them for about three hours, and afterwards re-opening them till sunset, Mr. Blunt points out a close resemblance to the practice of heathen times.

‘ For as all the properties and habits of men were assigned by the heathens to their gods, that of reposing at mid-day was amongst the number. Hence was it unlawful to enter the temples at that hour, lest their slumbers should be disturbed. (*Callimach. Lavacr. Pallad. 72. Edit. Spanhemii.*) Hence the goatherd in Theocritus ventures not to play upon his pipe at noon, from fear of awaking Pan. (*Idyll. i. 15.*) Hence too the peculiar force of the derision with which Elijah addressed the priests of Baal : “ And it came to pass, that at noon Elijah mocked them, and said, Cry aloud, for he is a god : either he is talking, or he is pursuing, or he is on a journey, or *peradventure he sleepeth and must be awakened.*” Accordingly we read that those prophets did not despair of rousing their god, and inducing him to declare himself, till ‘ the time of evening sacrifice.’ At that hour the period allowed for repose had terminated ; and when he still continued deaf to their cries, then, and not till then, their cause became altogether hopeless.’ pp. 109—10.

A picture found at Herculaneum satisfactorily proves that the Catholic custom of boys attending upon the officiating priest, was derived from heathen times. In this painting, a boy wearing a white tunic, bears in one hand a dish with the offering, and, in the other, a wreath of flowers which the priest is about to receive and present to the god. The boy who now ministers at the altar, has the same dress and the same office, except that he supplies books and censers instead of oblations and chaplets. The mass is termed *Sacrificio della Messa*. The victim of the ancient sacrifice was called Hostia : the wafer of the mass is *ostia*. Mr Blunt pursues the analogies exhibited in the performance of high mass, through a variety of details, the sprinkling of holy water, chanting, bells, &c. &c.

‘ Again, the familiarity,’ he states, ‘ with which the Romans treated the effigies of their gods is not less remarkable with respect to those of our Saviour and the saints, in the present Italians and Sicilians. I have seen them expostulate with an image in a church in a half whisper, with as much emphasis and expression as if an answer had been forthwith expected to have issued from its lips.

‘ In like manner it is recorded of Caligula, ‘ that he conversed in secret with Jupiter Capitolinus, sometimes whispering, and listening

in his turn ; sometimes audibly, and in terms of reproach : for he was overheard to threaten that he would send him about his business to Greece ; until softened by the entreaties of the god, and invited, as he declared, to an intimacy with him, he built a bridge which connected his palace with the Capitol.' (*Sueton. Calig. 22.*) It is to a custom of this kind generally prevailing in the approaches of the Romans to their gods, that so much of the second satire of Persius alludes :

' Non tu prece poscis emaci  
Quæ nisi seductis nequeas committere Divis.  
Haud cuivis promptum est, murmurque humilesque susurros  
Tollere de templis.'

' It is not yours, with mercenary prayers,  
To ask of heaven, what you would die with shame,  
Unless you drew the gods aside, to name.' *Gifford.*

• And again still more explicitly :

' Hoc igitur quo tu Jovis aurem impellere tentas,  
Dic agedum Stajo—Pro ! Jupiter ! o bone, clamet,  
Jupiter ! at sese non clamet Jupiter ipse ?

' Good ! now move  
The suit to Staius, late preferr'd to Jove :  
' O Jove ! good Jove !' he cries, o'erwhelm'd with shame,  
And must not Jove himself, ' O Jove ! exclaim ?'

*Gifford.*

' Nor is this all. When disappointed by his tutelary saints, an Italian or Sicilian will sometimes proceed so far, as to heap reproaches, curses, and even blows, on the wax, wood, or stone, which represents them. The same turbulent gusts of passion displayed themselves in the same way amongst the Romans, who scrupled not to accuse their gods of injustice, and to express their indignation against their faithless protectors by the most unequivocal signs :

' Injustos rabidis pulsare querelis  
Cælicolas solamen erat.' *Stat. Sylv. v. 22.*

' To him who smarts beneath the heavenly rod,  
Some comfort is it to reproach the god.'

' Upon the death of Germanicus stones were cast by the populace at the temples in Rome : the altars were overturned, and in some instances the Lares thrown into the streets. (*Sueton. Calig. 6.*) And Augustus thought proper to take his revenge upon Neptune for the loss of one of his fleets, by not allowing his image to be carried in procession at the Circensian games which followed.' pp. 123—6.

In the mendicant monks, Mr. Blunt has very ingeniously pointed out an identity, as to many distinguishing features, with the priests of Isis and Serapis. The mysteries or sacred dramas once so common in our own country, though now happily abolished, and still retained in Italy and other Catholic countries,

are the subject of an able chapter. Our Author then takes a more comprehensive view of the spirit and character observable in the worship of ancient and that of modern Italy, in order to shew the dramatic nature of each, and the anthropomorphism which distinguishes both. Among the ancient Romans, every religious conception was embodied in some corporeal form.

‘ The same observation then applies to the inhabitants of Italy and Sicily to this very day. Thus on the Wednesday in Passion-week, is sung in the Sistine chapel one of the famous ‘ Misereres.’ The low and solemn and piteous tones with which it is chanted are asserted in the ‘ Office for the Week,’ (p. 156) to be expressive of the fear which the apostles felt when our Saviour was seized by the Jews.—Meanwhile lighted tapers are successively extinguished at long intervals, till at last one only is left burning ; those which are put out indicating the base desertion of the twelve ; that which remains unquenched, the exemplary constancy of the Virgin. At the conclusion of the chant a stamping is made by the cardinals and their attendants ; this too is not without its meaning. It is declared to signify either the tumult with which the Jews sought our Saviour in the garden ; or those convulsions of nature which accompanied his crucifixion. Here is the dramatic effect of which I have spoken.

‘ On another day in the same week, the Pope performs the ceremony of washing the feet of thirteen pilgrims, who are dressed in white, and arranged along an elevated bench on the left side of the Sala Clementina. This act is, of course, intended as a lively representation of a similar office performed by our Saviour to his Apostles. But it was not meant, I conceive, that this example should be literally followed. The object of it was simply to inculcate a general spirit of humility. This was the important lesson conveyed by our Lord’s precept, “ So likewise wash ye one another’s feet.” But then no opportunity would have been afforded for the spectacle, which by the practice of the church of Rome is exhibited to the public ; and, after all, it is but an equivocal proof of humble-mindedness in a sovereign pontiff, to perform a mere ceremonious ablution of a few poor men, whilst the napkin and ewer are borne for him by cardinals of, perhaps, the proudest blood in Italy.

‘ Again, there is a remarkable service in the churches of Rome on Good Friday, called the “ Agonie.” On that occasion it is the duty of the preacher to enlarge upon the words uttered by our Saviour whilst hanging on the cross. This address occupies the three hours of the passion ; during which time curtains are drawn over the windows, to create a gloom significant of that darkness which prevailed from the sixth to the ninth hour.—In all this there is much dramatic effect.

‘ But, in fact, the ordinary mass, as it is explained in the “ *Tesoro della Devotione*,” a little book put into the hands of all the Italians that can read, and answering the purpose of our prayer-book, is a lively representation of the last scenes of our Saviour’s life and sufferings. Thus when the priest approaches the altar, Christ’s entrance into the

garden is to be understood, and to the prayer which he offers there the commencement of the mass alludes. When the priest kisses the altar, reference is made to that kiss by which our Saviour was betrayed. When he turns to the people, and repeats the "*Dominus Vobiscum*," he is representing Christ when he turned and looked upon Peter. When he washes his hands, he figures Pilate, who declared that he washed his hands of the blood of that innocent man. When he elevates the consecrated wafer, he expresses the elevation of our Saviour on the cross. When he breaks it, he displays him expiring. These are not interpretations of mine, but are every one taken from the volume I have mentioned, sanctioned and recommended by the church of Rome. Now surely all this partakes greatly of a dramatic character.' pp. 154—8.

Many points of agreement between the ancient Romans and modern Italians, are to be found in the burial of the dead; a topic to which Mr. Blunt dedicates an entire chapter. But we pass on to a more interesting subject,—the agricultural customs of ancient and of modern Italy. Our classical Traveller has recorded several striking resemblances. The existence of old agricultural practices at the present day, speaks but little, indeed, for the domestic or civil improvement of the country. A great portion of the papal territory west of the Apennines, is in a state of desolation well harmonizing, says Mr. Blunt, with the withered old age of the capital. The tools of husbandry in Italy remain in a most unimproved state. Instead of our double handle, by which the plough is guided with so much precision, the single stale or '*buris*', used in the days of Virgil, is still retained. The '*binæ aures*' are two strips of wood attached to the share, about eighteen inches long, diverging a little from each other, and inclined to the earth at a convenient angle for laying open the furrow.

' When the labour of the day is at an end, the plough is reversed; the share is made to catch upon the yoke of the animals that draw it, and with the end of the '*temo*' trailing along the ground, it is conveyed home. Who does not here recognise the '*versa jugo aratra*' of the Romans?

' Tempus erat quo versa jugo referuntur aratra.'

Ov. Fast. v. 497.

' What time the lab'ring hind from toil released,  
The plough reversing, yokes it to his beast.'

' It may be here added, that after the wheat has been sown in drills, persons are almost always employed to knock the clods to pieces by hand, agreeably to the suggestions of the poet,

' Quid dicam, jacto qui semine cominus arva  
Insequitur, cumulosque ruit male pinguis arcnæ?'

Georg. i. 104.

‘ The seed now sown, I praise the farmer’s toil,  
Who breaks and scatters the reluctant soil.’

‘ These are illustrations of the classics which, if not valuable, are at least amusing ; and I am persuaded that the best commentary upon half the Latin authors is afforded a careful observer by Italy itself.’

pp. 207, 8.

With the subject of the cultivation of the vine, a theme so interesting to the admirers of the Georgics, we must close our extracts from Mr. Blunt’s book.

‘ The manner of cultivating the vine in Italy, though differing from the more approved method of France, Switzerland, and Germany, is the very same as that which was in use amongst the Romans. To marry it with the maple, the elm, or the poplar, is certainly far more picturesque than to cut it down annually, and support its renovated shoots by poles of four feet long. The superiority, however, of the latter practice, with a view to the quality of the juice of the grape, is manifest from the superior excellence of the wines in the countries where it is followed ; and, indeed, the more powerful influence of the sun upon the fruit, obtained partly by its reflection from the earth upon the branches, which in this case cannot be raised much above the surface, and partly from the absence of boughs to impede its approach, could not avoid producing the most favourable consequences. The Italian, however, adheres to a usage sanctioned by his forefathers:

‘ Atque adultâ vitium propagine  
Altas maritat populos.’

‘ His marriageable vines  
Around the lofty bridegroom elm he twines.’ FRANCIS.

And who would not willingly compromise for a wine of somewhat inferior flavour, to enjoy the pleasure of seeing the fantastic branches of the vine twisting themselves about the arms of the trees which sustain them, and hanging in graceful festoons along successive avenues ?

‘ There is one advantage derived from this plan, and one by no means inconsiderable in a country possessing so little pasture land as Italy ; that the foliage of the trees of the vineyard supplies a quantity of green food for the cattle. Persons mount into them and pluck off the leaves when they are sufficiently expanded, into bags ; a process which has the additional merit of laying open the clusters to the sun.

‘ It was not until I observed this practice in Italy, that I understood the exact meaning of several passages in the Eclogues of Virgil.—That in the first, for instance,

‘ Hinc altâ sub rupe canet frondator ad auras—

*Virg. Ec. i. 57.*

‘ While from the neighbouring rocks, with rural songs,  
The pruner’s voice the pleasing dream prolongs—

DRYDEN.



or that in the ninth,

‘ Hic, ubi densas  
Agricolæ stringunt frondes—

‘ Where hinds are stripping the luxuriant leaves—

where the husbandmen are described as employed, not merely in dressing the vine itself, but in stripping off the leaves of the elm upon which it rested. In the line

‘ Semiputata tibi frondosa vitis in ulmo est— *Ec. Æ. 70.*  
Half pruned thy vine, and leafy is thy elm—

I had been accustomed to think, that the reproach of neglect was conveyed in the word, ‘ semiputata,’ the plant had been left half-pruned; but it is no less implied in the expression ‘ frondosa,’ which is not on this occasion an idle epithet connected with the elm, but is intended to signify that the operation of plucking the foliage from it had been disregarded, as well as that of dressing the vine.’ pp. 210—13.

The volume contains some very happy elucidations of passages in the ancient authors, which have been hitherto deemed perplexing and obscure, and it cannot fail to interest the classical student. To a religious mind, the representation which it exhibits, of the present state of things in the Romish Church, is at once affecting and instructive. Such is Popery in 1822, unchanged in its character, as baleful, as antichristian, as essentially pagan as ever! The Author would doubtless reprobate such reflections as ‘ illiberal.’ He complains of Dr. Middleton’s ‘ asperity.’ We are happy to think, nevertheless, that his volume will, by the disclosures it contains, do more good than he intended to the cause he seems half ashamed to defend.

Art. IV. *Memoirs of the Rev. Joseph Benson.* By the Rev. James Macdonald. 8vo. pp. 541. Price 10s. 6d. London. 1823.

**W**E opened this volume with strongly excited expectations. The worth of the excellent individual to whom it relates, had long been known to us; the effusions of his vigorous and well furnished intellect had often fixed our attention; and we were prepared for something in the way of biography, that should revive those pleasing recollections, and contribute to put us in possession of a clear and impressive view of a character so estimable. There could be no difficulty in determining the course which it might be expedient to take, in writing the life of a man like Joseph Benson, who had for many years occupied a leading station in so large and so important a body as that to which he belonged; and we certainly had an-

ticipated, together with a full and discriminating delineation of individual qualities, a distinct exposition of the part taken, and the influence exercised, by this eminent person, in the general transactions of the Society. The public life of Mr. Benson ran parallel, to a considerable extent, with the progress of Methodism: he was a conspicuous actor in some of its marking events, and in the various discussions and negotiations which terminated in the 'famous Plan of Pacification,' he took a decided lead. The 'plan' itself was drawn up by him; and since he speaks of it as having been 'sanctioned by Conference,' we suppose that it is, substantially at least, the same with the 'Articles of Agreement for general Pacification,' which appear in the 'Minutes' for 1795, under the date of August 6th. We believe that these 'Articles' have been, ever since their adoption, the basis of the Methodist system, on all the points to which they refer; yet, the whole history of the Conference in which they were determined on, is despatched in less than a score of lines, though Mr. Benson must have taken an influential share in that weighty business. Nor are the preceding circumstances by any means clearly traced by Mr. Macdonald: in this affair, as well as in other important matters connected with the history of Methodism, he manifests a strange timidity, instead of treading with a firm step, and following fairly out the leading of his subject.

The portion of the volume which more peculiarly refers to the domestic life, the ministerial work, and the literary productions of Mr. Benson, is got up in a way which may have answered the purpose of giving the least assignable quantity of labour to the Biographer, but is very ill calculated to convey satisfactory information to the reader. We have a non-descript compound of Annals and Diary, a meagre detail of uninteresting circumstances, instead of a judicious selection and arrangement of facts; while vague and unimpressive eulogy is substituted for specific and discriminating criticism. We have heard from Mr. Benson's lips, some of the most thrilling and heart-searching appeals that were ever made by a Christian minister to a rivetted audience, and we have been frequently and deeply interested by the masterly views which he was in general accustomed to take of his subject. Could not Mr. Benson's family, could none of his friends, supply materials for the illustration of his very peculiar and very striking style of preaching? A few fragments of the kind to which we have just referred, would have given a much more intelligible idea of his habits of thought and feeling, than can be collected from the loose and superficial memoranda of the volume before us. Mr. Benson's *forte* did not lie in refinement nor in tender-

ness; if he was at any time pathetic, it was not at those seasons when we happened to have the gratification of hearing him; but his energy was overpowering, and his harsh and dissonant voice gave most terrific effect to the conceptions of his powerful mind. His warnings were awful, his representations of the effects of "the wrath to come," agitating in the extreme, and the strong emotion with which he called on sinners to hear and live, commanded an intense and unflinching attention. It was the more necessary to mark the peculiarities of his eloquence, since, if our view of his mental constitution, and our estimate of his published works, be correct, there will be few traces of them found in the sermons which are announced as in the press. Mr. Benson, as a writer, has to us always appeared to fall short of his excellence as a preacher. His style is by no means remarkable for the higher qualities of composition; nor did he, at any time, produce impression by the felicities of language. The feelings which excited him in the pulpit, languished in the study: the emotions which were kindled by the sight of a large and anxious auditory, sunk under the processes of critical elaboration. If we are to judge from the contents of the volume in our hands, the striking characteristics of Mr. Benson's oratory will not survive the recollection of his friends.

Our notice of the contents of this volume, must be exceedingly brief; for, in truth, it does not supply us with materials for a lengthened and interesting article. We regret this, since we could have wished to do more justice than we have now the means of doing, to a man who, in the language of his Biographer, 'seems to have stood, in the esteem and affections of the Wesleyan Methodists, next to their venerable Founder. Nor was he, perhaps, less esteemed or beloved by those pious and orthodox Christians of other denominations, who occasionally sat under his ministry.' A few of the leading events of his life, are all that we can venture to lay before our readers.

Mr. Benson was born January 25, 1748, at Melmerley, Cumberland, of respectable parents, who directed his education with a view to the ministerial office. His early life was of a serious and sedentary cast, steadily devoted to the acquisition of learning. In his seventeenth year, he became the subject of deep and permanent impressions of Divine truth. Soon afterwards he obtained an interview with Mr. Wesley, and was appointed by him to the Classical Tutorship of the school which had been for some time established at Kingswood. About 1770, he accepted the direction of Lady Huntingdon's college; but his decided Arminianism, and her Lady-

ship's decided Calvinism, soon caused this engagement to terminate. In March 1769, he had matriculated at Oxford, but the tutor of his college, Mr. Bowerbank, having ascertained Mr. Benson's previous connexion with Lady Huntingdon and Mr. Wesley, refused to hold any further official intercourse with him, and declined signing his testimonials. Failing in all his attempts to obtain admission into the Established Church, he at length united himself with Mr. Wesley, and became one of his most indefatigable and effective coadjutors. From this time till his death, he laboured with conscientious and unwearied diligence, and with much success. The following letter from Hull forms part of the 'character of Mr. Benson by the Rev. J. Bunting,' given in the Appendix.

'Mr. Benson may with truth be said to have been the apostle of this part of the country. He was appointed for Hull in 1786. The Methodist Society was then few in number, and the chapel in which they worshipped, was very small. The Lord owned his labours, and before the following Christmas, the chapel was crowded with hearers; and as the service began at six o'clock in the evening, it was necessary to be there soon after five o'clock to secure a seat. The congregation continued to increase, and a larger place of worship became necessary. Mr. Benson, after surmounting many difficulties, with much labour and exertion, succeeded in raising the chapel situated in George Yard. There is not a place in this circuit, in which the name of Benson is not as ointment poured forth. At sundry times, during the period of his station here, the Holy Spirit was in a most wonderful manner poured out, while he was dispensing the word of life; and many persons now living speak of those times with a high degree of pleasure. He was indeed a minister of God for good to this people, and they are sure that Hull is deeply indebted to him, under God, for the respectable situation it now holds in the Methodist world.'

Although it has no immediate connexion with the life of Mr. Benson, we cannot pass over the following interesting anecdote.

'Being at Cambridge on the 14th of March (1816), he preached in the little Methodist chapel erected about half a mile from the town. The existence of that chapel is, under God, owing to William Beacock, a plaisterer. He was not a native of Cambridge, but went there to follow his calling; and finding the Methodists few in number, and without a chapel, he determined, if possible, to have one erected. He stated this to some pious friends, from whom he received no encouragement; but others, entering into his views, rendered him every assistance in their power. "In the spring of 1815," says Mr. Benson, "he purchased a piece of ground, and agreed for building materials, which were immediately supplied. He proceeded to build, toiled most indefatigably; and soon, to the astonishment of all, com-

pleted the chapel, having, with his own hands, and frequently without the help of a labourer, done the work of bricklayer, plaisterer, and slater; and this he did while he steadily refused to make any charge whatever for his labour; nay, in addition to this, he subscribed five pounds. This, however, the trustees of the chapel refused to accept, and made him a small present, which, yielding to their importunity, he accepted."

About two years before his death, Mr. Benson's constitution began to give way; but he held up, with characteristic energy and resolution, until a few weeks before his death. His end was peace; no doubts or fears were permitted to assail him, but he looked forward with calm confidence to "the recompence of the reward." On one occasion, when Mr. Atmore paid him a visit,

'he had,' writes Mr. A., 'considerable fever upon him, and his legs were greatly swelled. He was quite recollected. I said, "Sir, we are poor creatures when God lays his hand upon us." He replied, "Yes," with great emphasis; "when he toucheth us, he maketh us to consume away, like as a moth fretteth a garment." I afterwards said, "I have a letter of yours written fifty-five years ago, which I was reading the other day. What a mercy that you have been enabled to be faithful from that time to the present!" He replied, "As to my being faithful, I leave that to God; he will be my judge: he knows I have aimed at being faithful, and have served him in the simplicity of my heart." I then said, "Your only ground of consolation now is, not what you have done for God, but what he has done for you." He answered, "I am saved by grace alone, through faith." I replied, "There is no other foundation than that which God hath laid in Zion." He answered, "No; there needs no other; that is quite sufficient.".....

'Some friends called upon him..... They were struck with his pallid countenance, feeble frame, and tottering limbs. In the course of conversation, the query was proposed, whether a deviation from unreserved obedience would produce something like regret even in heaven. With great solemnity, Mr. Benson said, "God accepts us, not *for* our obedience, but *for* the sacrificial atonement of his Son: *there is no condemnation to them who are in Christ Jesus.* He will say, I do not condemn thee."

'On Wednesday, February 14, his pulse was more slow and equal. In the morning, Dr. Clarke, Mr. Bunting, and Mr. Richard Smith, visited him. Dr. Clarke, who was much affected at seeing him, said: "You know me, Sir." He answered, "O yes, it is Dr. Clarke." "Well, sir, you are not far from the kingdom of our God." He replied, "I am not only not far from the kingdom of our God, but *I am sure of finding God in that kingdom*;—I am breaking very fast, and shall do so more and more." Dr. C. said, "You have an all-sufficient and almighty Saviour, and you now maintain your trust in Him." He replied, "Yes." The Doctor then prayed with him,

after which he said, "You feel the power of those great truths you have for so many years so fully declared to us; we have not followed a cunningly devised fable." He answered, "No, no; I have no hope of being saved but by grace through faith. I still feel the need of the renewing influences of the Holy Spirit." To Mr. Bunting he said, "I am very weak, I feel my infirmities; I feel that I have no sufficiency for any thing good in myself." He observed, also, "I consider that we must not only be pardoned and accepted through Christ, but also for his sake; and by his Spirit be fully renewed, and made partakers of the Divine nature." Mr. Bunting replied, "You now realize the truths which you have so frequently pressed upon us." He answered, "Yes! O yes!"

Two days after this interview, on the 16th of February 1821, Mr. Benson died without a struggle or a groan.

At an early period of Mr. Benson's life, he had met with Dr. Watts's "Glory of Christ," and imbibed his sentiments respecting the pre-existence of Christ's human soul. When he had been some years a preacher, he was charged, by the redoubtable Doctor Thomas Coke, with Arianism, on account of this tenet; but he immediately appealed to Mr. Wesley and the Preachers, by whom he was completely acquitted. Some years after this circumstance, in answer to an application from a ministerial friend, Mr. Benson, in a letter which is inserted in the present memoir, gave his reasons for abandoning his former sentiment, and for adopting the general opinion. We regret that the length of this clear and well-reasoned paper prevents us from citing it; but we think it by far the best thing in the volume, and we hope that it will not be forgotten in any collection of his letters that may be given to the world.

**Art. V.** *Report on the Present State of the Greek Confederation, and on its Claims to the Support of the Christian World.* Read to the Greek Committee, on September 13, 1823. By Edward Blaquiere, Esq. With an Appendix. 8vo. pp. 26. London. 1823.

**T**HE eye of the philanthropist turns sickened from the hopeless state of Spain, sold and betrayed to another long captivity worse than Moorish—to the rising fortunes of emancipated Greece. We readily avail ourselves of any opportunity to diffuse further information, or to keep alive the interest that is awakened on this subject. Facts, however, if we are not greatly mistaken, will go much further with John Bull, than pathetic appeals. This Report adds but little to our previous knowledge, but the following statement is important.

With regard to the origin of the Greek contest, it cannot be too soon proclaimed, nor too widely circulated, that there was not the



smallest connexion, either directly or indirectly, between the rising in Greece and passing events in the rest of Europe. Having made this positive and solemn declaration, upon the importance and necessity of which, to the people of Greece, it would be superfluous to dilate, the members of your Committee do not require to be informed; that the struggle was first commenced in Moldavia by a general in the service of a great northern power; and that although his proceedings were subsequently disclaimed, and himself disgraced, yet the irreproachable character of Alexander Ypsilanti, his bravery while serving in the Russian campaigns, and more especially the place of aide-de-camp he held about the person of His Imperial Majesty, were pre-eminently calculated to create a belief that the insurrection was tacitly approved by the Cabinet of St. Petersburg. This alone was surely more than sufficient to excite the hopes of the Greek people in the western provinces, if it did not stimulate them to fly to arms. But irresistible as the call of Ypsilanti certainly was, so little had the events in Wallachia and Moldavia been anticipated in the Morca, that no preparations whatever were made for a rising; nor was it until the massacre of the venerable and virtuous Patriarch Gregory, not to mention thousands of unoffending Greeks at Constantinople and other places, together with the incarceration of all the Primates at Tripolizza as hostages, and an order for disarming those of the people who had been hitherto allowed to carry a musket for the purposes of private amusement, that they saw no alternative between resistance and extermination. When I add, that even the actual President, Mavromichale, one of the most opulent men in Greece, had not a single barrel of gunpowder in his possession, on the insurrection's breaking out, and that more than two-thirds of the male population capable of bearing arms in the Mores and other points, were under the necessity of sallying forth without any other weapons than sticks, I am sure it is perfectly unnecessary to say more, in order to convince your Committee that the attempt to connect the Greek struggle with those events which continue to agitate the south of Europe, is as unfounded as it is cruel!

We cannot commend the taste with which Mr. Blaquiere has drawn up his Report. Making every allowance for evident and unavoidable haste, we must still regret the want of tact which has led the Writer to panegyrize the Greeks on the ground of their 'scrupulous regard to religious duties,' and to hazard the extremely absurd assertion, that, 'in all that constitutes female excellence,' the women of Greece are more like the matrons and virgins of England, than any other women that he could name. We could wish to hear less too of the 'sainted work,' the 'immaculate office' of aiding the Greeks,—of its being a 'sublime spectacle almost worthy of the Divinity,'—of the 'unextinct spirit of patriotism and public virtue which animated the heroes of Marathon, Salamis, and Platea,' &c. We advert to such expressions, not as critics, but as friends to a cause



which requires not the aid of exaggeration or romance to recommend it, and the real merits of which we regret to see mixed up with equivocal statements. We earnestly hope that Mr. Blaquiere will keep clear of this style in his forthcoming history of the origin and progress of the Greek Revolution. Why needs he assure us, that he 'will be guided by the strictest regard to impartiality and truth?' We question whether either impartiality or truth be attainable in the present stage of the proceedings, however honest may be a writer's intentions; and when it is considered that one of the parties is the Turk, the writer who should promise thus much, betrays more self-confidence than we should ourselves feel under similar circumstances. 'The present pamphlet is put forth by the Greek Committee.' May we take the liberty of suggesting that it would be adviseable, in any future publication that may emanate from them, or appear with their sanction, to affix the names of the gentlemen of whom the committee is composed? Were any members of the Society of Friends of their number, we should recommend Mr. Blaquiere to let them have the drawing up of his next Report. They better understand, in general, the right way of interesting the public.

The urgent distress of the Greek population forms, at this moment, a most forcible and undeniable appeal to British philanthropy; and if fairly brought home, and securities can be given for the due application of what shall be raised, we have little doubt that it will be answered by extensive and liberal contributions. 'Co-operation in the regeneration' of the Greeks, is another matter, not quite so easily understood; and there is at least one section of the Christian world, who could not consistently join in 'affording the means of organization to the Greek armies.' If the Greek Committee shall at all assume the character of a political association, they must not expect to obtain that general support which the British public is always ready to give to every undertaking of a purely philanthropic description. Our own Government evidently look on with good wishes, but diffident of the issue. That Admiralty weather-glass, the Quarterly Review, which, in the spirited article on the 'Cause of the Greeks, seemed to promise fair weather, has, in the last Number, sunk to Change. Wo to the Greeks, should Sir Thomas Maitland take part against them, or Mr. Hume move in their favour. All Mr. Canning's nascent English spirit would then at once receive an extinguisher. In the article on the Ionian Islands, the eventual defeat of the Greeks is not obscurely hinted at as 'the probable issue;' in which case they are to have the island of Calamos, it seems, assigned to them as an asylum, 'without

*performing the usual quarantine!!* ' But, if on the other hand, it is added, ' the Greeks should be fortunate enough to bring ' the contest to a successful issue, or should be contented ' with the Morea, the two naval islands of Hydra and Spezia, ' and some others which they possess, and make their peace, ' on the condition of holding them in independence'—what then?—why, to animate their hopes, and sustain their enthusiasm under their present sufferings, *then* the English Government will give them—a good example: ' the proximity of the ' Ionian Islands would afford them constant opportunity of ' witnessing the happy effects arising out of a sound, practical representative government, and teach them to despise ' the theoretical and delusive doctrines of a set of itinerant ' constitution-mongers, whose only object is to create confusion in order that they may profit by it.' The full force of these sage remarks we do not profess to understand; but, as to the Greeks making their peace with their Turkish enemies, we should be glad to believe it possible, that any amicable treaty could secure to them the undisturbed possession of their present conquests. But nothing can be done *at Constantinople* without money; and it is at Constantinople only that peace can be purchased.

If the Greeks should not be able to maintain their ground, it will probably be owing to their attempting too much. To secure, not to extend their conquests, ought to be their object. Were it feasible to expel the Turk from Europe, they would be far too weak to occupy the frontier of Christendom. The weakness of the Ottoman empire has hitherto rendered it an eligible neighbour; and though Europe has no longer any thing to fear from Asiatic invaders, the possible extinction of that empire is contemplated by our politicians not without anxiety as to the eventual issue. Russia and England are jealously watching each other; and the wider apart they can be kept, the more likely they are to continue firm. The Muscovite is already a formidable rival, and would be a worse neighbour. Yet, Greece must be characteristically Turkish, Russian, or English. We are venturing, however, into speculations too profound for critics of our limited pretensions.

**Art. VI. 1. *Memorable Days in America* : being a Journal of a Tour to the United States, principally undertaken to ascertain by positive Evidence, the Condition and probable Prospects of British Emigrants: including Accounts of Mr. Birkbeck's Settlement in the Illinois. By W. Faux, an English Farmer. 8vo. pp. 488. Price 14s. London. 1823.**

**2. *Two Years' Residence in the Settlement of the English Prairie, in the Illinois Country.* With an Account of its Animal and Vegetable Productions, &c. By John Woods, Small 8vo. pp. 310. London. 1822.**

**3. *An Account of the United States of America*, derived from actual Observation, during a Residence of Four Years in that Republic: including original Communications. By Isaac Holmes, of Liverpool. 8vo. pp. 476. Price 12s. London. 1823.**

**T**HE public are assuredly indebted to those gentlemen who take the trouble of crossing the Atlantic, for the express purpose of spying out the land of promise on the further side, and who bring back a true report of the state of things to their friends in England. These three Writers substantially agree in *dissuading* their readers from emigration; and their reasons against the measure are, to our minds, weighty and conclusive. All three complain of the climate; all agree that money is not to be got there; and Mr. Holmes, who seems the most disposed to admit that an English farmer had better emigrate even to America, than starve at home, lays it down as essential to happiness, that the settler should 'talk and think as little as possible about Great Britain.' We believe that the rage for emigration is dying away; and what is a far more consoling reflection, we trust that the circumstances which drove so many to that desperate expedient, are gradually ceasing to operate. But for such a state of things, Illinois prairies would have held forth no temptations, and the golden bubble would have tempted no Englishman from his acres and his fire side. Positive distress and threatening ruin impelled many to forsake their country. Panic despondency and political dissatisfaction had perhaps a still more extensive influence. But, as the agricultural interest recovers from its extreme depression, and the causes of that temporary pressure become better understood, these motives will lose their force, and 'old England for ever' will again be the cry of her peasantry.

The views and the temper, however, with which such gentlemen, visiting the United States on such an errand, must naturally regard every thing in that country, would not seem to be peculiarly favourable to their forming a dispassionate or enlarged estimate of the moral and political aspect of America.

the Americans a religious people; and is absolutely scandalized at an uninteresting preacher or a dearth of church-room. Why, if the Americans are as bad as we are, they ought to have an Episcopal Establishment at once. Again, the root of all the distress at home, that which has supplied the motive to emigration, has been the fall of prices, the contraction of the currency, and the consequent want of money. What, then, must be the Traveller's dissatisfaction with a country, in which you may live well if you will work hard, but in which to grow rich by husbandry is out of the question? If English farmers could have been content to live here, as they *must* live in America, they might, in very many cases, have stood their ground, and have obviated the hard necessity of tearing themselves and their families from their native soil. Once more, an Englishman is perpetually quarrelling with his own climate, and this forms one of the main considerations with the greater part of those who take up their residence abroad. Cheap living and a fine climate are two inducements powerful enough to reconcile many of our countrymen to living under a bad government, in a land of priests and slaves, where they must forego every religious advantage, and waste their incomes upon thankless strangers. Just these two inducements to emigration, America cannot present. Its climate is far more trying to an Englishman's constitution than that of his own country; and if he is cured, by going there, of the habit of complaining of the weather, it must be because greater evils are often borne with more resignation than trifling ones.

But there is another circumstance to be taken into consideration, in judging of the reports brought back by those who have gone farm-hunting in America. In regard to other countries, the Traveller is content if he can spend his money pleasantly: if he stays in it, the utmost that he hopes to do, is to save money. But our emigrants go out to America, not to spend money, or to save it, but to get money. They come as speculators, as competitors, not as visitors or gentlemen residents. The Americans know this, and it is not surprising if it has some effect on their manners towards the stranger, as it undoubtedly makes all the difference in the estimate *he* will form of the recommendations of the country. Brother Jonathan ought doubtless to be flattered at having so many of the children of his elder brother Mr. Bull, flocking to him out of pure affection, and looking up to him for protection, and desirous of spending the rest of their days in his very roomy domain. But, if they receive a rough welcome, and are allowed to help themselves to lodging and larder, it becomes them not to complain of the Yankee manners or singular habits of their

West-country relations. America is not Italy, is not Greece, is not Egypt, is not England. It is not a land of feudal institutions or of classic monuments, a land of the arts or of the graces, of voluptuous ease or luxury, nor a land of turnpike roads, hotels, pump-rooms, and watering places. But even if it were not destitute of all such attractions, the very different humour in which travellers reconnoitre America, from what those gentlemen tourists carry about with them, who go in search of the antique or the picturesque, over Alps and through deserts, exposing themselves to all sorts of peril and privation, a vertical sun, filth, hard fare, and the Arabs,—the different humour, we say, of travellers in America, who are under no similar excitement, and have no enthusiasm to sustain them, would naturally make every thing there appear to the greatest disadvantage; and allowance ought to be made for the medium through which the people, as well as the country, would be viewed under such circumstances. To an individual contemplating emigration, the all-important information will relate to the reasons for and against settling in any part of the United States; but those who have made up their minds, that England “with all its faults” is the best country for Englishmen, do not want to hear this question perpetually argued, but to form a correct estimate of the present condition and extending prospects of the mighty Republic.

Mr. Faux seems a very worthy, respectable, if not very strong-minded man, and his volume is full of anecdote and amusing matter of fact detail. It is dedicated to the Duke of Bedford and Mr. Coke, whose names appear in the list of subscribers. But the simplicity of mind which characterizes the work, vouches not less strongly than these testimonials, for his veracity and honest intention. He undertook the tour with many favourable prepossessions, he says, for the country he was about to visit, and, throughout the whole enterprise, was influenced by a sense of patriotic duty. He has been impelled to the present publication by the same sentiment, ‘in the hope that the truth so long perverted and concealed, may contribute to destroy the illusions of transatlantic speculation, and to diffuse solid, home-bred satisfaction among his industrious countrymen.’ His prepossessions at setting out, were not, however, unmixed with some very natural fears and misgivings. Having bade farewell to his ‘good and venerable father,’ whom he never expected to see more, and torn himself from the embraces of his wife and one dear and only child, he set off for London, where he called on Mr. Fearon, to request letters of introduction to his friends. ‘No,’ was the reply, ‘my book has destroyed them: you will confer my

*reports.* This was not very encouraging. Soon after, on paying part of his passage on board the good ship Ruthy, bound to Charleston, he was told by the Captain: 'We are short of money in America, but sure of living.' This pithy assurance did not prevent Mr. Faux from trying at several offices to effect a life-insurance, 'the climate to which I was destined,' he says, 'being doubly hazardous.' Not succeeding in this, he paid *three guineas to a physician* for prescribing  $\frac{1}{4}$  oz. of salts, one third Epsom and two thirds Cheltenham, to be taken an hour before rising, and repeated if necessary!! The name of his physician is not given. It is perfectly clear, that the patient required a very different sort of travelling medicine. The ship had not cleared the channel before our Author felt his 'nervous system greatly shocked and impaired' by sleepless nights and the other effects of rough weather. 'I was near resolving,' he says, 'that if I reached shore, I would abandon my mission.' Shame, however, and a little remaining courage, impelled him, as they have done a thousand others, to proceed. But worse sufferings were to come. The captain proved a 'stingy,' 'brutal,' profane fellow; one of those Yankees, said the first mate, who, in the southern states, are said to skin a flea for the sake of its hide and tallow. He beat most unmercifully the broken-backed steward, who had given no provocation, stamping repeatedly on his neck, while he begged for mercy. Our Author's comment is: 'The captain's conduct is brutal, but *somewhat national.*' The ship was short both of water and fuel, the provisions turned out bad, the fowls died of disease, the steerage swarmed with vermin. Happily, on the sad seventy-eighth day, he escaped from the Ruthy, being hospitably received on board a Boston trader. But if our Author's favourable prepossessions were not undermined by this time, they must have been considerably shaken, at all events, the day after his landing at Boston.

'Mr. Smith, my landlord, a pleasant Scotsman, advises his and my countrymen to keep at home, if they cannot bring from 500l. to 1,000l. The poor, he says, are not wanted here, nor any where in the state of Massachusetts, where many are unemployed, and *nobody is satisfied.*'

'A few days after, he dined with Mr. Lyman, a strong federalist, as is his lady, who 'regrets the loss of the British yoke, and ranks our Courier and Post among her favourite papers. And then,' said she, 'how pleasant are even the cottages of your poor!'

'Mr. Lyman and his lady seemed on all subjects unanimous, and specially in giving preference to England and every thing English.

His brother is now in England, on a visit to Holkham, the seat of our illustrious commoner, Mr. Coke. Mr. Birkbeck and emigration now became the theme. "At that gentleman," said he, "I am astonished. He is intentionally or unintentionally deluding our English farmers, who, if they come to America, must drive their own carts, waggon, and ploughs, into the field and to market, and work here as hard as labourers work there, or not live. And even in this state, you see, as to-day, our farmers hauling their own produce, such as hay and corn, to market, where they have to stand all day, or hawk it about from house to house. What would our smart English farmers think of this, and how would they like it? If, however, Mr. Birkbeck and others must emigrate, why should they go into our wilderness, far from society, or at best mixing with the refuse of our population, with men of stained names, thieves and insolvents, who go thither to hide themselves; voluntary exiles, of whom society is well rid, because unable to endure them. The Caucus which you attended on Sunday night, embodies the respectable part of the citizens, federalists and democrats, who differ but little in real principle; the former are always most favourable to England, and think a war with her always unnecessary, and sure to be avoided, the latter prefer France and the French." My host seems to regret that his freehold and other large estates give to him no more power than that of the humblest citizen, and says that my countryman, Joseph Lancaster, will be forbidden to instruct the black people of the South, it being indispensably necessary that they should remain in ignorance.' pp. 31, 2.

In the Honourable William Gray, our Author found the exact reverse of Mr. Lyman in state matters and opinions;—'a moderate democrat, a hoary, honest, patriotic chronicler of America long before the revolution; in other respects, a kind-hearted intelligent grandee of the Republic, highly influential both in commerce and politics,' who has filled the most responsible situations in the state of Massachusetts. He is described as having long, withered features, a pale complexion, white hair, and dressed in an old cloak and a hat seemingly twenty years old.' This gentleman spoke encouragingly to Mr. Faux.

'He feels sure that British farmers and labourers of steady habits must and do benefit by emigration to so good and flourishing a country as America, and says that Englishmen are esteemed far above all other Europeans.'

This contrariety of opinion must have perplexed our worthy Traveller not a little. He embarked, however, for Charleston, the original point of his destination. Among his fellow-passengers was a country-woman, an ancient maid, who told him that all emigrants with whom she is acquainted, are disappointed but that they settle in a bad neighbourhood. At Char-



ton, he describes himself as 'immediately impressed with the 'respectable, happy, and healthy appearance of the slaves 'with which the city seems to swarm.' In a page or two we meet with the following proofs of this happiness.

'*Negro's food.* All that some planters deem necessary is, one peck of corn meal and a little salt for an adult, and six quarts for a child, without either milk or bacon. Such is the allowance for a whole week.' p. 56.

'Two men were this day sentenced to die; one for the murder of a white man, and the other for stealing a negro. A man may here murder a negro almost with impunity, or by paying a paltry fine to the state; but, if he steals one, he must be hanged for it, and almost without benefit of clergy.' p. 49. (Mr. Faux does not understand this last expression.)

'Their black cattle (alias slaves) do not breed freely, but destroy their young in embryo, because they are slaves, but still they are considered to be the best cattle kept. Their treatment appears to be humane; their day's work or task being done by one o'clock, if they labour well. Their condition seems in some respects' (query, in what?) 'better than that of the paupers in my native land. It is said that the blacks are unconscious of any degradation, but of the truth of this assertion I greatly doubt. The planters generally profess to abhor the force and cruelty of the task-master or overseer, but still think both indispensable, and that their estates could not be cultivated without them.' p. 59.

'About three weeks since, a gentleman planter of this neighbourhood had one of his slaves, a strong fellow, whipped to death for stealing. The party who presided over this horrid execution, were all, as well as the owner, drunk; a circumstance which is here offered as an excuse for murder, or rather for whipping away 1,000 dollars, the prime cost of the victim.' p. 65.

'— Broadfoot, Esq. a merchant in the city, informed me at dinner, that he was on a jury, in a cause where a female sued a white man of this state for 60l. the amount of twelve years' maintenance of her and his natural child. She gained the cause, but he not being able to pay debt and costs, or give security, was actually sentenced to be sold for a term of years, until his labour had paid the demand. How equitable! how patriarchal!' p. 88.

'I was formally introduced to Dr. Beattie of George-town, the young sprightly eloquent orator at the city forum, where he shines a public defender of duelling. My reverend heterodox friend (John Wright, Unitarian minister, late an object of Episcopal prosecution at Liverpool) joined us, and contended that the blacks have no claim to a common origin from our father Adam; the form and construction of their bones, and the difference of their colour, constituting so complete a contrast with all other nations, are held to be positive proofs that they spring from some other and inferior source. This doctrine is very palatable in America. I regret that it should be espoused by an Englishman. White men here sell their own yellow

children in the ordinary course of business; and free blacks also sell their immediate offspring, male and female.' pp. 111. 12.

' In the navy yard of this city is now living a free black man, who, together with his wife and a large family, all free, were stolen away from their own house in the dead of the night, and sold into the distant state of Georgia. He alone managed to escape, but the rest have never since been seen or heard of. Such outrages on humanity and Christianity provoke no investigation, for Mammon, the supreme deity, must not be affronted. It is difficult to believe that a whole family of free-born people, living in the core of a free nation, the freest of the free, could thus fare in the nineteenth century.' pp. 129, 30.

About twelve miles west of Colombia, the Author saw a party of jurymen and other citizens digging up the body of a slave who had been wantonly whipped to death, and buried privately about a week since, and that too by the hands of his own master. This was the second case of murder he had met with, and on reaching Charleston, to the credit of his feelings, he drew up a statement of the facts, with a spirited comment, in the form of a letter to the Editor of the *Charleston Courier*. It was inserted, and produced considerable sensation, some approving and others disapproving his conduct. Soon after, the Attorney General sent for him, and charged him with imprudence in 'publishing it so hastily.'

' Sir, you have stained the character of South Carolina, and what you have thus written will be greedily copied, and extensively read to our injury in the northern and eastern states, and all over Europe. But, Sir, let me tell you, further, that such offences rarely occur in this state, which is always prompt to punish the offenders.'

Mr. Attorney General *promised* to write immediately to the district attorney, and get the murderer indicted. There is no evidence that he redeemed the promise, no probability that he intended to fulfil it. Some vague paragraphs appeared, under his direction, in the *Courier* two days after, the object of which was to obliterate the impression made by our Author's honest remonstrance; and Judge King warned him, that 'the Carolinians are chivalrous,' and would pursue him with the most determined animosity if he continued to provoke and wound them on this 'tender point.'

' Such being the state of public feeling in this free country, I was cautioned against being out late in the evening. "Take care of yourself," said my friends, "for *dirking is the fashion*." I therefore declined further controversy; merely saying, that though the paupers of England were by the planters thought to be worse off than their negroes, yet, in England, bad as things are, not even a lord may kill a man without being hanged for it; a specific which I would recommend to all negro-killers in America.' p. 80.

Such are the moral consequences of slave-holding; such its brutalizing effects on the country which tolerates it. The population of Charleston exceeds 30,000, of which one half are slaves. What the other half are, our readers will judge. But still, it would not be less unjust to hold up the state of things in Carolina and Georgia, as characteristic of the United States, than it would be for a foreigner to point to our West India Colonies as an illustration of the national character of the English. The Eastern States no longer tolerate slavery. In the Western country, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri are slave-holding states, but Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana, do not allow of the abominable traffic. If the national character of the Americans—who, in fact, are not a nation, nor can properly be considered as having a national character—but if the character of the population of the United States is to be judged of by the toleration of slavery on the part of its legislature, what was the character of the British nation prior to the year 1802? And even now, we have too many *Carolinians* at home, to be justified in reproaching the Americans with this foul stain on the human name.

Carolina we should have thought one of the last States for an honest Englishman to select for his residence, and certainly one of the least adapted to strengthen our Author's favourable prepossessions. But he had relations settled there, and meets an astonishing number of old acquaintance, emigrants chiefly from the Isle of Ely, Huntingdonshire, and the adjacent counties. Most of these were full of complaints, but it is sufficiently clear, that many of them had only themselves to thank for not having succeeded. Mr. Adam Lyon, late of Chatteris, I. of Ely, now a butcher at Washington, states, that farming near his native town, is better than any here, although he knows of some farmers in Maryland who net great profits. Mr. Thomas Coote, the brewer, late of Huntingdonshire, prefers his chance to any he could take in England. Mr. Faux, on visiting the navy-yard at Washington, saw several eminent mechanics, nearly all Englishmen, some of whom are not receiving above 1½ dollar a day, although at home they received 3*l.* a week. Mr. Cocken, late of Lincolnshire, came to this city with money, and has increased it. Dr. F. Dawes and lady, late of Wisbeach, wish, but are reluctant to return, seeming to stay here only to find fault with every body. 'No body,' says he, 'is getting, or is able to raise any money.' 'As to Mr. Long, from Lincolnshire, he has removed three times, is dissatisfied with all things, and thinks no man honest.' Mr. Beaumont, of Huntingdonshire, came to Charleston an unrecommended stranger two years before,

and is saving money as an overseer of a plantation. Mr. Calder, a Caledonian, grumbles greatly, because her billiard table pays a tax of 100 dollars annually. There are, it seems, a number of Scotch emigrants in Carolina, who are the most successful merchants; yet, adds our Author, 'they abuse America violently, and never become citizens.' In time of war, therefore, they are ordered out of the sea-ports into the interior as aliens. Mr. Eno, late of Tyd near Wisbeach, keeps a tavern at Alexandria; thinks that few emigrants ever rise above their former stations; says, if he had a fortune, he would live in England, but, that as he has not, he is better off where he is. Mr. Worsley, an English farmer from Lincolnshire, now a first-rate manager in Virginia, has, in about fifteen years gained 5,000*l.* by farming, although he began with only 500*l.*

'Edward Wilson, an eminent merchant of Philadelphia, an Englishman of unspotted name, and a Quaker, brother to Thomas Wilson of Houghton, Hunts, says, "An emigrant recently came to me with 5,000*l.* sterling, which he put into my hands, and in confidence, wished me to use it for him at my discretion. I did so, and returned it to him in two years, having made the 5,000*l.* into 8,000*l.* He seemed well pleased with my stewardship. He left in England a discarded son, for whom I prevailed on him to send. He came, and the old man gave him 200*l.* to start in business here, while he (the father) bought land in the Western country. In less than three years, the son was the richest man of the two. I said it would be so."

p. 110.

'Mr. Savage, an emigrant from Downham in Norfolk, who married my townswoman, Miss Blinkhorn, introduced himself this day to invite me down to Marlborough, where he is well settled as a shoemaker. His wife receives 150 dollars a year, and has all the wood she wants for fuel or other purposes, a house, and four acres of land, with range for cows and sows; all for instructing two or three children belonging to a richer neighbour. He loves the country. The people are willing to give or lend him almost any thing. He states, that making shoes, and raising tobacco, are both good trades, a crop of the latter having been worth from 200 dollars to 300 dollars an acre, and costing only about 30 dollars; a fine profit'

p. 111.

'Called on my townsfolk, Jack Belcare and his wife; both are disappointed; she would not have left Sutton, could she have counted the cost and sorrow of it, although they are getting a living, and have disposed of their children. She keeps a little store; he works and drinks heartily, but has not yet spent all their Sutton money; Jack left a comfortable home and dairy behind him, and now works bare-headed on the road, cursing the hot climate.' p. 112.

'Young Rawlings, late of Chatteris, called to say that three of my simple-hearted countrymen, from Gamlingay, Cambridgeshire,

had inquired for me, and represented me as a spy, but still thought and talked kindly of and wished to see me. By a spy, they did not mean a government spy in the common acceptation of that term. This young quaker is an assistant in a store at 300 dollars a year and board. He saves only 100 dollars, and, if he cannot become master of the concern, thinks of returning home, where he can do better. Yet he thinks 100 dollars here equal to 100*l.* sterling in England. Mrs. Stile, late of Sutton in the Isle, is ready to take the benefit of insolvency, but has disposed of her daughter in matrimony.

‘ Mr. Gale, a worthy, feeling, meritorious Englishman from Yorkshire, and once dandled on the poetic knee of Montgomery, but now at the head of the government organ, *The National Intelligencer*, says, that British emigrants possess habits and prejudices which render them unfit to mix with the natives down to the second generation. They, therefore, should not attempt to associate with North Americans, but should form distinct settlements like the Germans. Such a step would ensure them success and happiness in a new country; on coming into which they should depute a confidential agent of their own to apply at the National *Land Office* at Washington, where Mr. Elliott and other Englishmen, forming a society to instruct and guide emigrants, would point out to them the best sections of land and climate, with their local description, and that without the expense and labour of looking and wandering all over the empire to their ruin.’ pp. 113—15.

Such are the varying accounts and the varying fortunes of the British emigrants in the Southern states. The last paragraph contains the best advice that could be given on the subject; and so far, Messrs. Flower and Birkbeck may be considered as having acted wisely. Every where, however, in passing through the Southern states, Mr. Faux heard their plans ridiculed, and their certain ruin prognosticated. At Philadelphia, a rich citizen who has had great experience in all matters touching emigrants, told our Author, that nobody who is living comfortably in England, should think of emigrating, but that, to those who resolved on the measure, Pennsylvania and the Eastern states were to be recommended in preference to the Western country, for the very substantial reasons, that the latter is unhealthy, is supplied with only bad water, and is without a market. Mr. Birkbeck was charged with having misrepresented and spoken unjustly of the Eastern states, without having ever seen them.

‘ Mr. Birkbeck still lives in a log cabin, doing little or no business. The Flowers and he are irreconcilable enemies. Grandchildren will reap the benefits of emigration thither, but fathers and mothers, although they cannot starve, must sacrifice themselves.’

Mr. Faux heard the same sentiment from Friend Wilson of

Philadelphia, a rich quaker from Northamptonshire, who has become opulent by trading in British goods.

‘ “ Though there is some distress here,” says he, “ there is room for all, masters and labourers in agriculture ; but I cannot advise people who are comfortable in England, to come here, unless they can appreciate the advantages arising to their children and posterity generally. Fathers and mothers should expect to sacrifice themselves for their children. The rage for speculation has ruined many, farmers not excepted, who purchased lands now not worth half the cost. The banks are the sources of that ruin, but as they are nuisances fast removing, trade, though as bad, or worse than in England, will soon become better. Those farmers and merchants who have been prudent, are either rich or well to do. There are not above four houses in Philadelphia able to import goods into it. I am declining the business myself, it being far better to do no business than to do it unsafely. As to slave states, if I were blind, I could tell when I was entering any of them. I can smell them; the moral air is putrid. Management and every thing else tells a slave state.” pp. 157, 8.

At Kentucky, our Traveller called on Squire Lidiard, a rich English emigrant who, with his lady and two elegant daughters, came to this western country and city, in consequence of having read and credited Birkbeck’s Notes and Letters, and having visited the Flower family in England. Mr. Lidiard was well known on ‘Change, had a counting-house in London, and a house at Blackheath. He scarcely knows what induced him to emigrate, having a fortune enabling himself and family to live in ease any where ; complains much of American roguery ; feels great difficulty in advising his friends on the subject of emigration, and means to wait two years longer before he does it ; calls Birkbeck’s and Flower’s settlements ‘ all a humbug,’ and says, ‘ they are all in the mire and cannot get out.’ Poor Squire Lidiard ! He has since removed *eastward*. The same day,

‘ a fine English family from Lincolnshire passed through this city on their return from Birkbeck’s settlement, with which they seem quite disgusted, and fully satisfied and assured that it would not, could not do. They were quite out of funds, penniless strangers in a strange land ; but they were able to borrow some money from the United States’ branch bank, to enable them to proceed to Philadelphia.’

p. 197.

At length, Mr. Faux reached the English prairie. It presented ‘ a wide, rusty, black prospect, the fire having passed ‘ over it.’ He rode into Albion at dusk, and called on Speculator Pugsley and Mr. E. P. Fordham, ‘ who never means to ‘ return to England, except rich or to be rich.’ If he fails

he will turn hunter, he says, and live by his rifle on the prairies.

'and went to bed in a hog-stye of a building containing four filthy beds and eight mean persons; the sheets were soiled and dirty; scarcity of water is, I suppose, the cause. The beds were made of boards, not cords, and are so hard that I could not sleep. Three persons were crowded together, all filth, no comfort, and yet this is an English tavern; no fire, no milk, and vile tea, in this land of prairies.

At sun-rise I rose from our filthy nest. Mr. Simpkins, a dirty, old man, with sons and daughters, late of Baldock, Hertfordshire, are the proprietors of this prairie tavern. A better one of brick is building by R. Flower, who owns the former, from which Simpkins is now moving to Evansville, because he and family, though all poor, are being at the beck and call of every body, and pleasing everybody; and besides (says Simpkins) the great folks are too aristocratic for me, and endeavour to oppress their countrymen. This, I think, is not true. Simpkins, and better folks than he, need not care, if they are unwilling to put their shoulders to the yoke. I rode round Albion. It contains one house only, and about ten or twelve log-cabins, full of degenerating English mechanics, too idle to work, and above every thing, but eating, drinking, brawling, and quarrelling. The streets and paths are almost impassable with roots and stones, and in front of every door is a stinking puddle, formed by pouring out wash and dirty water. A good market-house, and a library, is at the end, in which a kind of Unitarian worship is held on a Sunday, when a sermon and the church service purified, is read by any one who pleases. The books are donations from the families of the settlers and their friends in England. By sending donations, they become honorary members, and Mrs. Flower has, by all legal means, secured perpetuity to this institution, which few expect to find in this distant wilderness.

Mr. and Mrs. Doctor Pugsley, late of London, live in the only comfortable house which, if it had a servant, would boast of English comforts, cleanliness, and hospitality. She sighs to revisit England, where she can see her friends, and rest her delicate hands, now destined to a life of drudgery.' pp. 268—270.

The Flowers own a large and beautiful domain, and say, 'I have nothing to regret;' they only wish that more friends would follow. Mr. Birkbeck says, 'he is happy in his family; his favourite son Morris, a finished scholar, disliking a life of wandering, is about returning to England.' Wanborough has the advantage of Albion in its appearance of comfort and industry, and in its supply of water. The mansion of Mr. B. is spacious and convenient, with a fine library. 'Every sort of comfort is found in this abode of the Emperor of the prairie, as he is here called,' who is enjoying the *otium cum dignitate*, and does not intend to farm much.



‘ “ I had enough of farming for thirty years in England. I came here to rest. It ought not be expected of me, that I should encumber myself with business.” He means to plough two years, and then turn the land into pasture, it being not desirable to have a large surplus produce above what can be consumed by the settlement. But of this there is little fear, as not above six original farmers are yet here.’ p. 283.

In other words, this sage politico-agriculturist has found out, that he can purchase produce cheaper than he can raise it; that farming his prairies does not answer, and that, if it did, there is no market; and now, to conceal his mortification at having written so hastily, he pretends that he came here to rest. As if the back country of America was a land for an English gentleman to choose above all others, who wished to rest! Both he and Mr. Flower are said to be sinking money fast: their only hope of recovering or increasing their capital rests on the contingent rise in the value of their land, which is not the best of its kind. Trusting to his own judgement, Birkbeck entered indiscriminately good and bad land, much of which will never be worth any thing, when a United States surveyor would, for a few dollars, have prevented such a choice. On our Author's return to Washington, he was introduced to the Hon. Mr. Law, brother of the late lord Chief Justice and the Bishop of Chester, and Birkbeck and Flower became a topic of conversation.

‘ Mr. Law and all present regretted that they did not settle in this or some populous neighbourhood, where they might have lived as the most distinguished citizens, and at a much less cost than now. They might have visited and been visited by the President, and all the heads of departments; had a town and country house, plenty of land increasing in value, and good markets; plenty of comforts of all kinds; farms, houses, orchards, gardens, and every convenience found to their hands, at less than the cost of improvements, so that the land is a gift into the bargain. What madness to go into the wilderness! Their land is not advanced in value by their mere residence on it. They might have invested money in land, in the best western neighbourhoods, and, without sacrificing themselves, their posterity would have reaped the benefit, which must be slow, but which is sure to come with population, and population only. They ought to have known that working Yankee families, who do all the labour themselves, are the only proper pioneers. Gentlemen farmers should not remove into the West, until they can live and do better there than here. At any rate, it is time enough to go, when they can be the third or fourth buyers of farms; when they can have the improvements at less than the cost, and the land nearly into the bargain.’

p. 453

Some of the working settlers may eventually have no reason

to repent of the exchange of countries they have made. This promises to be the case with the Author of the "Two Years' Residence," whom Mr. Faux visited, and describes as a real Nottinghamshire farmer,—'a plain, judicious, industrious man, sensible of the wisdom of his choice.' Not far from him, live a Mr. and Mrs. Bentley from London, who came here with a little property, and, having turned farmers, do all the labour both in the field and the log-house themselves. 'In London, he had the gout, and she was delicate and nervous; but 'milk-ing, fetching water, and all kinds of drudgery in doors and out, have cured her, and ploughing, him. He never, he says, loved her, or she him, half so much as at Illinois.'

Mr. Woods writes in a style answering to this description of his character, and his book is not uninteresting as the best account we have seen, of the topography and natural productions of the country. There is, moreover, no disposition to puff off the settlement. He says very candidly, in the first page:

'As to the propriety of any person's leaving England, I must decline giving any advice on the subject.'

Towards the conclusion, he adds:

'But I do not invite any one to leave England, and come hither; for, although well pleased with the exchange of countries myself, another might not be so. This is not the country for fine gentlemen, or those who live in a grand style, *nor for tradesmen at present*: but hard-working people who are sober, may do well, and settle their families in a plain way.'

'England has the advantage in climate, both in summer and winter.' 'I should like to see the climate of this country more temperate, both in summer and winter, particularly the latter; as the cold is extremely severe, but of short duration. And if we had some running streams, it would be much pleasanter in the summer to us, and more beneficial to the cattle. With regard to water for the stock during the summer, there has been great want of it in some places, as most of the creeks have been dried up. This year great drought has prevailed from the 1st of April to the 20th of August.' 'I hope no one will leave England on account of my being favourable to America, as I should be extremely sorry if any person came here, for any thing I have said in praise of the country, as, perhaps, another might not be so fortunate or so well pleased with it as I am.'

pp. 251, 2; 275—9.

So far Mr. Woods. Mr. Holmes gives the same salutary warning. After pointing out the delusive nature of Mr. Birkbeck's calculations, he says: 'To farmers who are positively determined to emigrate to the United States, and who are

‘ possessed of property, I certainly would recommend some of the older states.’ Speaking of the climate, he tells us that he once met in a small country town, ‘ an ultra-radical from Birmingham.’

‘ It was on a Sunday, when Fahrenheit’s thermometer in the shade was as high as 96, and not a breath of air was stirring. The heat at this time was so oppressive, that the Birmingham gentleman began to weep; observing, “that the tyrants of rulers in his own country could be more easily borne, than such tyrannical weather.”’ p. 135

‘ I would advise all radicals,’ adds Mr. Holmes, ‘ or those who have left England from being discontented with the government, not to utter their complaints to the Americans.’

‘ They may hear with patience, but that is the utmost which can be expected. I was once present when a shoemaker was in company, who had only arrived two days previously in America. Crispin, by his own account, had been a radical; and, no doubt, he thought, that to repair what he considered worn-out constitutions, would be as easy a task as to mend old shoes. He had attended the radical meetings in his native land, for the purpose of benefiting the country by his sage councils, and had not been backward in attempting to make converts in the village to the radical opinions. The parson of the parish, and the church-wardens, being perfectly satisfied with the constitution as it existed both in church and state, admonished Crispin, telling him to mind his work, and let others more fit, mind state affairs: but he spurned at the advice: and what was the consequence? The parson and church-wardens sent for another shoemaker; and as there was not a sufficient number of radicals in the parish to support the former, he determined to sail to the land of freedom. The man was more than half an hour telling his woeful tale; but, instead of commiseration from the company, one of them, a Yankee, said, “It was a good job for the other cobbler.” When any radicals arrive in the United States, I would advise them to say nothing relative to their opinions or complaints: if they address themselves to some of the Americans, they think there is little cause for complaint; if to others, they fear it is some new candidate for office,—and to the number of place-hunters there certainly wants no addition.’ pp. 139, 40.

‘ The English farmer and mechanic find themselves very differently situated in the United States to what they were in England. In the taverns they meet with totally different persons from those with whom they associated in their native country. I once was present when an Englishman at a tavern was endeavouring to amuse the company by singing. He held a glass of Yankee rum-and-water in his hand, and was singing “Dear Tom, this brown jug,—which now foams with mild ale.” When he had concluded, an American, in a dry and quaint manner, said, “I guess you like rum better than beer.” This revived John Bull’s feelings. He recollected the praise which he had received in his own country for this song, and the good ale he had

drunk there. Under highly irritated feelings, he rose, cursing the whiskey, the apple brandy, the Yankee rum, and the sour ale, and the whole country. Such circumstances as these are, and ever will remain, constant subjects of irritation. The Englishman, after meeting with such incidents, returns to his family, venting his spleen against the climate, the people, the country, in short, against every thing American. If he have any females, it is probable their feelings will be in unison; and thus they will be discontented, until by marriages amongst the natives, and the lapse of time, they forget Great Britain.' pp. 135; 36.

To those who wish for further information respecting the United States, bearing on the question of Emigration, we strongly recommend the perusal of Mr. Holmes's volume. It comprises, indeed, on the whole, the best general description of the country, in a small compass, that we have seen, and may be read with interest by all classes of readers. Instead of being, like most works, a desultory journal, it is divided into chapters, containing the results of the Author's observation and inquiry arranged under leading heads. At the same time, the wide range he has taken, renders it necessary to receive some of his statements with great reserve, and to distinguish between what he reports on the ground of his own knowledge, and what he states on hearsay. A man's testimony may be unimpeachable so far as it relates to details that come under his own observation; but his opinions may be too hastily formed, his general statements be built on too partial induction. And we have had abundant proofs of this in the reports brought home from America. Mr. Holmes has shewn his liability to this error, for instance, in venturing on the crude remark, that

in Great Britain and the United States, where prisons are better conducted, and prisoners treated with more tenderness than in any other part of the world, the commitments generally increase; and we are led to the opinion, disagreeable as it is, that criminals cannot be reclaimed, nor others deterred from giving way to a vicious propensity, excepting by a severity of punishment which humanity deprecates as improper.' p. 422.

The Author is wrong altogether. The treatment of prisoners, as well as the penal laws, differs immensely in the several states. It scarcely differs less widely in various parts of Great Britain. But the *re-commitments* are proved to be *less* frequent in those prisons which are best conducted. The increase of commitments may arise from the increase of population, from a better execution of the laws,—the greater vigilance of the police, together with a more general disposition to prosecute,

and from circumstances of national depression and suffering. In our own country, these causes will, we believe, fully account for any increase in the commitments, while the number of indictments for violent crimes has decreased. In America, crime most abounds where the greatest relaxation both of the laws and of morals exists—in the slave-holding states; and an increase of commitments there would be a favourable omen. Mr. Holmes's conclusion is wholly unreasonable.

But, to recur to the view of the general subject with which we set out, the information which these publications supply, is of great practical value so far as it goes, but they convey no just representation of the state of America. Mr. Holmes's work, though of a general nature, and containing some valuable statistical details, is, on some points, extremely untrue, and of necessity superficial. A person, after reading the tragicomic accounts of the Illinois settlers, and the complaints of the poor disappointed emigrants, is apt to bless himself that he is safe at home, and to feel something approaching to a mixture of horror and contempt at the mention of America. The United States of America, however, stand in no need of English emigrants; but the rapid growth of their political strength and dominion, renders the language of depreciation on the part of Englishmen extremely contemptible. Already their empire extends over nearly 4000 miles of coast on the East, and comprises an area twenty-five times the extent of the British Isles. A century ago, the population did not exceed 270,000 human beings: at the present time, it amounts to nearly 10,000,000; of which amount, above half are inhabitants of the Eastern States. New York alone contains 1,370,000 inhabitants, and its population is rapidly rising. Pennsylvania contains 1,050,600; New England, 1,659,854; and New Jersey, 277,575: total 4,359,699, including 18,000 slaves. Yet, of these States, in which consists the strength, physical and moral, of this vast Republic, little is known. European curiosity has been almost exclusively attracted towards the Western wilds; and, till the appearance of Dr. Dwight's *Travels in New England*, no work was extant, that gave any correct view of that most interesting section of the New World. The relative importance of the Atlantic States is daily increasing. They are the commercial and naval rival of England: they are republican America. In the event of a disruption of the Federal Union,—which the extension of the Western territory will probably render, eventually, a necessary measure,—New England and New York, the population of which is even now substantially one people, and whose interests are identified, will form one powerful and compact empire; the most powerful, we apprehend,

hend, if not the most extensive of the states into which the vast continent may hereafter be divided. Yet these are the *Yankees*, of whom not Quarterly Reviewers at home only, but Virginians and Carolinians affect to speak with contempt, or rather with ill-concealed jealousy. We meet with indications, throughout Mr. Faux's book, of the inveterate prejudice cherished by the inhabitants of the Southern States, against their Eastern countrymen. One poor fellow, a native of Berlin in New York, after undergoing a malicious prosecution in Indiana county, was, on being acquitted, waylaid and flogged 'as a warning and terror to all future coming Yankees.' In walking home through Kentucky, he found the people very inhospitable towards him, 'because he was a walking, working Yankee man on a journey, and therefore considered as nothing better than, or as below, a nigger.' One source of this prejudice is, no doubt, the determined hostility of the Eastern States to slavery. But the direct effect of slave-holding is, to bring the character of an industrious working man into contempt.

- 'The poor whites, or white poor, in Maryland,' says Mr. Faux, 'it is said, scarcely ever work, but send their children to beg, and live on corn-meal and dried fish only. Working is disgraceful in a slave-state, where blacks only work. "Will you work?" "What, work? I'm no negro, I guess." Thanks be given to slavery for this.'

Not only the industry of the Yankees is held in contempt, and their increasing wealth regarded with jealousy, but their religious character provokes the scorn of the Catholics of Maryland, the aristocracy of Virginia, the slave-holders of the South, and the wild men of the West. Hence, the attempt to fasten on the Yankees peculiarly the charge of dishonesty in their transactions, which Englishmen have caught up from the lips of Americans. 'Knavery damns the North, and slavery the South,' is the pithy remark which Mr. Faux picked up at Washington. But our Traveller had never been in the North, except in touching at Boston, and could have obtained no information to justify this opinion. By his own shewing, knavery is not less characteristic of the South, than slavery, and they naturally go together. 'The planters,' said Mr. Law, 'have no feelings in common with the farmers and people of free states.' He added: 'The blacks will free themselves in the South: their resistance and insurrection will be horrid and irresistible; the free states will never stir an inch to oppose the blacks, or assist the planters.' Mr. Law may be a false prophet in this instance, as in his sinister predictions relative to this country, but he must know something of the

existing state of feeling in the American States, and his testimony, therefore, is important. Dr. Dwight says : ' The customs, manners, and morals of the States at the southern and western borders of the Union, are, to a great extent, absolutely unknown in New England; and the stories concerning the inns, the churches, the ministers, the gouging, the horse-racing, the cock-fighting, the gambling, and the great variety of imputations thrown by your tourists on the character of the Americans, are as little applicable to New England as to Old England, and in most instances less.' The laws and internal regulations of the Northern and Southern States, differ scarcely less widely than their customs, morals, and civil interests. Add to which, there still exists, in some parts of the Union, a national distinction perpetuated by a difference of language. This distinction will eventually be obliterated, and the Germans of Pennsylvania, as well as the Frenchmen and Spaniards of the new States, will, in all probability, become Englishmen in their language within less than fifty years. But it will not be so easy to reconcile the moral distinctions which prevent the people of the United States from amalgamating. A common government is not of itself sufficient to make them one nation; and even this bond will, probably, ere long be severed, nor will the seat of government remain much longer at Washington. The word American will, in time, cease to be used in that ignorant and indiscriminate manner in which it is at present employed to designate a population almost as heterogeneous as the European nations; and some new term must be found, more acceptable and well-sounding than Yankee, to distinguish the inhabitants of the compact Atlantic Republic, from the population of that distinct empire which promises to stretch itself from the Alleghany barrier to the Pacific, and to fix its capital on the Mississippi.

What influence the American States are likely to exert on the future destinies of Europe, is a consideration fraught with intense interest; but we can at present merely suggest it as a subject for reflection. Already have they made their voice heard in the Cabinets of Europe. To that continent, at least, no holy father, or holy alliance, can extend the withering despotism which has blighted the nations of the Old World. To those persons who feel any apprehension that Popery will regain its ascendancy, that the Beast will recover its dreadful vitality, the existence of Protestant America must be a source of the most heart-cheering consolation. In this light, it presented itself to the noble band of Emigrants who laid the foundations of their Republic in that distant hemisphere, and taught the wilderness to blossom in a sense which seemed more



than to realize the language of prophecy. It is important also to remark, that the Greek Church, which is becoming the rival of the Latin in the extent of its jurisdiction, corrupt as it is, is essentially anti-papal; and the interests of truth are likely to be promoted by the jealousy and collision of the two Churches. At this moment, the three great powers, England, Russia, North America, to which we may add, Sweden, Prussia, Denmark, Lutheran Germany, and Greece, are anti-Catholic; nor does the most visionary member of the Church of Rome dream, we imagine, that they will ever be brought within its pale. But, if the nascent greatness of the United States is important in an ecclesiastical point of view, it is still more so in relation to the moral interests of society. The influence of their example cannot be extinguished, nor is there any quarantine that can guard the territories of the Absolute Proprietors of Europe against its extending there. The Bourbon and the Muscovite must see with dismay the rising importance of a second England in the West: like the kindling of a second sun in the same hemisphere, the phenomenon

‘ with fear of change

Perplexes monarchs.’

Not only so, but there are the fleets of America, if England is found unfaithful to her ancient character and her true interests, to guard the great high-way of the Atlantic against all ambitious intruders, and to dispute with Russia the naval superiority she is fondly aiming at. Backed by such arguments, an American minister will know how, in times not very distant, to make the name of his country respected both in cabinets and at congress; and the Republic which Admiralty hirelings have laboured to render contemptible, may be eventually, if not a formidable rival, no insignificant ally.

**Art. VII. 1. *Prison Labour.*** Correspondence and Communications addressed to his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, concerning the Introduction of Tread-mills into Prisons, with other Matters connected with the Subject of Prison Discipline. By Sir John Cox Hippisley, Bart. D.C.L. F.R. and A.S. a Bencher of the Inner Temple. 8vo. pp. 228. London. 1823.

**2. *Letter to Sir John Cox Hippisley, Bart.*** on the Mischiefs incidental to the Tread-Wheel, as an Instrument of Prison Discipline. By John Mason Good, M.D. F.R.S. 8vo. pp. 24. London. 1823.

**I**T is not a little singular, on what opposite grounds the system advocated by the Prison Discipline Society has been as-

sailed by that very useful class of men, the *objectors*. If we recollect right, it was a *Somersetshire* magistrate who, in the House of Commons, a few sessions ago, deprecated their plans as tending to make gaols too comfortable and attractive. Till very lately, this was the objection, at all events, which they had chiefly to combat. Accordingly, in their Fourth Report (1822), the Committee deemed themselves called upon to repel the charge, by explicitly declaring their opinion, 'that severe punishment must form the basis of an effective system of prison discipline.' At the same time, they as explicitly avowed their conviction, that 'the prevention of crime will never be effected by the influence of fear alone.' But 'a considerable re-action in the public feeling,' Sir John Cox Hippisley tells us, has since ensued; that is to say, this ground of objection has been found untenable; and we have now a *Somersetshire* magistrate and a learned physician charging the 'laudable association' with patronizing a most horrible mode of chastisement, only less dreadful and baneful than the rack and the press-yard;—a machine which, Dr. John Mason Good indignantly remarks, 'subverts the order of nature, making the feet take the place of the hands.' We must, however, explain to our readers that Dr. Good is speaking figuratively. The prisoners do not actually perform in a topsy-turvy position, and stand, as the expression might seem to intimate, on their head or hands, while the feet usurp the ascendancy. But the latter are made to execute the active work, while the hands are reduced to the ignoble office of maintaining the body in equilibrium—thus converting what ought to be a manufactory, into a pedefactory, to the manifest subversion of all order and propriety. These and other weighty objections, which we shall presently notice, Sir John 'felt it to be his duty, as a magistrate and a man, to lay before the Secretary of State for the Home Department and other Cabinet ministers, as well as to transmit copies' of the Correspondence relative to the subject, 'to the Judges of Circuit, and likewise to the Clerks of the Peace of the several Counties of England for the information of the provincial Magistracy.' Mr. Peel, in consequence, as it should seem, of Sir John's communication, directed a letter to be addressed to the Visiting Magistrates of the several gaols and Houses of Correction where treadmills had been introduced, requesting information as to whether any injurious effects had been produced by the machinery. All the returns contained answers *in the negative*. Upon which, Sir John issues this book, and Dr. Good this extract from the same, in the more readable form of a tract.

The facts on which Sir John rests his objections, are, in substance, these :

I. That, if the Tread-wheels are over-loaded, the shafts may break, and throw the prisoners on their backs.

II. That it is very hard work, resembling treading up hill on tiptoe.

III. That it makes the prisoners perspire, and consequently induces thirst, especially in warm weather.

IV. That it threatens to strain the organs and muscles immediately called into exercise.

V. That, by such over-exertion, peculiar complaints may be induced in the female prisoners.

VI. That labour ' of a like description,' as that of Mariners, Miners, and Masons' labourers, has a tendency to produce ruptures and varicose veins.

VII. That, therefore, persons ' under ruptures or consumptions,' ought not to be put to the Tread-wheel.

VIII. That '*the unhappy culprits have a horror of the Mill.*'

IX. That, as it is not proper for consumptive or ruptured persons, or for females, it ' cannot or ought not to be exercised ' over more than one half of the delinquents,' and therefore is not worth being erected for the other half.

X. That the beggar, the poacher, the shop-lifter, and the house-breaker ought not to be put to the same hard work, or be placed ' under the dominion' of the said wheel, without regard to their respective gradations of delinquency, or to their feelings.

XI. That the Tread-mill does not answer the purpose of ' hard prison labour.'

XII. That the Hand-crank mill is '*susceptible*' of being so improved as ' to appear to offer a considerable approach to the ' desirable object' of being made an unexceptionable substitute for the Tread-wheel.

Now, of these incontrovertible facts, it is a little surprising that a Doctor of Laws and Benchers of the Inner Temple should not have perceived, that No. 1 proves only that the wheel ought not to be overloaded ; that Nos. 3, 5 & 7, apply equally to *all* descriptions of hard labour ; that Nos. 2, 4, and 6 are but the same objection differently put,—a medical objection founded on the alleged tendency of the exertion ; that No. 8 is an argument in favour of the Tread-wheel ; that No. 9 is a mere assertion, built on a mis-statement ; that No. 10 applies as much to the hand-crank mill, so far as regards the ' one ' kind of labour' being inflicted on rogues of different professions ; that No. 11 is in direct contradiction to No. 8, and is, moreover, a begging of the question ; and that No. 12 is

nothing to the purpose. If our readers will but glance again at Sir John's 'weighty positions,' we think that they will agree with us, that his twelve objections may be summed up in this one : That, in common with other kinds of labour, such as that of mariners, miners, &c. who have to tread ladders, the tread-wheel has a tendency to produce ruptures and varicose veins, besides endangering in women the usual consequences of over-exertion. Now, as this is a medical objection, resting, as we shall presently see, not on experience, but mainly on hypothesis, we may, without disrespect to Sir John Cox Hippisley, either as a Doctor of civil law or as a magistrate, dismiss him for the present, and call for the evidence of his medical authority, Dr. Good. Speaking of his impression on his first visit to the Tread-mill, Dr. G. says :

' From the tortuous attitude and uneasy motion manifestly displayed in mounting the endless hill of this mighty cylinder, upon the iron alone, with the hands fixed rigidly on the horizontal bar, and the body bent forward to lay hold of it, I could not but conclude, not only that the prisoner is hereby deprived of all the healthful advantage of athletic exercise, but must be fatigued from the outset, and perpetually in danger (and with this limitation I expressed myself) of cramp, breaking the Achilles tendon, and forming aneurismal and various swellings in the legs ; and that if females were to be worked at the wheel, the same common cause of irksome and distressing exertion, operating on the loins and many of the abdominal muscles, must, of necessity, in various instances, accelerate the period of menstruation; and even where it does not force it forward before its proper time, render it excessive, and lay a foundation for many of the most serious chronic maladies with which the female structure can be afflicted. And on all these accounts I ventured to recommend the Hand-Crank-Mill, in preference to the Tread-Mill, as affording a far more natural attitude, and hence, a far more healthy exercise ; in which the greater number, if not the whole, of these predicted evils might be avoided, muscles of the utmost importance to public industry, be called into action, and strengthened against future labour. and the prisoner be hereby far better, instead of invariably far less, prepared for a variety of handicraft trades, than before he was sentenced to confinement.'

' In the Cold Bath Fields Prison itself, I found, upon close inquiry, that the prisoners frequently complained of stiffness and numbness in their hands, of pains in their loins and in their legs, and that they were thrown into a profuse perspiration, and so completely exhausted in the course of a single round, or quarter of an hour's task work, as to induce them to drink very largely of cold water as soon as the fifteen minutes were completed, although it is calculated that this uphill exercise does not exceed the average of two miles in six hours, and consequently does not amount to half a quarter of a mile in the course of the fifteen minutes to which the task-time extends ; ev-

proving, that it is the nature of the labour, its quality and not quantity, that occasions such violent effects, and constitutes the risk, with which the Tread-Wheel is contemplated. At this time also, it was not concealed from me, nor from my professional friend, Mr. Cole, who accompanied me, that, in consequence of the effects of the exertion, prisoners labouring under consumption, rupture, or a tendency to rupture, are exempted from working, out of a prudent regard to the mischief which might follow, under such circumstances.

There is one morbid effect, however, which it appears to myself that the Tread-Wheel endangers, of which we have no example in the Reports before us, and that is, *aneurismal, varicose, nodulous tumours* in the vessels of the lower limbs. But these are not every instance of slow growth, and hence are only to be expected in those who have been sentenced to the Wheel for a much longer period than the average term of its general establishment; I should on this account have been more surprised at meeting actual instances of it, at present, than at finding none have occurred. The anticipation, however, of such in long-worked culprits is firm a basis both in physiology and pathology as that of any preceding maladies; and the disease will as assuredly make its appearance wherever there is a sufficient opportunity for its growth and maturity, and especially where there is a diathesis leading to it. A very respectable practitioner, in his Report upon the subject, has ventured to assert the contrary, and to express a belief that the kind and degree of exercise made use of, on the Treadmill instead of producing, would most probably prevent any such effect. But this is to give the machine a salutary power of which I am persuaded he will never avail himself in his private practice. Excessive pressure or over-exertion of the vessels of the lower extremities have a tendency to induce these affections, and particularly in the column of the veins giving way in those parts that are most exposed; and, as I have already observed, the cure or the prevention can alone be accomplished by giving ease, rest, and support to the affected organ, instead of by urging it to fresh labour. And hence, in correspondence will be found very sufficiently to establish, this disease, like rupture, is chiefly to be met with among persons that are continually engaged in such up-hill labours as make the nearest approach to that of the Tread-Mill, as those of sailors, thatchers, miners, bricklayers' hod-men. But in none of these have we so much to expect ultimately varicose swellings of the legs as in the case at the Tread-Wheel; for in all the former the periods of labour are sooner over, and consequently the labour is more equally divided between different sets of muscles. The miner reaches and returns upon the surface of the earth, the hod-carrier upon the scaffold, the cooper upon the yard-arm, or platform of the mast, and the cooper upon the ladder itself: while the worker at the Treadmill has no rest or relaxation whatever till his assigned period of labour is fulfilled; again, mechanically resuming his task, as his

turn comes round, and persevering in the same manner from day to day.'

In these paragraphs, our readers have the substance of Dr. Good's allegations respecting the mischiefs incidental to the Tread-Wheel. His objections may be classed under three heads: 1. accidents to which the prisoners are liable; 2. the excessive exertion occasioned by the nature of the labour; 3. the ultimate tendency of the employment to produce maladies of slow growth.

Under the head of accidents, we must first notice the casualties arising from the giving way of the machinery, on which Sir John so repeatedly insists. Four accidents, it seems, of this nature have occurred in Cold Bath Fields House of Correction since the erection of the machinery. 'Numerous very severe sprains and bruises' are stated by Sir John to have been the result, though 'hitherto nothing more serious has occurred.' (p. 92, note.) 'No severe or protracted accident,' says Dr. Good, 'occurred in either instance.' (p. 99.) If, in four accidents, by each of which twenty-seven individuals were thrown off, no severe accident occurred, we cannot but think that the danger must be somewhat magnified. Nevertheless, were there no possibility of obviating such occurrences, we admit that the alleged danger would form a serious objection. But the fact is, that in no other prison, so far as we can learn, has any such accident occurred. These accidents have all arisen from the defective construction of the machinery, or from its mismanagement, in one particular instance. In the Edinburgh prison, half of the semi-diameter of the wheel is sunk into the ground, so that a prisoner slipping off the tread would sustain no injury. Of this fact, Sir John and his physician are aware, and of the possibility, therefore, of obviating entirely the risk of casualties of this description. But what is their answer?

'Of such improvements it may truly be said with Dr. Good, that "what is founded on an essentially wrong principle, no modification can right." It must be recollected that the objection taken to the Tread-Mills, so far as noticed by Dr. Good and the undersigned, was with reference to the inspection of those at *Cold Bath Fields*.'

p. 102

But, as it was urged as an objection to Tread-mills generally, this has too much the appearance of a disingenuous evasion. Sir John has placed it in front of the incontrovertible facts submitted to his Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department, that there is an 'insuperable difficulty' in constructing a tread-wheel that shall not be liable to such perilous accidents; and now he tells us, that were this man:

objection obviated, it would make little or no difference in the matter. But, to return to Dr. Good.

The next class of accidents are such as cramp, breaking the Achilles tendon, aneurismal and varicose swellings, &c. Of these, the prisoners are represented as being in perpetual danger. Consequently, as these are not chronic affections, which may require years before they fully develop themselves, we should imagine that the returns must exhibit the proofs of such danger in the shape of accidents, if Dr. Good's apprehensions are well founded. But the returns one and all declare, that no injurious effects of this description have been produced on the bodies or legs of the prisoners by this species of labour. At Reading, a case of rupture occurred, occasioned by a violent fit of coughing, which, the surgeon to the gaol is of opinion, 'would in all probability have happened independent of the exertion on the Mill.' At Dorchester, a few of the female prisoners are reported by the surgeon to have been 'subjected to certain complaints incidental to women, more than usual, the consequence (in his opinion) of the exertion and exposure to cold.' At Lancaster, a prisoner in a diseased state of body had a degree of inflammation induced by the exercise. But not one case has occurred of cramp, aneurism, snapping the tendon, or any other mischief of the specific kind which the nature of the labour is said by Dr. Good to have a constant tendency to produce. At Bedford, the average number of prisoners employed at the Discipline mill had been about thirty, and 212 had undergone the discipline for the whole term of their respective sentences, varying from two weeks to twelve months. The visiting magistrates had watched the effect with scrupulous attention, and they express their conviction, that no injurious result had arisen either to the general health, or to the body, or to the limbs of the prisoners. Thomas Lovesy, a convict who had been regularly kept to hard labour on the Tread-wheel for twelve months, on being examined by the magistrates the day before his discharge, stated,

'That he has enjoyed perfect health during the whole period of his year's hard labour at the Tread-mill; that he has never felt any pain in the loins or shoulders, or in the tendons near the heel; that he has experienced no numbness of hands or arms; that he has never heard any complaints from his fellow convicts, except that when some of them first began to labour on the wheel in their high shoes, the stepping galled their ancles, but that after they put on proper shoes, no inconvenience was experienced by them.'

The Surgeon to the Devon House of Correction, after reporting that no case of injury had occurred, or, in his opinion,



could arise, except from wilful negligence of the individual adds, as the result of his inquiry, that, after a few days' work on the Tread-mill, the muscles of the legs, thighs, and back, become habituated to it, so that the employment ceases to be a punishment. And the case is mentioned in the same Report, of a young woman, who used to go on with her knitting while on the Wheel. Dr. Good, however, denies that habit will have any effect in rendering the work easier or less trying. The general law of the animal economy, by which the organs acquire strength by being called into exercise, is 'limited,' he says, 'to such employment as they are naturally fitted for.' Now, as our legs were never designed for the exercise in question, it is 'a gross mistake' to imagine that a person could ever acquire facility in executing so 'unnatural and tortuous an action.' This is a very important remark, because it applies to other modes of tortuous and unnatural action besides that required by the Tread-wheel. Some of our readers may have found, on first repairing to the sea-side or to a hilly country, that the unwonted process of climbing the heights, produced a pain in the calf of the leg, a shortness of breath, excessive perspiration, or, it may be, left a stiffness about the loins; and they possibly have been so imprudent as to persist in this unnatural exercise, under the mistaken idea that use would mitigate these distressing and alarming symptoms. Nay, they may even have fancied that such an effect really took place; that it fatigued them less, occasioned less perspiration and loss of breath, left no sensation of cramp or uneasiness about the loins, after they had for a few days accustomed their muscles to the tortuous action. But this has been, on their parts, a gross mistake; and had they but known what risk they ran of aneurism, varicose veins, snapping the tendon Achilles, ruptures, spitting of blood, &c. they would never have walked up hill, or run up hill again. 'The first mischievous influence,' Sir John Cox Hippisley's physician would have informed them, 'will not be recovered from by a repetition, but will go on from worse to worse, till some one or other of those maladies are actually produced, to which such exercise predisposes from its earliest use.' (p. 102.)

But Doctors differ. Sir Gilbert Blane, on being applied to by Dr. Good for his opinion, drily remarks, that he knows of no solid objection to Dr. G's physiological reasonings, except that they are mere theory, and that 'theory is *always fallacious till tested by experience.*'

'Perhaps,' adds Sir Gilbert, '*the power of habit has not been sufficiently adverted to as a principle of marvellous efficacy in restoring both the mind and body in untoward circumstances.* Might it

not also be asked, whether there are not many species of labour necessary for carrying on the useful and necessary acts (arts) of life, in which the virtuous and innocent members of the State are engaged, much more injurious to their health than the Tread-Mill?' p. 125.

This hint of Sir Gilbert's is, however, lost on his Correspondent; for, as to 'the power of habit,' Sir Gilbert has evidently fallen into the gross mistake above referred to,—a mistake proceeding altogether, as Dr. Good assures us, from 'a wrong application of a right principle.' Habit can never, it seems, render it easier for a man to mount a ladder, tread on tiptoe, or climb the ropes of a vessel to the mast-head, because for such actions men are 'not naturally fitted.' Hence, the Tread-mill is a most unchristian mode of discipline.

The second class of objections relates to the effects of over-exertion. For, though an attempt is made to hold up ruptures, spitting of blood, loss of flesh, female complaints, &c. as peculiarly resulting from the specific action of the limbs in the tread-mill, Dr. Good will not deny, that over-exertion of any kind would produce the same effects. The last-mentioned result, he is well aware, would be caused by over-fatigue from mere walking or dancing; and ruptures more frequently take place in consequence of *manual* and dorsal exertions, than of any other species of labour. The Surgeon to the Truss Society represents the average number of individuals afflicted with hernia among the labouring classes, as one (male) in six. We consider this to be much over-stated; but it must be admitted as a proof that the labouring classes, whatever be their employment, are very liable to this complaint. Yet, of all the hundreds who have been subjected to the discipline of the Tread-mill, not one individual has suffered any such injury, except in the case where rupture was produced by a violent fit of coughing. The presumption is, therefore, that the labour of the Tread-mill is less calculated to occasion ruptures, than the carrying of loads, and various descriptions of labour in which the majority of the lower classes are occupied. Indeed, a 'physician of the highest reputation' at Dublin, gives it as his opinion, that the *Crank exercise*, for which Sir John and his Physician so warmly contend, 'may distress the lumbar muscles and kidneys, and threaten rupture as much as the Tread-mill.' (p. 151). With reference to which apprehension, Sir John has only to reply, 'That the system of regulation and the improvements proposed for the Crank machinery, will obviate objections of this kind, derived as they are from its ordinary action, and probably under a careless superintendence.' Here, then, it is admitted, that the ordinary action of

the Crank-mill endangers the occurrence of the very mischiefs charged exclusively on the Tread-mill, which mischiefs have, in fact, never been known to occur. Dr. Good, however, denies that the Hand-crank mill is likely to induce any such complaint; and he adduces, in support of this denial, the testimony of two surgeons. Mr. Copeland thinks *Hernia and Varico* 'much more likely' to be produced by the labour of the Tread-mill, than by that of the Hand-crank mill; an opinion reasonable enough as regards the latter complaint, and the coupling the two together takes off all the force of his opinion; though it amounts, at most, to no more than this, that such diseases are likely to be produced by both species of labour, but that probabilities are in favour of the Crank-mill. Mr. Maclewan simply states, that those modes of labour which call alternately into action different sets of muscles, are the best adapted to promote health and strength; which general opinion is really little or nothing to the purpose. And these are Dr. Good's authorities.

But we must not pass over the *sarcophagous* effects of this monstrous machine. The Lancaster magistrates, desirous of ascertaining the effects of the 'Tread-mill' on the general health of the prisoners, gave directions to have them weighed, in order to ascertain the average gain or loss of flesh produced by the labour; or, in the more ornate phrase of Dr. Good, 'by putting this slow and snail-paced labour to the test of a pair of scales, which have been employed as a direct *sarcometer*, to determine the amount of struggle between the living powers of human flesh, and the destroying powers of the 'Tread-wheel.' The result was as follows:

'From Feb. 10 to Feb. 19. working 7 hours each day, 1lb. 7 oz. gain per man.

Feb. 19 to Mar. 4	9 hours	1 oz. gain.
Mar. 4 to Mar. 25	10½	1 lb. loss.
Mar. 25 to April 28	ditto	2½ lb. loss.
April 28 to May 26	10 hours	1 lb. 8 oz. gain.

'There has been no alteration in diet. The prisoners have been kept solely on the prison allowance. As far as my experience goes, I am of opinion that the employment is very healthy, and I have not observed that this species of labour has had the slightest tendency to produce any specific complaint.' p. 49.

These are the observations of the Keeper. Upon this curious fact, Dr. Good indignantly remarks:

'Now what other labour under the sun, short of that of agriculture, to which men have ever been condemned, or in which they can engage, in the open air, has produced, or can be conceived to pro-

such a loss of flesh and blood as that before us; where the rate of progression, whether up hill, down hill, or on level ground, does not exceed two miles for the entire day, and the labourer has to carry no bag of tools or weight of any kind?

What the rate of progression has to do with the question, we cannot perceive: but we should really be glad to know, *what species of hard labour* continued for 10½ hours per day, the workmen being kept on prison allowance, would not occasion a loss of flesh. Yet, this he terms the *experimentum crucis*! The prisoners, when over-worked, lost flesh; when the period of labour was shortened but half an hour, they recovered flesh faster than they had lost it. In the first instance, however, not only was no inroad made on the living principle, but they increased in weight as the result of this very species of labour, which is represented as coming short only of actual torture!!

But we hasten to notice the third class of mischiefs, those maladies of slow growth which the Tread-mill has an ultimate tendency to produce. Dr. Good, weary at last, as it should seem, of being questioned, loses all patience when he comes to speak on this point. 'There is no end,' he says, 'to answering all the follies and caprices to which the Tread-mill must give rise from its intrinsic demerit.' Then, after the remarks already cited on subverting the order of nature, the Dr. thus proceeds.

The question which, I understand, is very often put forth, whether any of the maladies that are predicted so freely and confidently by medical practitioners against the Tread-Mill have any where yet taken place, is at first sight plausible; but it is nothing more, for it will not bear reflecting upon for a single moment. In the case of women, the mischievous effects have been actually proved; and hence at this moment, the Tread-Mill, as I am told, is abandoned at Cold-bath Fields, as far as relates to them. For the same reason it is equally abandoned as to all those who have ruptures or hydroceles, or an obvious tendency to such. But by far the greater number of the predicted evils are such as could not have taken place from the shortness of the time the machines have been at work in any prison; but which, to the eye of the pathologist, are as certain as if they were at this moment in full force. Such, I mean, as lumbago, weakness of the kidneys, cramps, rheumatisms, and stiff joints of all kinds, as well of the hands from an uniformly fixed position, as of the legs and feet. These are all chronic affections, and may require years before they fully develop themselves. How long is it after the liver is first affected, before the structure of the organ becomes, in many cases, seriously injured, or the general health destroyed! The poison of lead is often operating for years upon painters, before their limbs and bowels are rendered paralytic; and the worn-out husband-

man that is bent double with cramp and rheumatism, is never attacked suddenly, but slowly and insidiously. Yet in all these cases the discerning physician beholds the result as clearly from the first, and before a single complaint is uttered, or even felt, as when the mischief has worked itself into maturity.' pp. 106, 7.

We have heard it remarked, that tea is a slow poison,—so slow that it takes from sixty to seventy years to develop its fatal effect on the system. We suspect that the chronic affections produced by the Tread-mill, will require a period scarcely short of this, in order to their development. It is some satisfaction, however, to find, that they are not of a more formidable nature than those to which the old age of the handman is subject. The reformed convict, therefore, when he feels the lumbago tugging at his loins as the sad remembrancer of a twelve month's apprenticeship to the Tread-mill some thirty or forty years before, may console himself that he would have come off no better, had he spent his youthful strength at the plough. Cramps, rheumatisms, and paralysis, are, alas! among the ordinary ills that flesh is heir to; and we seriously doubt whether the Hand-crank mill itself, in its most improved state, will ever present an efficient security against such chronic affections among the labouring classes. If 'the discerning physician who beholds the result as clearly from the first' as any second-sighted seer of the North, can really promise so much for the said crank-mill, we should deprecate its introduction into prisons as, in effect, a bounty upon crime. What! are the honest and industrious to be exposed to ruptures, cramps, lumbago, poisoning, in following their respective callings. and shall the only species of labour which presents a security and antidote against all such acute attacks or chronic diseases, be confined to houses of correction? How manifestly must this tend to make gaols and reformatories attractive to the commonalty!

But are there no chronic affections which the discerning physician sees are likely to be called into action by the labour of the Hand-crank mill? Are there no specific complaints induced by 'the healthful and vigorous acts of thrusting, pulling, heaving, and bearing burdens,' to which the manual labour of the crank-mill is stated to be analogous? How comes Dr. Gaskell to have overlooked this question? The fact is, that apoplexy, hæmoptysis, aneurism of the aorta, the carotid and subclavian arteries, (diseases of a far more dangerous kind,) are more likely to occur in the discipline of the Hand-crank mill, than aneurismal or varicose swellings, or sanguinous discharges in the Treadmill exercise. In the case of -----ive persons,

we should deem the latter the safest mode of labour ; and ruptures are certainly not less endangered by violent muscular action of the upper limbs, than by the labour of the treadmill. Dr. Good says, that ‘ by the rotatory action of the cranks, the prisoner will render his joints more lithe and plastic than ever, and may, perhaps, call many muscles into action, and employ them with ease, whose existence he has never before dreamed of.’ The frequent use of the feet is quite as likely to give the performer a knowledge of muscles whose action he never before dreamed of, as the frequent use of the hands: to deny the effect of exercise and habit in the one case, and to insist upon it in the other, is absurd and contradictory. As to the horror in which the Tread-mill is said to be held, those who know any thing of the character of the persons for whose special use it is intended, will sufficiently understand why nine or ten hours’ hard labour should be regarded by such persons with dread and dislike, without having recourse to images of terror and torture. Hard labour will never be rendered palatable to those whose idleness has led them into crime, not even by the Hand-crank mill itself. Both modes of discipline may be advantageously employed. Both may become objectionable when pushed to excess. The dispute respecting them seems very much like raising a question as to which is the best exercise, dancing or dumb-bells. Either, we should say, may be hurtful, while both are good in moderation. Sir John Cox Hippisley is too grave a person to dance ; it would be natural that he should prefer the dumb-bells. And were he to apply to his physician for his opinion on the subject, Dr. Good would doubtless deprecate as an absurdity, a scheme of exercise in which, ‘ while the feet perform all the labour, the hands and the arms are in utter idleness.’ Dancing, he might say, ‘ produces cramp, profuse perspiration, weariness, thirst, endangers snapping the Achilles tendon, varicose swellings, and what not. For such tortuous attitudes the limbs were never designed : it is a most unnatural exercise. And what chronic affections such ‘ tiptoe mirth’ has been the means of developing, is too well known to be insisted on. No ; what is wanted is, an exercise that shall call into alternate action different sets of muscles, by the ‘ double labour of hand and leg ;’ if, therefore, a man chooses to dance, let him dance on all fours.

We think the public are much indebted to Sir John and Dr. Good for bringing forward all their ingenious objections. It is most desirable that such a subject should receive a full discussion ; and we repeat, that we know no class of men much more useful than the objectors. We respect most highly Sir John’s well-meant perseverance, and applaud Dr. Good’s in-

trepidity of opinion. They will, we trust, take our freedom in good part, and give us credit for sincerity when we say, that they have made out the best case they could *versus* the Treadmill, and if they fail in carrying their point, it is not their fault as counsel. We have done our duty in summing up the evidence, and leave our readers to agree on the verdict.

Art. VIII. *Report of the Proceedings of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, in the Case of Principal M'Farlane.* 8vo. pp. 84. Glasgow. 1823.

**I**N our last Number, we briefly explained the circumstances of this interesting case, in noticing the Speeches delivered before the Presbytery of Glasgow, on the motion for inducting Dr. M'Farlane into the ministry of the High Church. On the 5th of October, the business came before the Synod, Dr. M'Farlane having appealed against the sentence of the Presbytery; when, after the minutes and other preliminary matter had been gone through, Mr. Patrick Robertson, an advocate from Edinburgh retained on the part of the appellant, opened the proceedings. In a somewhat dexterous speech, he contended, that the Presbytery had nothing to do, when a presentation was laid before them, but 'admit whosoever was offered to them, being properly qualified,' and that the statute which bound them so to do, prohibited all discussions. He represented them as having defied the General Assembly, and went so far as to affirm, that, were such principles generally acted upon, there would be an end of all law. This language was sufficiently plain, and, one would have thought, not very palatable to the ministers of John Knox's Kirk. But the speech was warmly eulogized by Drs. Taylor and Ranken, the latter of whom warned the court against listening to speeches on the opposite side. 'There is a great tendency in man,' he said, 'to take umbrage at the laws as they stand. In fact, it is in human nature, to find fault with God himself: "The carnal mind is enmity against God." ' Thus, politely intimating that, in refusing to induct Dr. M'Farlane, the Presbytery had acted in rebellion against God and man. This was standing up for Divine right and passive obedience with a vengeance; but, as it involved a most scandalous aspersion on the Presbytery, the speaker was very properly called to order by Dr. M'Gill, who, with Mr. Burns and Dr. Chalmers, had signed the official Reply to Dr. M'Farlane's Appeal. After some confusion, occasioned by a sage intimation from a Mr. Fleming, that he who called a person to order, ought to be turned at-



which drew down loud and long hisses from the galleries, Dr. Ranken finished his speech. He was followed by a Mr. Lapslie, who taxed the Presbytery with ingratitude to the King, in refusing to induct his Presentee, after the King's family had been so kind to the College of Glasgow. The reverend Gentleman expressed his opinion that the discussion had already been most hurtful to religion. 'In England,' said he, 'we all know what dreadful consequences are produced from rash speeches.' And then the said Mr. Lapslie, with great vehemence of gesticulation, suiting the action to the word, invoked the name of God Almighty not very reverently, in venting his hope that 'the speeches might turn out to good.' In conclusion, the reverend gentleman vindicated himself from being an enemy to the Church of Scotland. 'I,' said he, '*who opposed the introduction of the organ*, shall I be called an enemy of the Church of Scotland? I,' &c. &c. On the conclusion of this ludicrous tirade, the Moderator called upon the Presbytery for reply. Dr. M'Gill then rose. He shewed that the circumstance on which the whole case rested, had been carefully kept out of view.

'It was not because Dr. M'Farlane was without pastoral qualification, but because, from the peculiar circumstance in which he was placed, he was disqualified *in hoc statu*; and it was for the principle of the thing—from a determination on the part of the Presbytery, to resist the absolute power of patrons in attempting to force Presentees upon them, that the Presbytery had acted.'

The loud cheers from the audience which this manly declaration drew forth, explain the imbecile apprehensions expressed by the preceding speakers, relative to speeches from the other side. Dr. M'Gill's argumentative address will not admit of detached extracts; it is temperate, manly, and eloquent. Dr. Chalmers followed, and boldly maintained the independence of the Presbytery.

'If,' said he, 'the right of presentation be enough, why not put forth the ultimatum of the law? Why send a few of their eloquent pleaders from the Parliament House? Why send one of their best and most talented orators to plead this cause? Why not rather send from the metropolis a party of buzzars from the castle, to bring to order this refractory Presbytery, these refractory ecclesiastics—and perhaps seize a few of the ringleaders?'

'I abominate,' continued he, 'the paltry and pusillanimous argument that has been put in the learned Advocate's mouth—disrespectful to the king! Why, his majesty well knows, that the Presbytery of Scotland is eminently loyal to his throne—he well knows, that a feeling of deep loyalty is by no means hostile to one of deep religion—and, while all Scotland is looking on, during this painful proceed-

ing, his majesty well knows, that while every heart is panting, and every mouth repeating "God bless him!" an equal sensation of devotedness to their religion and its purity, their church and its independence, is actuating all bosoms. (Cheers with difficulty repressed.) The only thing his majesty could feel displeased at, was, that his name should be used as a scare-crow to terrify the Church from doing its duty. It was an attempt to fasten a political odium upon those who supported his side of the question; who thought that pluralities were wrong, but who were as loyal-hearted as the learned and honourable Principal could by possibility be. This is a mere bugbear to frighten children. It smells of feudalism all over. Were it known with what fond interest all Scotland is now looking on the discussion before us, and how dearly her people love the Church which is planted among them, sovereignty would smile complacently. The Rev. Dr. concluded by hoping, that the warmth of discussion had not betrayed him into expressions which would hurt the feelings of any gentlemen present.' pp. 56, 57.

After Mr. Muir had spoken on the same side, Mr. P. Robertson replied; the parties then retired from the bar. Several ministers now shortly delivered their opinion, and Mr. Burns, in conclusion, addressed the Moderator at considerable length. We must make room for the opening and concluding paragraphs of this admirable address:

"Moderator—I am not one of those who entertain fears as to the probable results of such a discussion as the present. I know of no bad effects which have as yet flowed from it, either in regard to the parties more immediately interested, or in regard to the public at large. A great deal has indeed been said by the speakers on the opposite side, about 'popular clamour' being excited; and we have been told, that the whole population of the west has been kept in a kind of 'ferment,' or 'combustion.' It is true, that whatever powerfully affects the public good, or the interests of individuals, must necessarily produce a deep impression on the general feeling, and men must feel strongly, according to their private prepossessions, and the convictions of their conscience and judgment. But, Sir, we live in a free country; and free discussion, on points affecting the best interests of the country, can never be injurious in the end; and all great public measures must be preceded by enlarged freedom of discussion.

"Nor can I see any evil as likely to result from the publication of the sentiments of the different speakers on both sides of the argument. A most extraordinary doctrine has indeed been taught us this evening; that it is illegal, unbecoming, and altogether improper for any member of the inferior courts to allow his sentiments to reach the eye of the public, through the medium of the press, until the supreme court has given its decision on the question. Who ever heard of such a doctrine in the procedure of any court, civil or ecclesiastical? Is it possible to prevent the publication of our sentiments? or would any good end be served by the attempt to do so? And if they were to

published, why not have them published in the most correct and finished form? In the case of that publication which has been so often alluded to, if there be any blame attached to any quarter, it attaches to the speakers on both sides of the argument; for it is well known, that the most important articles contained in that work, were furnished, at the request of the publishers, by the authors respectively; and I humbly submit, that the public and the church have been indebted, both to the publishers and the authors, for such a valuable addition to their means of judging on the points at issue in the controversy.' pp. 69, 70.

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' " The Church of Scotland, Sir, has not many offices, either of literature or of emolument, to bestow on her members; and to bestow a plurality on one individual, without any substantial ground of necessity or expediency, does not seem to be either economical or reasonable. The recorded opinion of the *whole Presbytery of Glasgow* on this point, is decisive, and under that opinion, I, for one, do most heartily concur.

' " Have we been told, that even to *meddle* with the question at issue, and to *doubt* the omnipotence of a presentation, is '*disrespectful to the Crown*?' And has not the humblest individual in our land, rights and privileges of which no power can denude him, and to assert and maintain which, is his unalienable prerogative? And has the Church of Scotland no rights or privileges which it is her *bounden duty* and that of all her sons to vindicate and maintain? '*Disrespectful to the Crown*!' Sir;—And was the *Presbytery of Ayr* guilty of acting disrespectfully to the crown, when a few years ago they inducted Mr. Hill into the church of Dailly, not on the royal presentation, which they set aside, but on their own *jus desolatum* which they had acquired precisely *two days* before?—A presentation does not carry omnipotence along with it. The trust which it presupposes as vested in those who issue it, is a most sacred and responsible trust; and it is guarded at once by the arm of salutary law, and by the collected sentiment of the Church. To deny this, would be to endanger the independence of our establishment, and to wound the very vitals of her frame.

' " Thus, Moderator, whether we look at the question through the light of the word of God—or through the medium of ecclesiastical statutes and usages—or in connection with views of sound policy and expediency, we are constrained to draw the inference, that such an union as that contemplated, is utterly at variance with a due regard to the general interests of the church at large, and the special claims of the people committed to our charge." pp. 81, 82.

On its being put to the vote, whether the sentence of the Presbytery should be reversed or affirmed, the numbers were, for Reverse 35—for Affirm 40—Majority 5. The result was followed by three rounds of applause from the galleries. Mr. Graham, on behalf of Dr. M'Farlane, entered a protest, and the question will now be settled by the General Assembly.

**Art IX. 1. *The Influences of the Holy Spirit : considered with special Reference to the Circumstances of the present Times.* 8vo. pp. 48. London. 1823.**

**2. *The Example and Success of primitive Missionaries.* A Sermon preached before the London Missionary Society. By the Rev. William Chaplin. 8vo. pp. 32. Price 1s. London. 1823.**

**A**LTHOUGH the titles of these two publications refer to somewhat different subjects, the following passage from Mr. Chaplin's excellent sermon will shew, that we have not without propriety placed them together as bearing on the same important topic,—the necessity of connecting a dependence on Divine Influence with practical exertion. Mr. Chaplin has taken for his text, Mark xi. 20. "The Lord working with them," &c. Under the second division of the discourse, he considers, 'the Divine concurrence with the labour of the 'primitive Missionaries.'

'But what is the nature of that influence which is thus referred to? Without entering upon regions of abstruse inquiry, or wishing to be wise above what is written, we may here remark that all influence must, in its nature, correspond to the object influenced and the effect produced. After human labour has been employed in tilling the earth, and sowing the seed, we soon perceive the corn to appear, and it continues to grow until the harvest. This surprising effect from so little a cause, we attribute to the pervading influence of the God of nature upon the properties of nature, and this we call Providence. The influence of Providence in this case, although not to be accurately defined by us, is evidently adapted in its nature to the process, and to the result. But when the process is of a moral kind, and the result produced is analogous to it; when it is *mind* that is influenced, and truth is the instrument employed, and spiritual qualities are the produce; then it is reasonable to distinguish between the influence of Providence, and the influence of Grace; between the divine operations upon matter, and the divine operations upon the soul. This latter we are taught to consider as the saving work of the Holy Spirit, and by this the Lord is graciously pleased to work with his servants, when the preaching of the gospel is rendered the means of conversion and salvation. "I will pour," said he of old, "upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and of supplications. And I will put my Spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgments and do them." So the Redeemer prayed for his disciples, "Sanctify them through thy truth." And the Apostle Paul connects the "sanctification of the spirit," with the "belief of the truth."

'Nor is it a matter of little importance whether we regard or forget this essential doctrine. God hath said, "Them that honour me I will honour." And I believe this is exemplified in nothing more than in the honour we pay to the work of the Divine Spirit. The

wafting gales are not more necessary to the voyager, than are the celestial influences to the christian, the minister, and the missionary. And if no man was ever absurd enough to expect to sail across the ocean without the winds of heaven, let us not be guilty of the greater absurdity of expecting success in the work of the Lord, without the Lord working with us. "Without me," saith Christ, "ye can do nothing."—It must then, my brethren, be considered as your very cardinal point, the vital principle of your measures, and the only cause of your success, that while you and your missionaries are actually labouring for God, your dependence, your hope, your joy is this, that the Lord worketh with you. The supplies of public liberality would be altogether misplaced, if entrusted to men who were not deeply impressed with this. If the treasures of an empire were at command, not an atom should be confided to that man in whose mind this truth was not uppermost and prominent. Missionaries abroad, and candidates for the work at home, directors and officers, preceptors and students, ministers and churches, contributors and collectors, friends, agents, well-wishers to the cause, all should carefully remember that, work as we may, we can do nothing except the Lord shall work with us. It is when this conviction is most powerfully felt, that the blessing is most earnestly craved; and therefore it may then be most believingly expected. In the hope of it, we rejoice when our brethren go forth in the name of the Lord, assured as we are that "the Spirit shall be poured out from on high, and the wilderness shall become a fruitful field." ' pp. 17—19.

The doctrine of Divine Influence has, in one shape or other, been so universally held, by heathen as well as by Christian men, that it might seem to be almost a tenet of natural religion, a principle of instinctive belief, or at least a manifest dictate of reason. To the gods, the heathens were accustomed to ascribe not only the outward bestowments of fortune, but those mental gifts and moral endowments which suppose a direct influence exerted on the soul; and the prayer of the suppliant, blind and unintelligent as it was, so far as regarded the object of worship, proceeded from the belief that such influence was exerted by the powers he sought to propitiate. Through all the modifications which the doctrine assumed as disguised by superstition,—in the *afflatus* of the tripod, the bacchanalian *furor*, or the frenzy of the nympholept, we still trace the same inherent principle, perverted and debased, which is the foundation of all religion—the belief that intercourse with the Divine nature is possible, and not merely possible, but that the minds of individuals have been brought under the influence of direct inspiration. To this source alone, the gift of prophecy was attributable; and those inventions which were ascribed to the gods, were no doubt viewed in the same light, as implying a supernatural wisdom. Thus, the doctrine

of Divine influence, as well as that of an over-ruling Providence or Fate, has seemed to be inseparable from a belief in the existence of Deity, and prayer has been the necessary consequence of this persuasion. Separate from it, indeed, prayer would be absolutely irrational. Modern philosophy, however, which, by dissipating so much of the obscurity that veiled the operations of nature, has contracted the range of supernatural causes, and almost destroyed the creed of imagination, would fain carry its tests and its analytical processes into matters of faith. Because it has demolished the imaginary world which fear or superstition peopled with shadows, it would reduce us to a disbelief of the unseen world, and explode the doctrine of supernatural agency as irrational. But it would be precisely as wise to argue from idolatry against the reasonableness of all religion, as to conclude that the instinctive faith of mankind in unseen things, is altogether delusive, because it has, in the absence of Revelation, attached itself to unreal objects.

Superstition was the blind exercise of the religious faculty, shaping to itself objects of terror and worship in the place of the True God and the true existences which inhabit the spiritual world. But it is so much more consonant to our fallen nature, to worship the work of our own hands, and to believe in the creatures of our own imaginings, than to exercise a pure faith in the existence of what we cannot imagine, that it has been found a much easier achievement to extinguish superstition, than to make men religious. To get rid of superstition is most desirable, but, unfortunately, the way in which this has been accomplished, has been, in too many cases, by extirpating, so far as possible, the principle to which superstition was indebted for its hold; and this has made us the firmer Protestants, but not altogether the better Christians. It might, we think, be safely affirmed of a very large proportion of Christian professors, (excluding entirely the decidedly irreligious from consideration,) that the existence and ministry of angels, is a fact which has as little practical hold on their minds, as the exploded superstitions which Popery founded on the doctrine, or as a belief in witches, fairies, and phantoms. The doctrine of Divine Influences cannot be put away in this manner from the mind of any sincere worshipper; but still, it is acquiesced in as a doctrine, referred to as a doctrine, insisted on in this point of view, as an important article of belief, rather than taken hold of by the feelings with that simplicity of assurance which would give it its proper influence on the character.

One thing which has tended to intercept between this car-

dinal truth and the moral character,—to deprive it of its proper influence, is the habit of connecting it with certain theological speculations relative to moral inability and other points remote from personal feeling. It is the remark of Stillingfleet, that ‘the seeking to reconcile the mysteries of our faith to philosophical dictates and unproved hypotheses, hath been that which hath almost destroyed it, and turned our religion into a mere philosophical speculation.’ The same may be said of the ceaseless efforts to reconcile the mysteries of faith to theological systems. We feel persuaded, that the controversies respecting the freedom of the will, the resistibility of Grace, the inability of men to believe, &c., have had the most prejudicial effect in diverting the mind from the practical to the speculative. Even ministers of the Gospel have appeared to shrink from the subject of Divine Influences, on account of its supposed implication in matters of doubtful disputation. We cannot otherwise account for the striking omission which we have often had occasion to notice in evangelical discourses, of any distinct reference to the topic. And then, discussions relating to the Personality of the Holy Spirit, placed at the threshold, as it were, of the subject, have tended, however necessary in themselves, to remove still further from direct contact with the feelings, the fact itself of Divine agency as the source of all spiritual life. What would be the effect of introducing the Scripture doctrine of Providence, with philosophical discussions relative to the existence of God?

Any person who is in the habit of attending to the operations of his mind, will, we think, admit, that the state of mind required by prayer, and that which is immediately produced by theological speculation, are almost the opposite of each other, so that an indulgence in such speculations is destructive of the spirit of prayer. For what is prayer, but the result of a belief which speculation would fain suspend while it examines the rationale of it? A belief in facts, of which speculation busies itself, and loses itself, in attempting to explore the inscrutable relations.

That the Holy Spirit has access to the human mind, that our thoughts and feelings are susceptible of the direct operation of Divine influence, and this without violence done to the moral nature, without any consciousness on the part of the individual, of an operation distinct from that of his own voluntary action,—is a fact capable of the highest proof. Its possibility might be demonstrated by abstract reasoning. The gift of prophecy is a sufficient historical attestation of the actual fact. To the real Christian, there is the additional proof supplied by Revelation and by experience. He can no more doubt that the



moral influence of truth on his own mind, in coincidence with the dictates of conscience, is attributable to the operation of the Father of Spirits, than that the vital action of his frame is sustained by the Divine power of Him who made it. Truth, though in every case the instrument, can in no instance be the adequate cause of any moral effect. This is clear, since otherwise its effect would be uniform, like that of any mechanical cause, under the same circumstances. The reason why the same truth does not operate with the same force at all times, must be, that it is not an efficient cause, but only an instrumental one. The efficient cause, the Christian well knows, lies not in himself: it must, therefore, be referrible to the Supreme Cause,—to Him “who worketh all in all.”

It is conceded, that truth, *when believed and entertained by the mind*, will produce its proper moral effect as a motive; but the belief and consideration of truth is precisely that *antecedent* effect, to the cause of which we are now adverting. It is not enough that truth should be exhibited to the mind, or that the mind should be capable of receiving and being affected by it: no consequence necessarily follows from this, analogous to what takes place as the result of mechanical impulse communicated to inert matter. Moral influence is an effect to which the mind itself, so to speak, must lend itself: there must be a concurrence of the spiritual principle with the means of influence, that is, truth, in order to such effect. And as this principle is so often dormant, there is required something more than the means, to call it into action. We are aware that we have expressed ourselves in a manner rather too metaphysical, but the illustration supplied by familiar facts, will make plain the truth of the proposition.

‘Millions,’ it is remarked in the Tract before us, ‘read the word of God with a professed belief of its contents, without receiving the slightest salutary influence from its lessons: a number perhaps equal, or still greater, hear the word preached, without seeming to think it at all necessary that they should be doers of the word as well as hearers.’

‘The reason of this is doubtless, that these persons have no life in them. They want a principle which no agency less than a divine, is capable of bestowing upon them. If the instrumentality of the written word, and of human teaching alone was sufficient, they would long since have been made alive unto righteousness. Before they can rise into life, a quickening power must descend upon them from above. To understand the full force of this assertion it must be recollected, that the natural state of man is that of death in trespasses and sins, without holiness, without grace, without the least spiritual feeling;—at the fall he received a shock which paralysed and numbed every limb, every nerve of the internal man, and left him a blasted withered form of humanity without so much as

a power to feel his misery. While he remains in this condition, the simple application of external means is incapable of imparting the least degree of salutary influence. The feelings of his nature may, indeed, in some measure, be wrought upon—as the fibres of once animated but now lifeless matter may be put in motion by the operations of Galvanism, but a sensation truly vital and spiritual it cannot awaken. He must be spiritually revived, before he can spiritually feel; he must be endued with a celestial principle which will act as a soul within a soul, before he can experience the emotions and perform the functions of a living being. And as the total failure of the outward machinery of religion, while unaccompanied by a quickening energy, proves the indispensable necessity of a Divine Power to render it effectual in any case, so those particular instances in which it is found successful, are equally illustrative of the same truth. It is the primary basis of all reasoning and philosophy, that similar causes produce similar effects—or, to exhibit the same idea in a modified and somewhat expanded form; that a similar agency, operating upon similar subjects, will result in the display of the same general phenomena. In the application of this principle to the point under consideration, we remark, that the agency generally employed consists of the various modes of instruction, by providential occurrences, by written records, and more especially by ministerial labours. The subjects to which this agency is directed, are human beings, all by nature equally corrupt, equally degraded, equally destitute of life and holiness. On a supposition of the identity or perfect similarity of the influence exerted, we must have inevitably expected an uniformity of result, either invariably successful, or invariably abortive. But the fact is totally otherwise. While the great majority of mankind remains untouched, unaffected, unrenewed; some discover no uncertain or equivocal symptoms of an almost entire transformation of character having been wrought in them. Assuming it as an allowed and established point, that all the individuals of the human species, are, by nature, equally tainted with the stain of pollution, and present equal impediments to the renovating operations of divine grace, the circumstance of some being awakened from their fatal slumbers, and of the rest continuing to sleep in perilous indifference upon the brink of everlasting ruin, seems capable of no other mode of explanation, than the supposition of an influence being made to operate upon the one class which does not reach to the other.'

pp. 25—8.

There is such a thing as being familiar with a principle of mechanical philosophy, in its practical application, and yet not being able to understand it when technically stated as a principle of science. The same thing occurs in matters of religion. Every Christian, in the act of prayer, recognises the principle, that he stands in constant need of Divine influence, and is capable of receiving it. Every thinking man, who is not an infidel, will readily acknowledge, that wisdom and good-

ness are as much the gifts of God as riches and health. But wisdom and goodness can be communicated only by means of Divine influence on the mind. In asking wisdom of God, or imploring his guidance, above all, in supplicating his Holy Spirit, the believer acts on the inherent belief, that such Divine communications are continually afforded, and may confidently be anticipated in answer to prayer. It never interferes with this belief as a practical difficulty, that he is not able to distinguish such communications from the action of his own mind; any more than it shakes his belief in Divine Providence, to find things taking place in concurrence with his own exertions. There are physical influences of which he has no more distinct consciousness, than he has of any Divine influence on his mind. Nay, there is the moral influence of suasion, of example, of temptation, perpetually operating upon him, yet still as undistinguishable from the voluntary operations of thought, as influence of a supernatural kind; as there are chemical and mechanical processes constantly going forward throughout the animal system, of which we have no sensible intimation. It is not till a man begins to speculate on the *mode* of Divine influence, its bearing on the subject of human responsibility, and other metaphysical questions, that he feels any difficulty on the subject.

But when an attempt is made to analyse and discriminate the supposed various kinds of Divine influence,—as common or saving Grace, as resistible or irresistible, and so forth, who wonder is it that the mind gets bewildered, and that faith is lost in the mazes of doubtful speculation? Thus much we may safely assume of all moral influence, that its specific operation will vary according to the medium or instrument, and the subject of influence. Truth of some kind, or seeming truth, is the only conceivable means of influencing an intelligent agent. But there are some truths evidently adapted to act upon the conscience of the individual; other truths which tend more directly to operate on the affections; and their specific effects, therefore, will be different. In concurrence with such truths, Divine influence also may be exerted on the conscience, and terminate there; or it may exert itself on the heart. As the dictates of conscience may be resisted, so, we should not be saying, that the influence of the Spirit may be resisted, so long as the conscience alone is brought under its operation, and the truth received is of that nature which tends only to awaken the conscience. But truths affecting the heart cannot be received by virtue of the gracious influence of God's Holy Spirit without a correspondent moral effect. The affections, the will,

the very subject of such influence ; and at once to receive and to resist it, is impossible : it involves a contradiction.

But, stripped of all metaphysics, what is the fact ? From the Spirit of God, ‘ all holy desires, all good counsels, and all ‘ just works proceed.’ And He “ will give his holy Spirit “ to them who ask it.” It is a fixed law of the Divine government, that this spiritual aid should *uniformly* be afforded in answer to prayer. The concurrence of the Divine agency with human effort and rational means, in the physical operations of nature,—the processes of nutrition, growth, and healing, is not more certain, or less mysterious, than that which is the source of life, and growth, and healing in the spiritual world. To make this fact an excuse for the neglect of means, is the grossest fanaticism : to overlook it, or explain it away, is atheism.

The tract before us, is designed to ‘ make a brief application of the doctrine to the circumstances of the present ‘ period.’ We cordially recommend its perusal to our readers. Indistinct and erroneous notions on this subject have hitherto had too extensive an influence on the minds of Christians, paralysing their exertions, and repressing the spirit of prayer. This doctrine, properly viewed, is the strongest motive to exertion, the very element of spiritual might. The hope of the world rests upon the fact, in connexion with the promise, of Divine influence. That the moral world has not as yet been brought more generally under its quickening and fertilizing energy, notwithstanding the vast machinery put in action, and the Divine adaptation of the means,—is owing, in the first place, to the incalculable inaptitude of human beings, as depraved, to yield to any moral means ; but, next to this, is attributable to nothing more than the weakness of faith and the languid half-heartedness of our prayers.

## ART. X. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

*\* \* Gentlemen and Publishers who have works in the Press, will oblige the Conductors of the ECLECTIC REVIEW, by sending information (post paid) of the subject, extent, and probable price of such works; which they may depend upon being communicated to the public, if consistent with its plan.*

A Series of Letters to an Attorney's Articled Clerk, containing Direction for his Studies and General Conduct, which was commenced and left unfinished by the late A. C. Buckland, Esq. Author of Letters on Early Rising, has been completed by his Brother Mr. W. H. Buckland, and will be published in a few days in one Volume.

Prose Pictures, a Series of Descriptive Letters and Essays by Edward Herbert, Esq. with etchings by George Cruikshank, will be published in a few weeks.

The Translator of Dante, the Rev. H. F. Cary, has in the press a Translation of the Birds of Aristophanes in English verse, with Notes and illustrations.

Essays and Sketches of Character, by the late R. Ayton, Esq. with a Memoir, and a Frontispiece by R. Westall, R. A. will be published in the ensuing month.

Mr. Landor's Imaginary Conversations of Literary Men and Statesmen will appear early in December.

The Journal of Llewellyn Penrose, a Seaman, in one volume, with Engravings from Drawings by Bird and Pocock, is in the press.

The Rev. Harvey Marriott has in the press a Third Course of Practical Sermons for Families.

Mr. John Curtis has in the press the first No. of his Illustrations of English Insects. The Intention of the Author is, to publish highly finished figures of such species of insects (with the Plants upon which they are found) as constitute the British Genera, with accurate representations of the parts on which the characters are founded, and descriptive letter-press to each plate; giving, as far as possible, the habits and economy of the subjects selected. The Work will be published Monthly, to commence the 1st of January, 1824.

In the press, Elements of the History of Civil Government, being a View of

the Rise and Progress of the various Political Institutions that have subsisted throughout the world, and an Account of the present State and distinguishing Features of the Governments now in Existence. By the late James Tyson, Esq.

Aids to Reflection, in a Series of Prædential, Moral, and Spiritual Aphorisms, extracted chiefly from the Works of Archbishop Leighton, with Notes and interposed Remarks, by S. T. Coleridge, Esq.

Dr. Conquest is preparing a Work for the press, which will contain a reference to every Publication on Midwifery, and a register of the innumerable essays and cases which are scattered through periodical pamphlets, and the transactions of various societies, or casually referred to in works not exclusively obstetric. This will form a second volume to the third edition of his "Outlines," and will be speedily followed by a similar publication, on the Diseases of Women and Children. It would be a waste of time to advert to the great advantages which must result from such a concentration and arrangement of all that has been published on these interesting and important subjects.

Preparing for publication, a Treatise on Organic Chemistry, containing the analyses of animal and vegetable substances, founded on the work of Professor Gouelin on the same subject, by Mr. Dauglison, member of several learned societies, foreign and domestic, and one of the Editors of the Medical Repository.

In the course of December will be published, Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa. By William J. Burchell, Esq. With numerous coloured Engravings, Vignettes, &c. from the Author's original Drawings. The Second volume, in 4to. which completes the work.

A Tale of Paraguay. By Robert

sq. L.L.D. &c. &c. In 1 vol. early ready.

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